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ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS
OF
THE AMERICAN MUSEUM
OF NATURAL HISTORY

VOL. XI

SOCIETIES OF THE PLAINS INDIANS

EDITED BY
CLARK WISSLER



NEW YORK
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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The aim of this volume is to present in compact and readily accessible form concrete field data upon the societies and analogous organizations among the Indians of the Plains. The problems involved are not merely those pertaining to the culture of the Plains Indians, for the investigations of Schurtz and Webster, to be referred to later, have formulated general explanatory theories for the origin of all primitive societies which elevate any such study as we have undertaken to the level of a general problem in social development. Our method, however, has been empirical, beginning first with the collection of data irrespective of these general points of view, followed by their publication in the form and order of accumulation; then in turn subjecting these individual reports to comparative analysis. Our ideal has been, first of all, the gathering of adequate data and its presentation in full detail for each tribal group.

Societies among the Indians of the Plains were noted by Lewis and Clark, but first described in detail by Maximilian, and though remarked upon by many writers were not seriously studied until 1899. Up to this time the most important data were found in the writings of Grinnell, Mooney, Clark, James, and J. O. Dorsey. But in 1899 Professor A. L. Kroeber began his investigations of the Arapaho and Gros Ventre under the auspices of this institution and published a special paper on the societies of the Arapaho in 1904. In 1903 the writer began an investigation of the Blackfoot Indians and found many points of similarity to the Arapaho and Gros Ventre series. This at once suggested an important comparative problem. In 1905 G. A. Dorsey published his notes on Cheyenne organizations and in 1906 Professor Kroeber presented a second paper at the Quebec session of the Congress of Americanists in which the existing status of the problem was outlined. The contribution by Kroeber clearly formulated the case, but so far it was merely a specific problem in Plains culture. Some years previous appeared the work of Heinrich Schurtz, *Altersklassen und Männerbunde*, in which one of the most striking features of Plains Indian societies was treated as an integral part of a world-wide social phenomenon. According to this author, there is some inner tendency in man to form age classes and to formalize them into societies. Following this lead Hutton Webster wrote his well-known book on *Primitive Secret Societies* in which he developed the theory that all such societies had their origin in initiation ceremonies. The bearing of these discussions upon the specific problem of Plains Indian societies was

discussed by Lowie in a former volume of this series, thereby greatly broadening the problem. It thus became clear that an exhaustive study of Plains Indian societies would give the best possible test to these theories and aside from making a specific contribution to our knowledge of North American culture, would go far toward the solution of more fundamental social problems.

In 1907 the anthropological staff of this Museum planned a prolonged and systematic field survey of the many different Plains tribes. When the above noted general problem of societies was clearly raised, it appeared feasible to emphasize this one aspect of the subject. This was approved by the Trustees of this Museum, and funds for the necessary field trips and the publication of reports provided from the income of the Morris K. Jesup bequest.

The work of previous investigations made further field-work among the Arapaho, Gros Ventre, Omaha, and Cheyenne unnecessary. The Osage were at that time under investigation by another institution. Accordingly, the following tribes were scheduled for treatment in this volume:—Arikara, Blackfoot, Comanche, Crow, Dakota, Hidatsa, Iowa, Kansa, Kiowa, Mandan, Pawnee, Plains-Cree, Plains-Ojibway, Ponca, Sarsi, Shoshone, and Ute. For some of these there were already available less complete published data, credit for which will be found in the succeeding papers, but for others the existence of societies had not been noted by previous writers.

The three characteristics of Plains societies to first impress early observers were their police and soldier functions, age qualifications, and no-flight obligations. While these are by no means universal, they are nevertheless valid characters. The first is so nearly universal that we have taken it as a convenient point of departure. Thus, it will be noted that the several contributions in this volume are organized to reveal the main and collateral settings of those organizations having police and soldier functions. In the working out of this scheme it was found advisable to study all private organizations and to note or characterize many ceremonial associations. As the exercise of police power is a definite part of the tribal government, we have added certain discussions of political and social organization which for the sake of completeness we have in some instances carried beyond the possible needs of this study. It follows, therefore, that irrespective of their assemblage in this volume the several papers each treat fairly definite parts of tribal cultures and could be reassembled in a series of volumes dealing with the respective tribes. Yet, a glance through these pages will reveal the essential unity of subject matter, for many societies can be traced along from first to last leaving no room for doubt but that we are here dealing with the same organizations. Our investigation, therefore, deals in the main with

this one type of organization and the above enumeration of tribal groups gives its approximate distribution, which is clearly shown upon the map.

This study was originally projected on the assumption that as a whole these organizations of the Plains Indians were a phenomenon of culture diffusion and that a close analytic study of them in detail would reveal the approximate places and relative times of their origins. As these assumptions were not published or made a part of the instructions to field-workers, it cannot be claimed that the data were selected according to this criterion. On the other hand, each investigator was left free to follow the natural unfolding of his own problem, as the somewhat unsymmetrical forms of the various papers will suggest. We believe, therefore, that at least in one respect the plan has resulted satisfactorily, viz., to furnish independent concrete reports of fact. If the reader takes up the works of Webster and Schurtz and compares the meager data at their command with the descriptive contents of this volume, he will appreciate the almost hopeless handicap to the theoretical interpretations of these writers and the prime importance of full independent data to the discussion of all social interpretations. In the final sections of this volume have been formulated some of our individual interpretations to these data, but this by no means exhausts the subject, for many phases of the problem still await discussion. Our point of view is strictly that of the present day anthropologist and we have not the least doubt but that sociologists and others could also discuss the same data in a different manner.

A word may be added as to the methods and limitations to our field-work. Many of the societies ceased to hold meetings years ago so that in but rare instances has it been possible to observe the objective aspects of their procedures. Our method was to seek out surviving members and to work out with them detailed accounts. In a few cases not even this was possible, the narrators depending upon what they had heard from their elders. While our accounts are thus far from complete, many of them cannot be improved upon in the future because already a large number of our aged informants have died or become senile. Thus unfortunately the greater part of this chapter is closed to new data. However, this does not apply to the social and modern ceremonies now in active development.

Upon one important feature of these societies we have not touched in this volume, viz., their songs. We are convinced that in them will be found very positive traces of historical connections between the several tribes. The only one of our contributors giving this subject serious attention is Mr. Murie, who from his great practical experience in rendering such songs, can rapidly compare them. The most complete series we have collected are from the Blackfoot, Oglala, and Pawnee, and Mr. Murie finds many cases

in which songs have passed from one to the other without loss to their individuality. We find the popularity of the modern ceremonies largely due to the superior character of their songs, particularly in the grass dance where the Oglala songs now prevail. While it is probably too late to take up the study of age society songs, these modern organizations offer a fine opportunity for the study of song as a culture trait.

Finally, we wish to express our conviction that few areas offer so fine a field for the student of culture and social phenomena as the Plains of North America. In this area we find thirty-two quite distinct tribal groups speaking at least eighteen mutually unintelligible languages of six different stocks. Yet, extending more or less completely over all are many traits of culture one of which is made the subject of this volume. In the final chapters we have subjected the data on distributions to detailed historical analysis and feel that the results obtained are its sufficient justification. Then having once obtained a secure footing in historical fact we have sought by world-wide comparisons, the isolation of such truly social factors as may have entered into this complex. In this we have also attained some measure of success, as the concluding section will show; but the successful outcome of these empirical methods is in the main due to the peculiar conditions found in the Plains area.

CLARK WISSLER.

December, 1916.

**SOCIETIES AND CEREMONIAL ASSOCIATIONS IN THE
OGLALA DIVISION OF THE TETON-DAKOTA.**

By CLARK WISSLER.

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of-bear, High-bear, Two-crow, and John Blunt-horn, who are responsible for the statements of fact. The Messrs. Nines are responsible for the English rendering of their statements and all specific translations found in the text. The writer spent parts of two summers at Pine Ridge where assisted by these gentlemen he worked over with the informants all the points discussed herein. At various times during the last two years Mr. Richard Nines gathered supplementary information and checked up doubtful points. The writer has brought together the data so accumulated and while far from complete, this nevertheless gives what we consider an adequate conception of these phases of Oglala culture.

CLARK WISSLER.

November, 1912.

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I. SOCIETIES FOR MEN.

At the outset it is necessary to have a general idea of the tribal government. The Oglala were formerly, it is said, composed of four divisions (Oglala, Kiaksai, Oyukhpe and Wazazies).¹ When reservations were established, two of these divisions were placed under the Pine Ridge Agency. It was chiefly among these that our data were gathered. Some difficulty was experienced in formulating the governmental system since it seems that shortly after settling upon the reservation, in conformity to the wishes of United States officials, the two divisions at Pine Ridge combined and formed a single tribal government. Curiously enough, each of these divisions had its own scheme of government from which it follows that some adjustment was necessary. All this tends to confuse our information and make it difficult to avoid inconsistencies.

The two former Pine Ridge divisions are now known as the Red-cloud camp (Oglala) and the Kiaksai. As far as our information goes, it appears that the former had by far the more complex organization and in the main prevailed when the reservation was established. It was in this camp that the chiefs society originated. As will be fully explained later, this was an organization comprising the majority of the efficient older men of forty years or more. It elected its own members. Independent of its organization, it elected seven chiefs (wic'asa itac'aⁿ) to govern the people. These chiefs were elected for life. Since it was customary for vacancies to be filled by the election of a worthy son or relative these offices were partially hereditary. These seven chiefs did not actually participate in the daily government but delegated powers to younger or more virile men, by the appointment of four councilors to serve for life, though they could resign at any time. These may or may not be members of the chiefs society but the seven chiefs are not eligible to the office. They are spoken of as the "owners of the tribe," but more particularly as the "shirt wearers" since upon investment in office they are given a special form of hair-fringed shirt. These shirts are spoken of as "owned by the tribe." Their owners are the supreme councilors and executives. They are charged with the general welfare; to see that good hunting is provided, healthful campsites selected, etc. Thus, though theoretically deputies, these four men are the real power in the government.

¹ According to Two-crow the Wazazies were but a subdivision of the Kiaksai while the fourth division was the Pahabyapi.

The seven chiefs, often assisted by the four shirt wearers and the whole chiefs society, elect four officers (*wakic'uⁿ*) to organize and control the camp. All except the four shirt wearers are eligible to this office. These men serve for about one year. It seems to have been the custom to re-elect two or three of them so as to have experienced men in office. In former times, the tendency was for the people to scatter out in winter, but early in the spring the camp circle was formed and its government organized. This was initiated by the selection of the *wakicun*.

The *wakicun* are after all the true executives, the shirt men standing as councilors. A tipi was set up in the center of the camp circle as the office of the *wakicun* in which they occupied "the seats of honor." The shirt men as well as the seven chiefs had seats there as councilors, but did not sit continuously like the *wakicun*. As soon as invested in office the *wakicun* appointed two young men to act as orderlies, see that fuel and food were provided, etc. They appointed a herald to promulgate their orders. They also selected two head *akicita* (*akic'ita itac'aⁿ*). We were told that the society of chiefs announced the election of a *wakicun* through the head *akicita*. A stick is prepared to represent the candidate's achievements. Thus, if he has been a victorious *blotaunka*, a striped stick is used; if wounded in battle, a red stick; if he killed an enemy, a black stick. The *akicita* go to his wife's tipi and thrust the stick into the ground. The woman prepares food and sends it with the stick to the executive tipi. If her husband has been re-elected, he is already there, but, if newly elected, he hunts up a fine pouch, a pipe,¹ a generous supply of tobacco and takes his place in the tent.

The two *akic'ita itac'an* select two others to serve with them, thus constituting a governing board, or chiefs of the *akicita*. These select either eight or ten men to act as *akicita*, or the force, or designate some one of the *akicita* societies to act instead. In the latter event, the leaders of the society detail the men. As the discussion of societies proceeds we shall have more to add on the *akicita* function, but we may, for the sake of concreteness, insert a narrative of Chief-high-bear in which the brave society acts as *akicita*:—

The herald goes near the tent in the center, builds a large fire and calls the four pipe carriers belonging to the brave society. Being instructed to do so the night previous, he gives them news of buffalo being in a different place and tells them they

¹ It is said that formerly only the *wakicun* and their superiors carried the long ornamental pipe bags for which the Dakota are now noted. The last men to serve as *wakicun* were, according to Running-hawk, Afraid-of-horse, American-horse, Crazy-horse, and George Sword. Red-cloud never held this office but was for many years a special official, or minister, to look after the dealings of the Indians and the white people. In the north, Sitting-bull had a similar office, it is said.

had better move. Then the pipe carriers instruct him to announce the moving order, deciding about the course of travel since they know the lay of the ground.

The pipe carriers lead the procession or throng. They go only about two miles the first day for most of them travel on foot. The next morning the herald announces that they must all prepare to travel as they are going to slaughter buffalo. They only travel about seven or eight miles that day, resting three times and the fourth time they camp, and the akicita see to the order of camp, etc. Then a messenger comes in telling about the buffalo and they bring him to the center where the four pipe men are. Then he fills the pipe and the bowl of the pipe is put against a bunch of buffalo manure there and the scout takes a whiff of smoke at which they all say "Hoye." It is an expression of assent or satisfaction. Then the pipe man smokes a whiff, and they all say "Hoye." A large crowd looks on. The pipe man then says, "You are not a child and you know this country. Tell me what you have seen from any hill you have looked from and you will please me." He says, "I have gone to a hilltop and looking beyond, saw many buffalo." They all rejoice and disband. They swing their robes and shout with joy.

The herald announces, "Sharpen your knives and get your horses ready because to-day I am going to kill lots of buffalo." Then they go, the akicita on each side at the back, and in the front, leading. When they come to the hill and see the buffalo herd, the pipe men consider the situation, direction of wind, etc., and instruct the men which way to go. The herald announces that they must split in two bands and the slaughtering begins. The akicita move up and the rest on each side and close in on the buffalo slowly. When ready the akicita wave their blankets and shout for them to start. Then they run in on them. They kill many buffalo and butcher them and carry the meat home on horseback. As they near the camp everybody rejoices and shouts. The women take charge of the meat. The hides are staked out and the meat scraped off.

If anyone goes out alone and scares up the buffalo, charges them, and brings meat home, the braves go to him, strike him senseless and cut up his tipi cover and the poles. If anyone kills another in camp, the braves kill the murderer.

When the tribe first mingled with the whites, the braves would not sanction it because they did not wish to eat the white man's food and the white man would eat all their buffalo. If the braves discovered anyone going among the white people, they would intercept him and kill him and his horse. They were afraid that the smell of coffee and bacon (foreign smells) would scare the buffalo and make them stay away. However, they would allow the white traders to come in and bring merchandise but would not buy foods that created a peculiar smell. They did not want the "wakpamini," the government issue, and did not want the white people coming in. They drank broth of buffalo.

Finally, they fought and killed each other until the akicita realized that fighting was bad because the whole country smelled of dead bodies and there were lots of dry bones. There were also many orphans and widows because of the killing of fathers and husbands, and much property was being destroyed. They did not like all this, so all the tribes agreed to live in peace with the whites. The Indian married a white woman and the white man an Indian woman, and thus they intermingled. That is, this was sanctioned.

The Indians define the word akicita as "those who see that there is general order in camp when traveling from one place to another; those who

attend to the duties of overseeing the buffalo hunt so that no one may chase the buffalo singly; those who see that all can charge the buffalo at once or split up the party so that when one chases buffalo one way, the other band closes in; and those who supervise the chase to get better results. They also see that no one kills another, but in case one does, they either kill him or destroy all his property, kill his horses, destroy his tipi, etc." Thus, though in general literature the term *akicita* is rendered as "soldiers," its approximate equivalent seems to be police or marshals.

The *akic'ita itac'aⁿ* seem to serve continuously during the season. Although our informants are not quite consistent it seems that as a rule, the four head *akicita* were chosen from the same society and while it was expected that they choose their assistants from the society, they were at liberty to recruit the force at large. Thus, we were told that if the leaders of a society were appointed as head *akicita*, their administration would be efficient by reason of their having in hand a highly organized corps of able-bodied men upon whom they could call for police service.

When chosen by the four chiefs the head *akicita* are sent for. They come to the executive tipi wearing buffalo robes but unarmed. They are then informed of their election. Two black stripes are made on their faces and war-bonnets placed on their heads. They are invested with a special club and are assigned a herald to promulgate their orders. They are addressed by one of the chiefs who says, "You are to help us in governing the tribe. You shall see that no prairie fires are started; that no one shall scare away the buffalo; that no one shall go away from camp to camp elsewhere; that no one, when on the buffalo chase, goes ahead and shoots the buffalo; and that all offenders be punished." Then the chief *akicita* go around the camp circle and choose their *akicita*. As stated above, these head *akicita* may choose their force from their own or some one society. At the proper time, the herald is ordered out to call the chosen society together. It seems that the society designated at the beginning of the summer hunt usually served during the season, automatically passing out of service at the end. This would give them about one year's service. It also seems to have been usual but not obligatory for the chiefs to choose from the societies by rotation. No one may decline service but can be discharged for misconduct — murder, quarreling, eloping with wives of society brothers, or other unworthy acts. Appointment to the service was regarded as an honor. Dances or public fêtes were often held for the *akicita* at which time the *akic'ita itac'aⁿ* may nominate two or three worthy young men to assist them. This was looked upon as a high honor. So far as our information goes, no special *akicita* were appointed for the sun dance and other ceremonies.

Returning to a consideration of the scheme of government, it is clear that all the civil and economic affairs of the camp are in the hands of the wakicun. On all these matters, they are free to instruct and can enforce their orders through the akicita. They decide when to break camp, where to go and again select the new site. Hunting must be carried on when and as they direct. They also see that every person receives a fair share of the meat and is provided with enough robes to make the winter endurable. They settle disputes, judge and compound crimes, and make rules to ensure proper decorum in camp. However, our informants all felt their chief's function to have been the regulation of the hunt, or the conservation of the food supply.

So far, we have been sketching the government of the Red-cloud division. The Kiaksai, had, according to our informants, the wakicun and their akicita but no shirt wearers. Instead of seven chiefs they had six who themselves exercised the functions of the four shirt men. There was no chiefs society, but all the older men of the camp were considered as a general council with power to appoint six chiefs. Otherwise, the operation of the government was about the same as in the Red-cloud division.

When these two divisions combined under the reservation system, they recognized both the seven and the six chiefs as the head of the tribe. It is our impression that the number of head chiefs was not absolutely limited in either division but that it was increased from time to time, seven and six being the numbers of such chiefs at the time the reservation was formed. On the other hand, the number of wakicun and shirt wearers was regarded as absolutely fixed. Further, after the consolidation the chiefs society took in as members most of the eligible men in the Kiaksai division, but still they did not quite maintain their former position for the ska yuha society was then organized as a rival. The council seems on the whole to have been what it was in the Kiaksai division and the position of the four shirt men was maintained.

From the foregoing sketch, it is clear that full data from all the divisions of the Oglala as well as from some of the other Dakota would furnish an interesting chapter in the history of tribal organization.

There is some reason for believing that the office of chief was a modern innovation and that the original tribal government of the Oglala was vested in the wakicun. Writing of the eastern Dakota in 1847 Philander Prescott says: —

"The chieftainship is of modern date; that is, since the Indians first became acquainted with the whites. Tradition says, they knew of no chiefs until the white people began to make distinctions. The first Sioux that was ever made a chief among the Dacotas, was Wah-ba-shaw, and this was done by the British. Since

that time, chieftainship has been hereditary. There are small bands existing that have no recognized chiefs."¹

This is at least an interesting suggesting and so far as our data go, entirely consistent with the scheme of government.

So far as we know, all divisions of the Dakota had the *akicita* organization. Their place of meeting, the executive tipi, was called the *tiyotipi*, often translated as soldier lodge. Riggs (a, 200) gives a translation of Renville's text containing a spirited account of the *akicita*. Again in his "Forty Years with the Sioux" (132), he describes the "Soldiers' Lodge." Lewis and Clark had some experience with them: —

"Those people have Some brave men which they make use of as Soldiers those men attend to the police of the Village. Correct all errors I saw one of them to day whip 2 Squars, who appeared to have fallen out, when he approached. all about appeared to flee with great turrow [terror]." (I, 168).

"and when we was about Setting out the Class Called the Soldiers took possession of the Cable the 1st Cheif which was Still on board, & intended to go a Short Distance up with us. I told him the men of his nation Set on the Cable, he went out & told Capt. Lewis who was at the bow the men Who Set on the roap was Soldiers, and wanted Tobacco. . . . The Chief gave the Tobacco to his Soldiers & he jurked the rope from them and handed it to the bowsman we then Set out under a Breeze from the S. E." (I, 171).

These were Tetons, encountered near the mouth of the Teton River. *Akicita* were employed by the Santee division as the subsequent account by Dr. Lowie will demonstrate. Though we lack positive information, it is probable that all divisions of the Dakota employed them, for the Assiniboine account by J. O. Dorsey (b, 224) presents all the characteristic features.¹ The painted sticks, described by Dorsey, were not used by the Oglala, except in the selection of the four *wakicun*.

Lewis and Clark seem to be the first to note the existence of men's societies among the Dakota. In the Original Journals (I, 130), we read: —

"I will here remark a SOCIETY which I had never before this day heard was in any nation of Indians, four of which is at this time present and all who remain of this Band. Those who become Members of the Society must be brave active young men who take a *Vow* never to give back let the danger be what it may, in War Parties they always go forward without screening themselves behind trees or anything else to this Vow they Strictly adhier durement their Lives. an instance which happened not long sence, on a party Crossing the R Missourie on the ice, a whole was in the ice immediately in their Course which might easily have been avoided by going around, the foremost man went on and was lost the others wer draged around by the party. in a battle with the Crow [Kite] Indians who inhabit the *Cout Noir* or black Mountain out of 22 of this Society 18 was Killed, the remaining four was draged off by their

¹ Schoolcraft, part 2, 182; see also, J. O. Dorsey, (b), 222.

Party. Those men are likely fellows the[y] Set together Camp & Dance together. This Society is in imitation of the Societies of the de Curbo or Crow (*De Corbeau, Kûe*) Indians, whom they imitate."

AKICITA SOCIETIES.

In the preceding section will be found a brief exposition of the akicita function among the Oglala. It so happens that certain societies were frequently called upon to render such service; hence, the grouping of societies under this head is not one imposed by the author, but a distinction recognized by the Indians themselves. So far as our information goes the akicita societies of the Oglala were: —

tokala (kit-fox)	ihoka (badgers)
ka ⁿ gi yuha (crow owners)	sotka yuha (bare lance owners)
c'a ⁿ te ti ⁿ za (braves)	wic'iska (white marked) ¹

Though there were some differences of opinion as to the extent of the term akicita societies, no informant ever denied that function to the preceding. We shall, therefore, consider these as constituting a class.

We seem justified in concluding that these societies are designated as akicita organizations solely because it became customary for the head akicita to call upon them for special police service, but that this was not in any sense their function as an organization. Further, it is clear that custom limited the choice to certain societies and naturally to those societies composed of able-bodied men. According to Iron-tail, the ihoka and the kangi yuha were the most often chosen for akicita service in moving camp and hunting buffalo. The miwatani and other societies were never so called upon, except possibly when organizing a war party, but never in connection with civil affairs. On the other hand, from the information we have, there seems to be a feeling that the akicita are properly civil officers, i. e., they serve in the domestic and industrial activities of the camp. In a large war party or when the camp has organized for a war excursion, men are appointed who serve as akicita, but under the direction of a body of lieutenants known as the blotaunka. Such service is regarded as of greater honor and responsibility than that pertaining to the civil akicita.

That the akicita are primarily associated with hunting buffalo is suggested at several points. Thus, we are told that when the presence of a buffalo herd was reported to the four chiefs in camp, they called in the head

¹ For mechanical reasons we have indicated the phonetics of Oglala terms only in convenient places, using at other times the spelling employed in Dakota periodicals and books.

akicita, painted their faces in the regulation way, and instructed them to appoint their assistants. The head akicita then decided upon the number and identity of these and having so decided went out and notified them by shaking hands. Then when they were needed for service, the herald announced that all having shaken hands should assemble at the akicita tipi. There they were painted and given instructions. All these points will receive further consideration later, but having defined the peculiar accidental relation of these societies to police service we may now take up their organizations in detail.

In Clark's "Indian Sign Language" (356), is the following list of societies:

"The Eastern bands of Sioux do not seem to have a very perfect organization of soldier bands. The Teton Sioux have eleven bands, viz.: 1st, Strong Heart; 2d, Prairie-Dog; 3d, Crow (carry a lance); 4th, White Breast-Strap; 5th, Shield; 6th, Night Brave; 7th, Night-Owl Head-dress; 8th, Badger-mouth Prairie-Dog; 9th, Tall Brave; 10th, Orphan, 11th, Warrior."

The fourth and fifth are probably meant for the wiciska, the eighth may be the ihoka, the sixth and ninth probably rival cante tinza organizations; but of the second, tenth, and eleventh, our informants could make nothing.

THE KIT-FOX.

The tokala seems to be the kit-fox and the society is so named because its members are supposed to be as active and wily on the warpath as this little animal is known to be in his native state. It is said that the kit-fox has great skill in finding things, as for example, marrow bones buried in the earth; hence, the members of the tokala organization regarded themselves as foxes and all their enemies as marrow bones. The organization is as follows:—

2 leaders	2 food bearers
2 pipe keepers	30 to 40 lay members
4 lance bearers	1 herald
2 whip bearers	8 singers (4 men and 4 women)
1 drum keeper	

Some informants placed the number of leaders at four and the lance bearers at two, but the majority approved the above.

As to the head of the organization, it is not clear whether they had a governing body of four or two. Some say the pipe men were equal in rank with the two leaders, which would give a group of four. In any event, these four posts were of the highest rank. These may be the four councilors (wakic'uⁿza, thinkers) spoken of by some informants.

The society had two pipes of special form. Some informants, however, say but one. It seems to have been customary for a pipe keeper to conduct or preside over the formal meetings of the society. It is said that on the warpath, the pipe carrier fills the pipe just before going out to charge the enemy, leaving the bowl and taking the stem. Then if they are successful in killing the enemy without any harm to their own side, they take the stem to the bowl and smoke the pipe.

While it is true that the leaders and the pipe keepers are of the highest rank, it should be noted that the most conspicuous places were those of the four lance bearers. The lance bearers must take the lead in battle and seldom retreat. Furthermore, upon being invested with a lance, the new appointee must proceed to war at once and perform his function. The saying is, that to accept the place was certain death; hence, the installation was a solemn and impressive affair. When a vacancy occurred, a formal meeting was held at which a candidate was named. The whip bearers, or marshals, were instructed to search for him and lead him before the assembly, if not already a member. They go through the camp, and finding him, conduct him before the assembly. He does not yet know if he is to be made a lay member or an officer. One of the pipe men then informs the candidate of his fate. He usually hesitates. All this time the herald shouts out the virtues of the candidate, the women on the outside cheer while the tokala sing songs referring to the glory and fate of former lance bearers. A favorite song runs, "I am a tokala. I am living in uncertainty." In the end the candidate usually accepts, since not to do so would be a public disgrace. Then the pipe man lectures the candidate on the responsibilities and ideals of the tokala, especially on the obligations of his new office. The relatives of the candidate then give presents to the poor and needy, but not to the society or its officers. There are two beaded and two plain lances. They each bear two eagle feathers and a piece of tokala skin tied on in two separate bunches. Crow, magpie, or large prairie chicken feathers with a long one of eagle down are tied in the middle. The tip of the lance is of iron. We are informed that for some fifty years the custom has been to wrap the two plain lances with otterskin.

When a man is invested with a lance it is expected that he always take the front in battle and seek out the most dangerous points. This is why the conferring of a lance is regarded as the most serious part of the ceremony. One of the songs is:—

"I am a Fox.
I am supposed to die.
If there is anything difficult,
If there is anything dangerous,
That is mine to do."

As just noted, the whip bearers are the marshals (*akic'ita*). They bring in candidates, eject discharged members and punish absentees, see that everyone dances and that no one hangs back. They also ride horses and if in battle their horses are wounded, they are painted with blood marks. If they kill an enemy, stripes are painted on the horse's thigh, one for each enemy killed. At the *tokala* ceremonies, the whip bearer sometimes stands in the center of the assembly and tells of his deeds and victories and when he finishes the members shout and start up the dancing again. The whip is supposed to have some medicine power by which the bearer is enabled to accomplish deeds in war: in fact, it is his duty to kill enemies.

When going to war the drum carrier usually takes the cover of the drum with him and replaces it on his return. In ordinary use, the ornamental cover is taken off, but in going about the circle, dancing, the cover is placed on the drum.

In ceremonies, the rattle carrier usually sits with the drummer. Two or four others sit with him using smaller rattles. They have their hair cut off closely except for a ridge over the center. They also paint their bodies and heads yellow. These extra men are members of the society and volunteer to have what is known as the "*tokala* hair cut." Eventually they let their hair grow and others volunteer to hold their office, that is, to get the *tokala* hair cut.

The two food bearers receive and distribute the food at the feasts. They also paint the candidates when installed. The presents given to the poor are usually distributed by this pair. One of the food bearers acts as servant to the leaders. At a feast he stands with a spoon in his hand and they sing a song for him during which he goes to the food and taking a spoonful, offers it to one of the leaders who tastes it and returns the spoon. Then he gets another spoonful for the second leader. In the *Sword* text we are told that in recent years a military sword was often substituted for the ladle as the insignia of the food bearer.

The members wear a kit-fox skin around the neck, the head before, the tail behind. To the nose part some small bags of medicine are attached. The edges, feet, and ears may be worked in porcupine quills and hung with bells according to the tastes of the individual owners. They take the jaw bones of the *tokala*, paint them red or blue (the old native colors), fasten them on a strip of otterskin or some similar material, and wear the bones on the forehead. On the back of the head is fastened a bunch of crow tail-feathers sidewise, and sticking up are two eagle feathers. All the members used this head regalia. Some reached their hair about $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. wide from the middle of the forehead to the back of the head leaving hair about $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, sticking up. Those who have their hair cut have a band of porcupine work

around their heads with ornaments on the sides of the face hanging down. The members are painted yellow, with red over the mouths. When participating in a dance, the officers paint their bodies yellow. The lay members do not paint, but dress in any way to suit their own tastes. When the lay members go to war, they may carry lances but only as weapons, not as emblems.

According to Sword's text, it was the rule to hold a formal reorganization meeting in the early spring before the summer camp was formed. Thus, the society would be ready to do *akicita* service, if called upon by the four head men or the head *akicita*. The first step in reorganization is the renewal of the lance and other regalia, it seemingly being the rule to make up new ones each season. A tipi is set up in the middle of the camp where this is done by experienced men. The materials are collected by a party of members who go in a band to different tipis, singing. If a certain tipi has a child they love, they sing there and the herald cries out, "My grandchild, I want to fix something, but haven't the materials (meaning beads, buckskin, sinew, etc.) and I have come to ask for them." Then the parents give the materials to the child and in some instances the child gives away a horse.

After suitable materials have been collected, the lances, etc., are made up, four days being required for this. Then the formal meeting is held. They take two tipi covers and make one tipi out of them, this affording space sufficient for a large feast. Two members are then sent out to solicit food. They call at the tipis of prominent men and leave a switch or small stick at each. Those receiving them are thereby under obligations to send over an ample supply of food. For this, prominent men are levied upon regardless of whether they are members or outsiders.

Then as has been said, a feast is made, all the *tokala* assemble. The crowd looking on is large. Then the chiefs decide on two young men who have killed enemies and distinguished themselves, whom they take to the center to be presented with the lances. Sometimes the men selected receive their summons with joy and sometimes otherwise.

The lances are stuck in the earth, near the middle, also the whip, pipe, and stick for spearing meat. Then a man who has been a lance carrier gets up and tells his experience, how he killed enemies, and presents the lances to the chosen men. The whip carrier is installed by someone who has carried a whip who goes through the ceremony of relating what he has done, gone out and struck an enemy, etc. One of the ex-pipe men tells how when he was the pipe man he killed or struck an enemy, and presents the people to the new pipe man. The other stick man does likewise. On these occasions the men do not relate any of the misfortunes that befell them, only their victories. Then the newly elected men give away horses and other

goods to the public, the old women usually get the lion's share on account of their boldness in appropriating everything. Songs are sung. They feast and dance and, of course, the spectators get some of the food too, and by their shouts raise the spirits of everyone.

Also, they have a special ceremony of cutting off the hair of two tokala. The large tipi is fixed as before, and the kettle made ready for a feast. Then when they are assembled, three of the tokala choose two men, who are then brought forward. On the other hand, a man may make a vow, "When I kill an enemy I will have a tokala hair cut." The young men are conducted to the center, seated on blankets and their long hair cut off with a knife, leaving a ridge along the center. Sometimes the hair is pulled out, leaving the head very sore.

The candidates give away horses and goods to the poor and needy, to those to whom they owe presents, or just cast out property and let the public grab for it. If they are casting a horse away, they throw a stick and that is equivalent to a horse.

The regular ceremonies of the tokala may take place at any time. When the tribal camp circle was formed they had a special tipi within the circle. The first tokala members on the ground put up this tipi and prepared a feast for the others. After a formal meeting in this tipi the tokala marched around the camp circle stopping to dance before the tipis of leading men. Here they sat in a circle with the drummers and singers in the center. When the appropriate songs were reached they rose and danced towards the center. The whip bearers usually danced around outside and pretended to whip the dancers into a bunch. The head of the tipi was expected to come out with a pipe and in the name of one of his children or other relatives give a horse to some poor person. The pipe is smoked by the drummers and male singers. Nothing is given to the society. Thus, the tokala proceed until they completely encircle the camp, reaching the tipi from which they set out. A somewhat similar ceremonial parade occurs whenever new members or officers are installed. During the dances around the inside of camp, if a young man belonging to the society does not participate, his blanket is seized and torn up.

Boys of fifteen, or even younger were often taken in, as well as men in middle life. The important offices seldom went to boys but to someone experienced on the warpath. If a young man has killed an enemy, stolen horses, etc., and his deeds come to the notice of the two leaders, they have the herald call him to the feast and make him a member of the society. Once entering the organization, a man remained for an indefinite period, retiring if at all, on his own motion.

When an officer wishes to retire he makes a feast, or calls a meeting of

the tokala in his camp. He announces his intention and states his reasons. His resignation is considered. If he is not in good standing or his reasons are trivial, they acquiesce promptly; otherwise, they plead with him. Sometimes a kind of committee is appointed to labor with him for a period. They may even give him costly presents as an inducement. Should he still persist in his resignation, a vacancy will be declared and a new candidate invested with his regalia. The ex-officer must then return all presents received. He is now out and cannot become even a lay member. All are agreed that a resignation or a dismissal forever disqualifies one for membership in the same organization. Incidentally, it may be noted that a dismissal bars one from being chosen by any other similar society.

The following statement of rules and ideals was given by an informant to Dr. J. R. Walker: — After the tokala had taken charge of a meeting and placed the proper officers about the tipi, they sang a tokala song and danced the tokala dance in which only the tokala may participate. Then the two who had informed the candidate that he had been chosen, led him before the custodian of the pipe and told the custodian that the tokala had chosen this one to be made a member of the association, that they had informed him of this, and that he had consented to assume the duties and obligations of a tokala.

The custodian of the pipe then explained to him the various officers at meeting and what their duties were, i. e., that his own duties were to preside at that meeting, subject to the advice of the four councilors, and to hold and care for the mysterious pipe of the tokala (c'aⁿduhupa wakan); that the custodian of the drum held and cared for the mysterious drum of the tokala (c'aⁿc'iga wakan); that the four lance bearers carried the lances that belonged to the association which were peculiar and distinguished the association like banners; that the bearers of the whips had whips of a peculiar kind with which they would scourge anyone who was derelict to his vows and obligations as a tokala; and that the four distributors of food were to teach generosity. Also, that the singers were those who chose the songs and led in the singing.

When these explanations were ended the custodian of the drum began drumming and the singers began a tokala song in which all joined. All the tokala present, except the custodian of the drum and the singers danced and if a tokala present did not dance, the bearers of the whips lashed him until he joined in the dancing.

After this, the custodian of the pipe invoked Yata and Iya for their aid in the ceremonies and their propitiation in regard to the candidate. These are superhuman beings, the sons of Tate, and are referred to as Taku Skaⁿ-skaⁿ, or, the spirit which presides over moving, hunting, and war, and

Iⁿyaⁿ, the stone spirit, or, the spirit that presides over bravery, generosity, and endurance. Originally, it appears that they were the offspring of Tate, the wind, and were the North and East wind. They also invoked the four directions. They invoked Iⁿyaⁿ whom they called "Tuⁿkas'ila," the revered or reverend one. Their prayer was:—

"Help me in what I undertake.
Be with me in my undertakings.
Have pity on me.
Help me to defeat others."

After this invocation, the candidate is called before the custodian and remains standing during the time when the lectures are delivered. These lectures are given by the custodian of the pipe and the councilors or by any distinguished tokala. They inculcate bravery, generosity, chivalry, morality, and fraternity for fellow members, from the standpoint of the Indians. Formerly they taught that one should be brave before friends and foes alike and undergo hardship and punishment with fortitude; that one should give to the needy, whoever they may be, excepting an enemy, of everything one possessed; that one should search for the poor, weak, or friendless and give such all the aid one could. They taught that a tokala should not steal except from the enemy; should not lie, except to the enemy; and should set an example by complying with the recognized rules of the hunt and camp. If a fellow-tokala were in trouble of any kind he should help him to the best of his ability and if a tokala died or was killed and left a widow he should keep her from want. They also taught him not to take the wife of a brother tokala without his consent; that he should treat all his women the same, showing no more favor to one than to another; that if he captured women, he should treat them the same as his own women, and his children by such a woman should be treated as children by women of his own people; that if he put a woman away he should see that she was not in want until some other man took her; and that if a fellow tokala had no wife he should give him one of his women if he had more than two.

If the candidate agreed to be governed by these rules he was then declared a tokala and was presented with a lance, smaller than those of the lance carriers, and was instructed to preserve it as a reminder of his duties and obligations.

The singers then began a tokala song and all the members joined in a dance. While the custodian of the drum drummed energetically, the new member was first lashed by the bearers of the whips until he danced vigorously and the bearers of the lances waved them over him while he danced. After this dance, the distributors of the food served all present with food

which had been prepared, serving the new member after all others had been served. Then another tokala song was sung and a tokala dance danced, after which the meeting was continued usually with the tokala songs and dances as long as desired by the attendants.

Dr. J. R. Walker has collected a number of Oglala manuscripts written by old men who learned to use the Riggs system of writing in middle life. Among these we find one on the tokala by George Sword. Mr. Charles Nines has made both an interlinear and a free translation of which we append the latter:—

This is a description of the fox society which originated long ago. From time to time they renew the insignia for each other. This is done in the spring before the winter camp breaks up, but after the snow has disappeared. First, the leading members, eight, six, or even four, as the case may be, meet to renew the regalia. They call a feast and dance for the members at which time they announce what is to be done. They also select a good man who has a praiseworthy woman, with few or no children to care for, of whom they request the loan of a tipi. If the request is granted, this tipi from that time on becomes the tokala tipi (tokala okola kio'iyé tiyotipi). To this tipi the aforesaid head men resort at once to prepare the regalia. If they know of someone having the necessary materials for the regalia (caⁿwowaⁿye) they on a certain day march there side by side singing tokala songs. Before his tipi they stand while the herald sings out, "Brave Loud-voiced-hawk an enemy killed." Also, a man who has been wounded sings, "Ho, Loud-voiced-hawk, hear your friends. They will come to smoke your tobacco." Usually they say this.

Before this procession some tokala have made the rounds of the tipis informing the people as to what was wanted and finding out what each family could furnish. It is to these places the singers go, but the herald does not directly call for any of these things, for the host knows what is expected of him and has provided them.

So they stand side by side at the tipi door of Loud-voiced-hawk and sing songs. If he can afford it he fills and carries the pipe. A child carries the feathers, either a boy or a girl, usually his own child. They come out together and the child presents the feathers, he hands over the filled pipe which they light and smoke. If he can afford it, he gives the pipe also.

In like manner, all the materials needed are given them.

When all the material is ready, two men are appointed to arrange the tipi. They cover the place at the rear of the tipi with sage grass, make an earth square (kolapapi) where sweetgrass is burned. All the material to be used they hold over the smoke, after which the regalia are made. The two men selected always remain in the tipi while making these things.

They make things thus. They take a large hollow tree for the making of a drum, cut off the ends, scrape out the middle, and cover with the skin of a black-tail deer. Around the side was porcupine quill work and at the edges fringes of skin with bells and here and there scalps and eagle plumes. The drum holders consist of four forked sticks, quill-wrapped to the forks and with feathers on the end.

They make a pipe wrapped with porcupine quills. They make it thus. There is one common style of pipe but the stem of this pipe is quite flat and narrow at the mouthpiece with quill work from there down. The end of the stem they wrap with strips of buckskin and tie there rawhide, or if a mallard drake has been killed, they use some skin bearing green feathers.

Then two lances the length of a man are made. They resemble bows but are not flat and have bone points. The shafts are wrapped with decorated strips of deerskin though the grip (oyuspe) is usually differently wrapped. At the butt they fastened bunches of bird feathers and tied an eagle feather to a longer string. They string real bows with sinew but these they speak of as "without strings."¹

Then they make two rattles of rawhide, fill them with earth and when the skin is dry shake out the earth and pour into them small pebbles. At the end of the bulb various feathers are fastened.

They had one or two forks (caⁿwiyuze) for taking out food. Formerly, these were made of wood, but since white men came, a sword, wrapped with otterskin and hung with eagle feathers is used.

They had two whips (icasape) with two lashes for each. Part of the handle was notched. They string a kit-fox skin to them and at the place to tie them they tie two strings (woyuska) and also ornaments at the tie-notch.

They appoint a herald and select four leaders (wiyuke'an).

When all this has been done, they take down two tipis and combine them to make a cover. There they will give out the regalia. They select four male singers and make four drumsticks with ceremony. On a certain day they set up the tipi, collect all their regalia and have a feast and dance. Two men who are trusted and honored step to the middle of the tipi and stand close together in secret consultation. Then they go out to get candidates. The first one they bring feigns refusal and acts as if unwilling to serve but they drag him forward and place him in the center. Then the women trill (ongnahcicala) and sing for the one brought forward.

They first select and place the drum keeper; (2) the pipe keeper; (3) the lance bearer; (4) the rattle keeper; (5) the whip bearer; (6) the food passers; (7) the leaders; (8) the drummers; (9) the herald. They do not break up when this is finished for now the newly installed must give out presents. Then a member who has killed enemies takes up all the regalia and recounts his deeds with them. Then returns to each his regalia (caⁿwowaⁿya) and the meeting breaks up.

Afterwards those who have been given regalia divide into small groups or parties and give feasts one at a time. When all have feasted the members paint themselves red and parade around the camp, occasionally stopping to dance. The last time they stop to dance, the pipe bearer passes down the entire line, first past the file of those bearing lances, whips, etc., then the main body. All now follow in order of rank and deeds, first the lance bearers in order of their rank. First the pipe bearer goes to his position, then the others in succession, then the main body moves up on a run. When the pipe bearer faces about and halts, the others gather around them in a circle and halt. Then the drummers bring up the drum and the female singers take their places. Then they sing, beat and rattle the drum. Those who have regalia hold them up and dance. All dance except the women and men singing. The dance is named caⁿwowaⁿye kecan wacipi (the dance in pursuit of caⁿwowaⁿye). When one receiving the regalia has killed an enemy, it is well for everyone to know of it for it is a great deed. When a bearer of regalia or even a lay member is lost in battle, they sing, "Herald have you heard why a comrade returns not, ha (huwo)." The women trill and lament.

Those having killed enemies, sing together thus: "This token is awarded because

¹ This bow lance is quite a different thing from the real medicine bow. Vol. I, p. 50.

he killed on horseback (*wankan tanhan kte*). Since he killed one in that way, let the token be fully displayed." Once again they sing and one sees many run lined up for the ceremony. With a trilling cry (*ongnahcicala*) it ends.

Calico gave the following account of the origin of the *tokala*:—

Once, when my great grandfather's cousin was on a war party he injured his foot so that it was impossible for him to go on. The party left him behind with food and shelter. There he stayed while his wound was healing. At last he was able to start home and set out on the journey. The first evening he came by a small stream. During the night he heard a noise which as it came nearer he made out to be the cry of a herald. Then he saw him approaching. The herald said, "I have been sent to invite you by one who never runs away in battle, who never turns back from an enemy. (He heard drums beating.) There is to be a dance and you are to join something. I shall come for you when all is ready."

The next morning the man went on with his pack of buffalo meat and about dark came in sight of a camp which he took to be that of his own people. Then the herald appeared again, saying, "This is the *tokala*. We shall make you one of them. Now, look at all the people. When you get back home you shall organize the *tokala*." All this time the man supposed the crowd was from his own tribe, but it was not. The herald pointed to the lance bearers and said, "When you return you are to make lances just like these. The arrows of the enemy will not be able to injure those who carry them." In this manner the man was instructed as to all the objects, medicines, and rules for the society. After this he went to his own people. There he asked that a tipi be set up outside and prepared for a ceremony. He requested that it be lined with sweetgrass and when all was ready he entered and told the people what had happened to him. Then he set out to organize the society.

Afterwards, in thinking over his experiences he concluded that the society must have been given him not by human beings but by kit-foxes masking as persons. Before this there was a *tokala* society but the one organized by this man was different, finally the two were combined into one.

CROW-OWNERS.

The *kaⁿgi yuha* (they that have the crow) was an organization similar to the *tokala*, the scheme being as follows:—

2 leaders	4 lance bearers
2 rattle bearers	x lay members
2 pipe keepers	4 drum bearers and singers, two of whom carry
2 short lance bearers	rattles and sit about the drum
2 crow skin bearers	1 herald

The two rattle bearers gave the signals for the dancing. They carried globular rattles with crow feathers on the ends and otter fur-wrapped handles.

The two pipes had quill-wrapped stems. It is said that originally they had one pipe carrier, but later they installed two. It is customary among

all societies that when leaving a certain tipi to go to a dance, the pipe carrier goes ahead smoking the pipe. After the dance a feast is held and then the pipe is again smoked.

In the early spring the society is reorganized like the tokala, certain members going about the camp soliciting the necessary materials.

The two short crow-feather lance bearers were important functionaries. Their lances were wrapped with otterskin and crow feathers and they wore sashes. When attacking the enemy they were required to thrust the lances into the ground and not leave the spot unless released by some of their party pulling up the lances. The selection and installation of these officers was therefore a solemn ceremony. The lance was thrust into the ground, the chosen candidate brought in by two marshals and forced into a seat before it. At this, the crier began to declaim and the lay members to sing songs recounting the glorious fates of former lance bearers. As a rule, the candidate rises and takes another seat to signify his refusal. Then some of the members talk kindly and persuasively with him while the others sing. After an interval, the marshals again seat him before the lance. Should he again decline, he is seriously lectured as to his duty, while his relatives may heap presents upon him. Again, he is led up to the seat. If he refuse now, the members and the crowd join in ridicule and impromptu songs of derision.

Upon being installed the lance bearer must at once proceed to war to tempt his fate, or to test his virtue. Should he return alive, and it is the duty of his brethren to save him if possible, he may, if especially deserving, be allowed to retire honorably.

The lances are short and covered with otterskin: at the top there is an eagle feather and at the other end, a spear. Near the spear is fastened the neck and head of a crow. They have some owl feathers at the point where the eagle feather is. The presentation of lances is the same as among the tokala.

The four lance bearers carry very long feather decorated staffs. They also must take the front, but are not bound to stand in their tracks. Their responsibilities and installation are similar to the lance men of the tokala. They paint their faces black or mark them with stripes of the same color.

The lay members are about fifty in number. They blacken their limbs and bodies and tie pieces of skunk skin on their elbows and ankles. They wear the skin of a crow around their neck, an eagle tail feather in the hair over the forehead, and three or four eagle feathers in the back of the head. In their dances they carry a quiver, bow, gun, or arrows. The requirements and conditions of membership are the same as for the tokala.

The four drummers each carry a small hand drum, painted black. The society has a tipi within the camp circle and dances around similar to the

tokala. When they get back to their tipi, the lance men unwrap the shafts and bundle up their regalia. Then a feast is prepared. The marshals bring in members who failed to attend the ceremony and set before them a large portion of food. If they cannot eat it all unaided, they must give horses to the poor.

They do not have a large drum and so borrow small drums. The pipe carriers dance in the middle, the lance carriers on each side, and while the singing and dancing are going on, guns are shot off. They also have a feather in their heads for every enemy they kill, usually an eagle feather. Also, they have a red painted stick in which for every time they are shot, they make a notch. If they were shot with an arrow, a feather is split, painted red, and worn in the hair. Also, all the different societies paint themselves with blood stain marks wherever they have been shot by an enemy.

At their dances and when they are to charge in battle, all the members paint their bodies black, throwing aside their blankets and leggings.

THE BRAVES.

It is clear from all accounts that this organization was generally regarded as the akicita society par excellence. This prominence may account for the fact that its organization is in one respect more complex than that of the preceding: i. e., we find within it some puzzling sub-groups and also a number of more or less independent societies with identical songs.

The caⁿte tiⁿza (the dauntless) proper were organized as follows:—

2 leaders	1 herald
2 war-bonnet wearers	1 food passer
4 lance bearers (2 crooked lances)	4 drummers
2 whip bearers	8 singers, four of each sex
30 to 40 lay members	

The pair of leaders, or brave-chiefs, are the head of the organization and each has an ordinary pipe.

The bonnet-braves wear headdresses with horns and are sometimes spoken of as sash bearers. They also have a small stake, or picket pin, with which they fasten themselves down before the enemy, where they remain until released or until the enemy is driven off. The manner of their selection and installation is similar to that of the kangi yuha.

Their bonnet, or headgear, is made of a sort of tight cap of buckskin and a pair of buffalo horns split so as to make them small. On the front there is usually some beadwork, while hanging from the rear and down the center

of the back is a strip of porcupine work like that on the bottom of tobacco pouches, about a foot or more wide, all yellow.

All regalia are renewed in the spring, as previously stated. The four lance bearers are analogous to those of other societies. They make the straight lances with a spear on the end and a piece of red flannel about 4 inches wide the full length of the spear with a row of black feathers alternating with a row of white at short spaces on the flannel which is tied to the spear.

At a feast the food carrier takes a spoonful of food and raises it praying, "Wakan tanka, have mercy on us and let the tribe live on"; then to the west, that is, to the thunder, "Help us with strength so that the tribe will live"; then to the north, that is, to the wind, "Send us the cold winds and let the tribe live"; then to the east, that is, to the sun, "Shine out in full to us and let the tribe live"; and then to the south, invoking good winds. They believe that the south winds generally bring sickness. Then he pours the spoonful of food into a hole in the earth. Then he dips some out of his bowl, serves each chief and retires, and everyone is served with food. The whip carrier then serves the two food carriers with food and one of the pipe carriers says, "All the braves," the rest reply, "How," and the feast begins.

If one of the chiefs has had intercourse with his wife the day previous to the feast he must refuse the first taste of food given him by the food carrier, but may later join in the feast.

The whips have broad flat handles with saw-like edges, lashes of rawhide, and guards of otterskin. Their owners wear two feathers at the back of the head.

The lay members all carry rattles of ring shape and bone whistles. When the herald announces to a candidate that he is to be a brave, he tells him that when he attends the dances of the society he must paint his face red, wear an eagle tail feather in his hair, have a rattle with a tokala hide at the handle, and wear the regular form of leggings, moccasins, etc.

The drums are of the ordinary hand type.

The cante tinza have a special tipi like the tokala and the kangi yuha which is placed within the camp circle. Their ceremonies are similar also. They circle the camp, marching two abreast while the two whip men ride horses and hold the flanks. When the tipi of a head man is reached, they form a circle and dance as previously stated. Thus, they proceed until their own tipi is reached, which they enter, pack away their regalia, and feast. All members are expected to join in the songs and use the rattles they carry. In a battle some must sing to encourage the others. Each member carries a bit of calamus root as medicine which he chews and spits over himself to induce courage, etc. If in a fight a member becomes confused

or panic, the others spit this root over him. There is no definite form of painting for ceremonies, but when going to war two black marks are made diagonally across the face.

If the braves go out and gain a victory, they braid their hair and fix it with ornaments and paint their faces, some blue or black and some red, and dance with a scalp fastened to the end of a stick. Also, the hands of the enemy are fastened to the ends of separate sticks. In the center of the dancing place, a stick is placed, painted with transverse black stripes to the top. About this pole the hands are fastened. The men painted their faces black and striped their bodies with black paint (sometimes all black). They call this dance woktagli (kills come back), or, iwakic'ipi (they dance for it). It is not peculiar to the braves and is danced by everybody.

If in a war party, one becomes cowardly, his fellow braves call upon him to be brave and not to flee, that all must stand together. This is to stimulate bravery. Then if a member is killed the rest become very much wrought up and mourn for him, the men and women cutting their hair off, and the men thrusting sticks into their arms. The women cut themselves below the knee and above the elbows so that the blood runs freely.

An informant says that they do not formally quit from the braves, they may refrain from attending, but the rule is that they may not quit. In all the other societies one could be formally released.

If a leader or any officer is killed the other officers council as to who shall fill the vacancy and select some young man who is noted for his bravery. Usually in filling vacancies, the two chiefs consider the desirability of the membership and tell the herald, who shouts, "If you hear me, come at once." Then they present the candidate with all the regalia necessary and he repays with a horse. Sometimes the horse is presented to an orphan or widow or someone in need. The herald tells him, "You are selected to fill the vacancy on account of — dying or being killed, and the braves now have you as a member."

In the center of the camp circle the braves have a tipi called "tipi-iyokihe" (tipi next to). They have meetings of every sort there. Anyone, though he does not belong to the braves, may go there and eat as there is always food there and always everybody is eating.

At a feast the two leaders may formally speak in memory of the braves that were, and taking up a portion of food offer it to the north, east, south, and west, then put it into the fire, on the ground, or on the smudge. If one has more food than he can eat, a sweetgrass smudge is made after which he is free to remove it. Members staying away from the ceremony will be visited by the whip men and have a good robe cut to pieces. They may escape the penalty by pledging a feast for the society.

Our informants were constantly stating that there were changes in the organization from time to time brought about by dreams of a shaman or by mutual consent. In some cases this led to the formation of a distinct society which was still regarded as the legitimate offspring of the parent. This seems to have been the character of the black-chins, the no-flight society, the big braves, the long braves, calf-eaters, war braves, and no-breech-cloth-dancers. Practically all of these were regarded as distinct societies of braves, though some of them may have been sub-orders within the original brave society. Thus, an informant states that some of the braves wore their robes with slits at the bottom in several places, and were named accordingly. At one time those wearing this peculiar style of robe were opposed to government issues. Then some played the game of shooting-coat and were named accordingly. Some of the separate organizations of braves had a few peculiarities some of which we shall describe.

Among tribes having age qualifications for societies, it is not uncommon to find special organizations for very young boys. Among the Oglala, it is said, boys often banded together and mimicked the societies for men.

Thus, a man says that at ten years he was a member of the boy-braves, a temporary association of a few month's duration in imitation of the cante tinza. They gave a dance which their adult relatives attended and gave away horses and other property to the poor. The same afternoon the boys set out in a mimic war party. They stayed in the hills all night. The next day they fell in with two stray bulls. These they boldly attacked and one boy was gored to death. The first one to strike a bull got the chief coup, as was the custom.

Our informants did not consider these as true societies, but as having an important function in the training or proving of boys for membership in the akicita organizations. Such tests made the selection of suitable candidates easy. A boy boldly striking bulls with his mimic lance was likely to be chosen as a lance bearer in one of the societies as soon as sufficiently mature. Mimic hunting parties were frequent and when a boy showed great bravery, he was given permission to go out with a war party. Boys' associations also fought mimic battles with each other using small bows, sometimes actually killing some of the combatants.

The Black-Chins (iku sapa). This organization had the greater part of the cante tinza ritual with a few different songs. When they acted as akicita they painted their chins black from the mouth down on each side. Other societies simply paint a black spot or two on the cheek or a black stripe crosswise on the face to denote akicita service. There were about fifty members. Four of them wore headdresses of bunched owl feathers with six eagle tail-feathers in the center. They also wore sashes. When

these are invested with their regalia, they strip to the breech cloth (formerly nude) and rub over the hands a mixture of powdered calamus root, tallow, and earth paint, then pick up coals of fire and carry them into the tipi. Four days are required for the entire ceremony. There are two leaders to guide and instruct in all ceremonies.

They sit opposite each other and sing the songs of the ritual while preparing the regalia, etc. There are twelve male singers, half sitting on one side of the tipi, half on the other. Four virgins are called, if quill work or sewing is needed on the new regalia, but they sit outside. When a sash bearer has been chosen, they make a bed of sage grass for his seat, paint his face red with a black circle around over the chin. With four movements, the headdress, the sash, and the whistle are put on him. Then the whole society marches around the camp, dancing before the tipis of the head men. In the dance, one leader is mounted and rides around the dancers as if forcing them up together. When they return to their tipi, the relatives of the candidate provide four kettles of food. Inside, a stick is set up before the candidate upon which his bonnet may be hung to keep it from the ground. When the food is brought inside, a morsel is thrown into the fire and one placed in the mouth of the candidate. There are four banner bearers and four small hand drums, but no rattles.

On the warpath, the four bonnet men must be in the lead for no one should go in front of them. In this and some other features they resemble the miwatani. Thus it is said, "You will see no others," the idea being that these four are so conspicuous. When mounted, their horses are painted red. The power of their regalia and medicine was so great that they were seldom wounded.

At home, these four could go into any tipi when meat was being cooked and after sounding their whistles take any or all of the meat. In all this, they moved very slowly and stealthily. (The dog society does the same, but runs fast.)

When the regalia of the four bonnet men get old, they cannot be thrown away, but at a ceremony are buried in the middle of the tipi. They must always be put on with four movements. Each of the four men has a tiny bag of medicine which he retains after retiring from office.

The bonnet is kept in a cylindrical rawhide case. No menstruating woman dare come near this at any time, nor any man recently with a woman. One of the bonnet men so associating must bathe early in the morning and refrain from smoking during the day.

The No-flight Society. According to Thunder-bear this society (napes'ni, also "lone braves") was organized about fifty years ago and flourished about thirteen years. Its ritual had most of the cante tinza songs and its members

were always invited to attend the ceremonial feasts of the *cante tinza*. On the other hand, it was regarded as a distinct organization. The chief distinguishing trait was the rule forbidding anyone to retreat from the enemy, all being required to fall or win together. The character of the *napesni* is well shown in the following narrative by Thunder-bear:—

An Oglala man by the name of Wakan-eagle first organized the No-Flight society. He was a very brave man. He selected four brave young men. These young men were orphans and had no immediate relatives. He said, "I have invited you to form a society. Are you willing to take part?" The young men asked Wakan-eagle for an explanation as to the obligations and conditions of membership. Then he said, "When we go to war and meet enemies we must not run back, but must stay together and stand by each other to the last." The young men agreed to this. Then Wakan-eagle sang some songs. Some of these songs were those of the brave society. The young men were pleased with the songs and requested him to sing them again. Then they called in fourteen other young men to take part in the organization. They named it *napesni*. Then they made two small drums, two rattles and whistles like those used by the brave society. Each member was given a feather to wear cross-wise at the back of the head. In singing, they sang the brave songs and in these songs recounted their war deeds.

Then they set out for war, well provided with horses, guns, bows and arrows. They did not carry lances. When they were attacked by the enemy one of the four young men dismounted and took his stand. The other three became afraid and remained on horseback.

Now when the society came back from war the three cowards were discharged and three other young men selected. There were no special regalia for the members and each worked according to his own dreams and powers. In the course of years all the members died or were killed in battle. When Wakan-eagle was about to die he called the people around him and advised them to discontinue the organization. So it was never reorganized.

An unusual feature of this society is the selling of the four bonnets. As a rule, the entire four transfer their regalia at once and the initiates give them horses and other presents. This is directly contrary to the procedure in other societies. Further, the retiring members remain as lay members or other officers, not being required to retire. An informant said, "As these bonnets are *wakan*, so they purchase them of the former owners and do not receive them from the society." The significance of this remark is unknown. He regarded it as the most powerful (*wakan*) of all societies.

Another curious feature is that in the dance around the camp after a return from war, a sister or other young woman may hold the sash of a bonnet man. They may also be staked down by their sashes and released by a woman. This seems to symbolize what is expected on the warpath. We found no evidence that these women were thereby pledged to the man, for they were usually his sisters.

Not all our informants were agreed as to the relation of the *napesni* to the *cante tinza*, some asserting that it was only a subdivision.

Big-Braves. An informant says that this is an *akicita* society. They maintain order in camp as well as on hunts, etc. Bravery plays a great part in this society and there is much competition among the members. They have a great deal of dancing and the society is very popular among the young people. For the dances they put on various ornaments, but there is no special regalia.

THE BADGERS.

The tradition is that the *ihoka* (badger) was a Crow society similar to the Oglala *tokala*. According to Calico, the Rosebud divisions brought it down from the Crow and passed it on to other divisions of the Dakota. The term *ihoka* seems to mean badger-mouth and was explained as referring to the characteristic grimaces and growlings of the badger when attacked. The society became extinct about twenty years back and was in existence at least sixty years ago. Its organization is as follows:—

2 leaders	2 whip bearers
1 drum keeper	x lay members
2 pipe keepers	1 herald
4 lances, 2 crooked	4 singers (virgins)
2 lances, buckskin wrapped	

The two leaders with the drum keeper, constitute a governing council. The drum was very large, made from the section of a cottonwood trunk. In use, it was supported by four ornamental forked sticks, bearing four feathers each. The sides of the drum were decorated with feathers and quill work.

The pipe keepers were important personages. The tobacco used in the pipes must be that originated by the Pawnee (Palani). (It is said that an Arikara first received tobacco from beings beneath the water and that from his tribe it passed to the Crow. The Oglala claim to have received their tobacco in trade from other tribes, though occasionally it was planted. However, a tobacco planting ceremony was not observed.) If the pipe keepers go to war, they fill the pipes, close the bowls with tallow and leave them at home. If they return victorious, the pipes are smoked at the celebrating ceremony. (All war parties of the tribe do this with a pipe, see p. 59). At a feast the pipe men place a particle of food in a hole as in case of ashes, previously referred to.

The trimmings for the four otter-wrapped lances are kept in special bundles and handled much like the pipe bundles. They are kept outside on a pole. There are certain men who are charged with the duty of dressing the lances and keeping the trimmings in repair. They must be paid for their services. A sweetgrass smudge is necessary when these regalia are handled.

The whip bearers are the marshals (*akicita*), as in other societies and in formal processions ride horses. They may punish absentees by cutting up blankets and, if resented, whip the culprit.

In the costume of lay members there seems to have been great freedom, many using otterskin collars, others bone-tube breast pieces. In painting, they had the curious custom of permitting the individual to choose his own mode, provided another duplicated it. Thus, in the dance procession, when they went in pairs, each line would be uniform.

The four singers are virgins. If they fall from grace, they are dismissed; if they marry, they must get the consent of the society which will make them valuable wedding presents. The husbands are taken into the society. At certain times these virgins may make a feast for which they have a special ritual containing a very long and difficult song, which they sing four times in succession.

Like other societies the *ihoka* march around the camp dancing before certain tipis at the close of a formal ceremony. In the procession they march two abreast, the pipe men, the crooked lances, the straight lances, the short lances, the lay members, the singers, and the drummers, while in front rides one of the whip bearers, the other in the rear. They always start up on a trot, then slow up, the singers strike up, then the men face backward and dance. Then they proceed as before, stopping again to dance, etc. When before a head man's tipi they form a circle around the singers and dance outward with certain whoops and calls. In the meantime, the herald addresses the host, explaining how he is being honored and inviting him to come out and speak. He may bring out a favorite son or daughter and give away horses or other property to the poor in their name. Presents are rarely given to members. The host may deliver a formal address. Thus, the society proceeds until its own tipi is reached.

If in battle a member falls wounded, his brothers must save him. Those with fast horses must aid those with slow ones. Members must manifest a brotherly feeling for each other. Like the badger, they must put up a strenuous fight.

THE SOTKA.

The sotka yuha was, it is said, learned from the Crow Indians. Calico claims to have been a charter member some forty-six years ago and says the society was abandoned after a career of about ten years. So far, we have not obtained a satisfactory translation of the term, sotka. It is said to imply a smooth unadorned stick; hence, they that have empty lances, referring to the custom of investing certain new members with plain lances to which they may tie feathers if coups are counted. Naturally, many men never acquired the right to decorate their lances, remaining simply sotka yuha.

This society presents some unusual features. In the first place, it has an absolute limit to its membership, there being twenty-four seats (some say twenty-two). In the second place, a candidate is given a definite seat. No other member ever sits in any but his own seat; hence, unless the roll is complete there are empty seats. New members can be taken in only when there is a vacancy and are then chosen to fill a particular seat. There is also a special mourning ceremony. If a lance bearer is killed, the whole society goes into mourning. In formal meeting, the relatives of the dead appear bearing sundry objects formerly his personal property. They distribute these relics singly to the members of the sotka, in each instance putting their hands on the head of the recipient and wailing. They ask for vengeance and those to whom property is given must take to the warpath. The idea is that each object calls for a coup or a scalp. When the party returns with trophies, the relatives and members braid their hair and remove other signs of mourning. However, other societies had a similar custom.

Our informants recognized a similarity between this society and the ihoka. The ceremonies with the pipes and lances are about the same. Three of the ihoka songs are used by the sotka, but the others and the dances are different. The plan of organization is as follows:—

2 leaders	1 drum keeper
4 lance bearers	1 herald
2 pipe keepers	1 food passer
2 whip bearers	8 singers

x lay members

The lance bearers have shields and lances. These lances are never dismantled, but wrapped up are hung outside with the shield, etc. They are used in counting coup on the enemy. Upon receiving the lance, the candidate must go to war and it must be his only weapon. He must watch the fight, if an enemy fall, rush up to get the coup. In this, they try to beat

the other members. It is after coups are gained, that feathers are tied on the lances. If a lance bearer kill an enemy he turns it back to its former owner, who is then bound to receive it and go on the warpath. He may, however, be excused from the office under certain conditions. The pipes are similar to those used in the ihoka and have like rules.

The whip bearers may punish absentees by cutting up blankets and whipping. The drum is like that used in the ihoka. If the two virgin singers fall into temptation, they are dismissed and publicly defamed.

Some informants place this society as superior to the ihoka, but there seems to have been no difference in the ages of members and the entrance requirements, nor a tendency of promotion from one to the other.

WIC'ISKA.

The wic'iska (white marked) society seems to have been a branch of the sotka since its ritual contained most of the sotka songs. In common with the sotka it has three ihoka songs also. It is said, that Old-man-afraid-of-his-horses introduced the wic'iska upon his return from a visit to some northern tribe. It became extinct about thirty years ago. Its organization is as follows:—

2 pipe keepers (formerly but one)	1 herald
2 feather bonnets	1 food passer
4 lance bearers	1 drummer
2 whip bearers	4 female singers and volunteer man
x lay members	

In the spring men gather up materials to make new regalia. They go out as usual in search of eagle feathers, red and blue flannel, buckskin, and otterskin. In the meantime four men, old men who have been through all this and act as instructors, sit and smoke until they come back as if they owned the tipi, in fact, they stay there and sleep there with the material. Two are appointed to make the necessary articles. The bonnet is made of a buckskin cap with the buffalo horns trimmed down so they will be light, and a beaded band on the forehead. On top of the head is a bunch of strips of rabbit or eagle down. On the back is a strip of heavy buffalo rawhide about four inches wide with red flannel sewed on a row of eagle feathers like on the tail of a war-bonnet.

The pipes are similar to those used in the ihoka.

The office of bonnet bearers (those who wear the bonnets) is not often filled, as it is considered very dangerous because the wearers of the bonnet were usually killed or wounded.

The four lance men have a pair of crooked lances and a pair of straight ones. One of these seems to have been under obligations to stand at his post before the enemy. The two crooked lances are wrapped with otterskin. At four different places the otterskin is slit in two and at the end of each piece hangs an eagle feather. The other lances had a strip of red flannel, a strip of blue flannel, and were wrapped with sinew so that the blue and red showed in succession. A smaller shaft, the length of the lance, was tied at intervals. At the end, sticking straight out was an eagle feather. At four different places three eagle feathers fastened together in a row were hung.

The whip bearers wore bunches of split owl feathers on the head and two eagle tail feathers. The whip was made with nicks on it and brass nails on the handle. Also, it had a foxskin for a guard. It was decorated with otterskin and eagle feathers.

The informant states that there should be four drum carriers. He says originally there were four drum carriers, but that later there was only one who had charge of a large drum.

The number of members was unlimited. They had no special way of painting for the dances, but everyone dressed to suit his own taste and to look as well as possible.

In the dance, the circle closes inward to the center. Guns are fired repeatedly. The two whip bearers are mounted. At the close of a dance, members recount their deeds. After the cheering, the dance is taken up again, and so on. The leader has a rattle with which he makes signals. The rule is to dance around the camp as other societies do.

The following personal narrative of a member in this organization contains many points of interest:—

They discarded some of the songs of the sotka and took on all of the wiciska songs. He joined the sotka when seventeen years old and the next year killed three enemies. The following winter he stole a great many horses from the Shoshone and was shot many times while driving them away. There were fifteen men in the war party. The next spring, when he was twenty years old, the Crow came down and stole many horses; they trailed them and killed four. He killed one and brought back the horses. That winter he went to the Crow with a war party and killed one of the two men killed. The summer after the next they made a morning charge on the Shoshone and stole a bunch of horses. They did not make a stand in fighting because the enemy were too numerous. This was in the spring. Later he was chosen one of the blotaunka. This was on the war party to the Crow and he was given a rattle in the ceremony as noted on p. 67. Now, the following fall they went to the Crow. He was not selected by the blotaunka to make the first charge because his horse had a large ankle. Three others sneaked away in spite of the akicita watching them and encountered the Crow. In the fierce struggle that followed he was shot in the breast. One of the enemy struck him after he had fallen, but the rest beat off the Crow and he was taken care of by his people. The following spring, the wiciska gave him a lance on account of his record of bravery.

In general it seems that the ihoka, sotka, and wiciska form a kind of cycle in that all appear closely related, thus putting them in contrast to the other three (tokala, cante tinza and kangī yuha) that also form a kind of cycle. It is not improbable that the ihoka was the original society from which the other two sprang as rival organizations.

HEAD MEN'S SOCIETIES.

While it is clear from the preceding that there are no age distinctions among the societies rendering akicita service, there are nevertheless a group of organizations made up of older men. The most distinguished of these is the chiefs society which seems to have been peculiar to the Red-cloud division, as stated in the section on tribal government. After the two tribal divisions had combined at Pine Ridge Agency some of the younger of the old men class were progressive in favoring the United States officials and were also rather piqued because the reactionaries kept them out of the chiefs society; so, as has been pointed out in the case of the akicita organizations, they formed another chiefs society using the same songs and ceremonies but under the name ska yuha. Again, our informants insisted that the miwatani and omaha organizations belonged to the same general class since they were made up of elderly men and never performed akicita service. As to these two, we are by no means sure, since they are not to our way of thinking, on the same plane as the former; yet, if the Indians themselves consider all four as of one class, we must needs so group them in this paper.

THE CHIEFS SOCIETY.

The original name for this organization is said to have been tatanka wapahun, wearers of the buffalo headdress. At various times it has had other names as haⁿskaska (the tall ones), short-hairs, (referring to a custom of braiding buffalo hair into their heads), the big-bellies (the stoutness of middle life), and the society of chiefs. As it turns out that in origin, this society seems to have been an analogue of the bull society of other Plains tribes, it seems worth while to go into the details of its origin.

According to Calico, the original name of the chiefs society was, the wearers of the buffalo bonnet. Since about 1870 they have been known as the big-bellies and the short-hairs. About twenty generations ago the bull society was founded in the Red-cloud division. According to one account a shaman had a vision in which a buffalo appeared to him, sang songs and gave out the necessary instructions for the ceremony. The members wore

headdresses made of the skin from the neck and head of the buffalo with the horns attached. The horns were painted either blue, red, or white, according to the preference of the wearer. To make the headdress wakan, a small bag of medicine was tied to it. It is said that in course of time the eagle feather bonnets gradually displaced the buffalo headdresses though many men now living remember seeing a buffalo dance in which the original headdresses were worn.

Each member carried a shield and lance. The headdresses were worn only during dances and on the warpath. At all other times they were kept wrapped up in rawhide cases and hung together with the shields and lances upon poles outside of the tipis. They were never brought inside for fear they would be contaminated by the presence of women. The rule was to keep all war medicines outside of the camp circle about one hundred feet from the tipi of the owner, supported by a tripod. If enemies were expected the regalia might be brought to the rear of the tipi, but must be left on the outside. When on the march, the shield was hung to the rear horn of the saddle, the headdress to the front horn, and the lance carried in the hand.¹

The shaman who originated the bull society first called in three or four young men for whom he made the regalia and then set out on the warpath. They were very successful, in consequence of which, other young men made application to join the group. As time went on, the membership increased until they came to be recognized as a men's society. The men did not leave the organization, it was said, so that in the course of time it became chiefly a group of old men. It then ceased to be a war organization and became chiefly a feasting and dancing association.

In the dance the members paint their bodies white, also their lances. Originally, it is said that there were but ten bearers of lances who also wore the headdresses. In the dance they imitated the buffalo; that is, by bellowing and whooping at each other. The man who founded the society was named, Paints-his-ear-white.

At the present time the society survives only as the buffalo dance of the chiefs society.²

The foregoing leads us to surmise that we have in the buffalo dance,

¹ Wotawe is the term used to designate powers associated with headdresses, lances, etc. Each object of this kind has a small medicine sack attached to it and the ceremony of connecting this medicine with the object, for the protection of the wearer, brings about a quality known as wotawe.

² In Catlin (238) will be found mention of "the dance of the chiefs" with a sketch. This, however, seems to be a different ceremony, but it is interesting to note a file of four female dancers at one side, the typical Oglala custom. Riggs (a, 224) mentions a "begging dance" that had the name "buffalo," some features of which suggest the bull dance noted above. Catlin (245) describes and illustrates a "begging dance" as he saw it.

the bulls, or old men's society of the Northern Plains. The regalia are much the same and some of the songs, as rendered by informants, resemble the bull songs of the Blackfoot. Further, the fact that it is after all an old men's organization may not be entirely accidental. In any event, the bull dance and songs have survived only as part of the ritual for the chiefs society.

As a society for men that of the chiefs stands alone and distinct from the akicita organizations. While no one seemed to have an idea that any one akicita society had superior rank, all were of one mind as to the rank of the chiefs, it being "the oldest as well as the one of highest rank." Boys were not taken into it and a man seldom won sufficient recognition to be chosen before reaching the age of thirty or forty. None of our informants seemed to know the exact number of members at any definite time, but estimated them at forty to fifty. While it is claimed that the chiefs are not akicita, our data show that they may exercise similar functions on occasion; but since they are recognized as the governing body of the tribe, this is not inconsistent.

The following narrative by Thunder-bear presents some points of interest:—

Once a young man about eighteen years old went out to hunt. In the evening he did not return and as time went on his people became alarmed. However, on the fourth day he returned acting very queerly. He kept far out from camp, and would shy away when approached. His father sent out one to inquire into his condition. To the messenger the young man requested a sweat house and a tipi to be placed far out to one side of the camp and that a number of men credited with queer or unusual conduct (?) be invited. When all was ready the young man approached the sweat house. He carried something wrapped in sage grass. He sat down and removed his clothing, then carried the mysterious bundle into the sweat house, sat down at the rear and placed the bundle in front of him. They knew it contained a medicine thing. He said, "One said to me, if you do as I direct you, it will be well. All other tribes are looking for this medicine." Then he unwrapped the bundle and took out a large green root, a small piece of which he pulverized and sprinkled upon the hot stones. The stones turned blue. Then he poured the water four times. On coming out he proceeded directly to the tipi erected for him.

When all the invited ones were gathered there, he said, "I am about to form a society to be called the han skaska. In the future there will be many societies, but this one shall rank the highest. It will stand at the head. You are to be members. You are to carry clubs of ash wood with wrist guards of fox skins. At the back of the head you are to tie a plume and to each plume a small bag of powder made from this root. Then, if the enemy shoot, he cannot hit you."

Then they all went on the warpath to test the power of their medicine. As they were marching along, the leader ordered a halt and began to sing. At once, a gray wolf came up to him and said, "In two days you will fall in with the enemy and overcome an entire tribe."

Now, they went on cautiously. Presently they saw some figures moving in the distance. Then two of the party were missing, but the next morning they returned with information that a large party was camping on the next creek. As they went on their way they saw figures approaching; so they formed an ambushade. When the party came up they fired from each side, killing all but two children and taking all the property. Then they went home. As they approached the people said, "The han skaska society comes back from war."

Now, the same winter the han skaska went to war again. As before, the leader sang and a gray wolf came up, "In two days you shall meet a large tribe on the war-path. Watch the enemy." Then they went on. Again, two scouts went out. Later, they were seen returning and as they approached, howled like wolves. They reported the enemy near by all about. (A war party always goes out on foot.) Their leader carried a red flannel banner. At a ford they formed an ambushade and killed all, taking the property and many scalps. Then they went home, each bearing a stick with scalps. As they neared camp some one fired a gun and called out, "The han skaska is home from war again."

Now, they were recognized as a society. No matter what direction they go they are sure to win a victory. In succession they went out and overcame four tribes — Crow, Pawnee, Gros Ventre and Ute. Then they were famous.

The leader admonished them to look after the welfare of all the people, to protect them from all enemies, to stand by each other in all respects, to enforce their rules with their clubs if necessary, especially to enforce the rule of friendship for the white race.

Later, it was decided to appoint four leaders of equal rank, the best and bravest men of the tribe. They became so powerful that they were respected by all. The last to hold these offices were American-horse, Crazy-horse, Man-afraid-of-his-horse, and Sword.

The four leading men referred to above are the four grand councilors of the Oglala. When chosen by their fellow han skaska members they were formally invested with a shirt similar to the modern scalp shirt. Though in recent times this garment was worn by anyone, it was originally the exclusive regalia of these four men. We are told that the true scalp shirt was made of mountain sheepskin. Two full skins were used. The dew claws were not removed, the skin from the fore legs forming the sleeves, that from the hind legs hung down at the sides. Across the shoulders and down the sleeves were quill-worked bands. Two shirts were painted blue on the upper half and yellow on the lower; the other two had red and yellow halves respectively. The most distinguishing feature, however, was the hair-lock fringe on the sleeve. In theory, at least, a lock of hair was added for each recognized deed in war: as, coup, capturing a horse, taking prisoners, getting wounds, saving the life of a friend, etc., but eventually the fringed shirt became simply the conventional regalia of the four grand councilors and finally a style of dress for anyone. These shirt owners wore a single eagle feather, horizontally on the back of the head. They had no distinctive painting for the face and body.

Naturally, the making of the regalia for a shirt owner is attended with considerable ceremony. First a feast is made with dried berries, pemmican, and dog flesh. Each guest is required to eat promptly all that is set before him. If one fail, he formally asks permission to take the remainder home with him; if the members consent, a smudge of sweetgrass is made, after which he may take it. When making and decorating the shirts many sweetgrass offerings are made. In this the four directions are repeatedly signed to. Many songs are sung. Even now, though scalp shirts are frequently made to sell, they always follow many of the rules, engage an old man to do the work, make a feast, burn sweetgrass, etc.

When investing the candidate with a scalp shirt he is lectured on his responsibilities. The following was given as a hypothetical abstract:—

Though you now wear the shirt, be a big-hearted man. Do not think ill of other members. The food they eat is the vital element (?); its fundamentals (?) reach from the earth to the heavens. You should look after the poor, especially the widows and orphans, and help them. Do not give way to anger even though you see one of your relatives lying bloody before you. Many dogs go to your tipi to urinate. (It was explained that this meant immoral men would go there to corrupt his women), but be big-hearted and do not allow your mind to dwell upon this, for if you look upon these things it will hurt your big heart. This shirt here means that you have been chosen as a big-heart; you are always to help your friends. These rules are hard to comply with, but we have given you this shirt. If you are to meet enemies, go right up to them; it is better to lie naked in death than to be wrapped up to harbor corruption. To die naked (This refers to the custom of fighting naked) is more to be desired.

We did not learn much of the dances of the *han skaska* but one informant says that they often make a feast at which the members arise and dance singly, after narrating war deeds. Finally, all dance together butting each other like bulls. This was called the dance of the short-hairs, referring to old bulls, the dancers wearing buffalo heads. As previously stated, short-hair is now another name for *han skaska*.

The members are often called "big-bellies" because they are usually old men and because of their great interest in the affairs of the tribe. They give to the tribe the benefit of all their wisdom. If a quarrel arise in camp, they go there with the pipe and make peace. If the enemy attack the camp the society's duty is to protect the children and women at the risk of their lives.

If a party came to visit they came to the center of the camp where they were met by the society. A member often gives a horse to some old woman in the party who appears needy, or, if the visitors should hold as captives some Indians of another tribe, and there is a child among them, one of the members of the society will present a horse to the child.

A member of the society is not supposed to care or pay attention to his wife if someone steals her. If she wishes to come back she may, he is supposed to be far above annoyances of this kind.

SKA YUHA.

During the administration of Agent McGillicuddy, it is said, some of the younger men under the leadership of Red-cloud set up a separate chiefs society which came to be known as the white-horse-owners, apparently from the custom in the chiefs society of riding white horses. They took up the entire ritual of the older organization, but were not recognized as having a seat in the council that elected the tribal chiefs for some time afterward.

The chief distinction was that the members of the ska yuha participated in war parties while the chiefs did not. Richard Nines writes: "I get the impression that generally the ska yuha is a preliminary rank or organization to the chiefs society. The word is sometimes rendered as white badge society but should be white owners, implying the ownership of white horses." In our statistics of membership it will be noted that Nos. 3, 4, and 5 joined the ska yuha; 4, left it in a year and joined the chiefs; 3 and 5 did not resign but each entered the chiefs a few years later. This is not inconsistent with Mr. Nines' opinion.

MIWATANI.

The miwatani was regarded by the Indians as different from akicita societies, in that as an organization it was never called upon for akicita service. So far as we could learn this was merely a matter of custom and not in any way determined by the ages or social positions of the members. The miwatani took in members, held ceremonies, and went to war just as did the akicita societies. Again, we find an origin myth accounting for the tokala, cante tinza, kangi yuha, and miwatani as the result of a single vision. They also had special tipis within the camp circle at equi-distant points, the kangi yuha at the northeast, the cante tinza at the southeast, the miwatani, at the northwest, and the tokala at the southwest. Notwithstanding this, the miwatani is positively not an akicita society, though in its organization it is similar.

Some informants insisted that it should be classed with the chiefs societies for the reason that on the average, the members were older men than those found in the akicita societies. One applied the term wakuaya la okolatic'iya, gentlemen of culture or high class men, to the miwatani, chief, and omaha organizations. It may be that, if the origin myth for the original akicita

societies is based upon real distinctions, this tribe formerly had three akicita societies and one of the higher rank to which older men were admitted. On the other hand, the organization of the miwatani and the qualifications of its members make it more likely that the differentiation came about later by men retaining their membership in the miwatani to an advanced age. Notwithstanding these statements, so far as could be learned, there were no definite age qualifications for membership. Thus, one informant states that he was chosen as a member when about ten years old; at thirteen was made one of the two leaders, and retired at eighteen because an epidemic of smallpox caused him to permanently abandon his native camp. He was an unusually young man for these honors, but succeeded his father as a leader. We were told by many informants that the miwatani kept watch on the boys of the camp and chose such as promised to develop into worthy members, but that few were chosen before the fifteenth year. Also, if at any time an adult of good standing was discovered free to join, he was promptly invited to membership. It is clear to all that no one could make application for membership, but that the sole initiative must rest with the society. Hence, no matter what his ambitions, a person carefully refrained from expressing a desire for membership, it being understood that, if worthy, he would eventually receive an invitation to join. Naturally, one's friends or relatives within the society could influence the selections.

The miwatani has an apparent foreign name, since unlike most other society names, it cannot be explained in terms of current speech. Our informants are all agreed that the term is associated with no concept other than that of a particular society. It is also their name for the Mandan, the tradition being that the latter were named because of some resemblance to the miwatani society.¹ According to one informant, this society, which by the way, is regarded as a very ancient one, was so named because an owl-being in conferring the ritual said, "My name is Miwatani." Another name in general use is iyuptala; a name of occasional use is hiⁿhaⁿ s'oⁿwapa, seemingly a headdress of owl feathers.

In organization the miwatani consists of:—

2 leaders ²	x lay members
2 sash bearers, or bonnet men	1 drum bearer
2 whip bearers	8 singers
1 food passer	1 herald

¹ J. O. Dorsey credits the Omaha with a "Mandan dancing society" which from his account seems to be similar to the Oglala organization, (c), 273.

² High-bear says eight leaders, another informant says four. From our other data we infer that this means that a certain number of the highest rank constitute the governing board. Another informant claims that the two leaders also wore sashes, making four sash bearers.

The sash bearers were important functionaries. They wore a headdress of owl feathers and carried a rattle of dew claws. Their sashes had a hole in the end by which they staked themselves down before the enemy. They paint their bodies red and black semicircles around the face, from one cheek bone around the forehead to the other cheek bone. They also paint black circles at the wrists, elbows, and shoulder joints. One of them could not resign his office alone, but all had to leave together. Before the installation of the new sash men it was necessary for the retiring members to make an entirely new set of regalia for them for which each gave a horse in payment. In battle they dress in all their regalia and when the enemy charges stake themselves to the ground. They can only be released by some other person. If one of them strikes an enemy with the lance which he uses to stake himself to the ground during battle, the rules for staking may be suspended. The following narrative of John Blunt-horn gives many details of their obligations:—

There was once a man who first owned a sash but thought or had a dream in which he thought some one said, "Take this sash and use it as directed and you shall overcome all enemies and obstacles." "Look at me in the face," someone said, "do not forget. I shall help you." Then looking about he saw a man standing there. He wore a headdress of buckskin and crow feathers with a crest of turkey buzzards' tails, and on his right side hung the sash. It was marked with transverse stripes of quill work, with white plumes at the ends.

Once again the same man appeared to him in a vision and said, "Dress as you saw me. Then you shall overcome everything. Medicine in small bags should be tied in your hair and a pair of white plumes should hang from each temple. There should also be some bags of medicine hung from the quills of plumes at the sides of your sash. Then like the eagle you will overcome all enemies. He never misses that at which he strikes. If you are attacked, take a whistle of eagle bone, blow upon it. This will confuse the enemy and make them easy to overcome."

After this second dream he called in a number of men to form a society to test the vision to see if it were true. So all went into a tipi. He selected one man as a companion. There was a fire outside so he rubbed medicine on his hands and took from the fire a burning stick, holding it by the glowing end. He walked slowly into the tipi and put the fire into the hole at the center. He then took up sweetgrass and made a smudge. Then he took up the sash and held it to the four directions and took up the headdress, then the cord and the picket pin. All these were then put upon his companion. "Now," said he, "we shall go out to test the power of this medicine for our enemies."

The idea in all this procedure is that everything symbolizes the power of an eagle and that if the recipient does exactly as directed he will overcome everything.

Now this companion had a sister about eighteen years old. He requested her to carry the fire into the tipi, which she did in her bare hands, dropping it into the hole with four movements. Then a smudge of sweetgrass was made while the originator of the ceremony began to sing songs. The first song began: "I have made a shaman to perform through the day." When done singing he gave out many directions

among which were the following: "If you go to war you cannot be wounded or injured. If you win many victories you are then expected to join the chief society. You shall never be accused of anything. When among a war party and attacked by the enemy no matter if it be a hard fight, the owner of this sash must dismount and stake himself down with the picket pin. He must not run away or pull up the pin. He must stay there until released by some of his companions or until enemies are killed. Now, you must go through with this. If you do this your name will spread over the world. You shall have many friends. They may release you and save you. If your friends do not rescue you, you shall be killed but you must not run away. If you do all this and come back alive, you will be taken into the chiefs society."

Now the sash and all other regalia were ready so the originator of the society took his companion out with a war party. After a time the scouts reported the enemies in sight. As they went on they were attacked. Now the companion galloped down to a small flat, shouted defiance at the enemy, dismounted, and staked himself down. Then he called out to the war party, "If you get home alive, tell the people what happened. It is better to die naked on the prairie than be wrapped up on a scaffold." So he dismounted, drove his horse back toward the party, put the pin in the ground, and walked around, shouting defiance at the enemy. One of the enemy rode up and counted coup on him. The companion waited for the second enemy and as he approached shot him down. He fell at the companion's feet. Then he himself pulled up the picket pin, stuck it in his belt, took his victim's horse and scalp, and went back. As he approached, the party rushed in to count coup on the scalp.

The war party returned. Their approach was announced by a herald. Parts of the scalp were tied to a pole and as the companion narrated his experiences to the people the women cheered and sang songs for him. Later, they had a war dance. There they set up a long pole and selected certain men to sing and drum. Their songs referred to deeds of the warpath. Thus the companion sang: "The first enemy was after me. Him I did not want. The second one came up. I said, 'You seem to want something. So I guess I must kill you.'" In all these songs they derided the enemy and danced around the pole on top of which was a piece of buffalo skin and the end of a scalp. Black stripes were made across the pole and the dancers painted their faces with black vertical stripes. At the back of the head each wore a feather denoting that an enemy had been killed.

Now the companion was very famous. Most of the single women were anxious to have him for a husband. He would now be known as a chief. Then the heralds called out for the companion's father. The father made a speech and gave away presents. Now the originator of the ceremony brought the companion before the people and asked him if he cared to continue as owner of the sash and its obligations. He explained that he could now give up the sash if he chose. The companion was very proud and he did not like to resign. On the other hand, he thought it would be pleasant to marry and settle in life and that if he did it would not be wise to risk keeping the sash. Thus he said, "If I go on, there is that pin that holds me. If no one pulls out the pin then I shall die. I will not be able to marry." So he took off the regalia and returned it to the originator.

After a time, two men decided to try the sash. They were chums. They asked the originator for the outfits and he agreed to furnish them. He called in many men for a gathering and announced what he was about to do. It took four days to make the regalia. Some young women who were skillful in quill work were invited

to sit outside the tipi and decorate the sash. The two young men had many male and female relations and they selected two young women to carry the fire into the tipi. When the regalia were completed, songs were sung and instructions given the young men as before. As the regalia were being placed upon one of them, he broke down and began to cry. Both felt very much discouraged. Yet they decided to go to war. So they made a feast and called for volunteers. One of the young men said to the other, "We can make this test many times over when we go into a fight, one can rescue the other." To this they agreed.

The next morning enemies were reported. They were in a camp with many horses. As they approached they saw them turning out their horses. They waited until the horses were bunched up before they charged. One of the young men had a slow horse so he asked the one with the fast horse to go back, but he said, "No, we die right here together." "All right," said the other. One of them composed a song, "We are looking for this. That we run up against. We are at the end of the day. Tell our relations that we came to the end." The war party then turned back. As they watched they saw the enemy ride up, kill the two young men, and tear off their regalia.

Now, after this it was hard to get men to take the sash and its obligations. Very few would do it. So four men went to the originator and said, "If this thing keeps up, all our young men will be killed." So it was decided to omit the cord and the picket. The next time young men were taken in the sashes were placed around their necks and they were led around the camps to dance before the tipis of chiefs. A headdress of owl feathers was made for them and rattles of dew-claws. Thus the miwatani society was started.

Sometimes in the dance when the excitement of the occasion is on him a member will "throw his wife away." This he does by a formal announcement that he now separates from his wife. So they separate. Afterwards, he may mourn and feel regret, but he must not reveal his feelings else he will be ridiculed and can never become chief. He may have trouble to get a new wife since every woman will be afraid that she also will be thrown away. The discarded woman may marry again. If her former husband should be killed in a fight she would rejoice. She would say that he got what was coming to him.

As previously noted, all the regular akicita societies reorganize each spring and have a custom of sending out young men to gather materials. This is not the rule with the miwatani and other societies. They inform the young men whom they are going to present with the bonnets and sashes beforehand instead of waiting for the general feast to select their men. The young men who are to have the bonnets themselves go out after material and bring it to the bonnet maker who completes his task, while the young men help. They have a custom of painting themselves red and with their whistles they go and spy out a good looking lot of dried meat hanging. They blow their whistles, run and seize the meat and bring it to the tent where the bonnets, etc. are being made. They also act as general servants.

They have a ceremony of burning sweetgrass, pointing it to the four winds, to the great spirit, and to the things of the earth, then they put the grass down with silent prayers. This ceremony is conducted every morn-

ing. Usually, there is a large crowd gathered during this ceremony. The maker of the bonnets tells one of the men to bring some coals in his hand. He does this slowly without showing signs of pain. The grass is burnt as a smudge. The bonnet maker holding his hands in the smoke and taking the things he is making, holds them over the smoke to make them wakan. He is the only one who performs this ceremony. The next morning he will probably call on the other candidates to bring the coals.

When everything is completed, a large tipi is prepared with many kettles and they prepare for a big feast. Then when all are assembled, the bonnet maker goes through the grass burning ceremony. This time, both of the bonnet wearers bring the coals. A large crowd looks on. After this they pretend to look for the men to present them with the bonnets. They find them and one who has had experience and killed an enemy, tells how he did it. After the talk he presents the bonnets and sashes putting the bonnets on the young men and putting on their sashes.

If other offices of the society are vacant, they paint the drum red, do not beat it, but begin to sing. The drum keeper is brought forth, he beats the drum and perhaps throws a stick into the crowd or presents it to someone (this standing for a horse). He may strike the drum again and throw another stick into the crowd saying, "This is for my wife. Whoever gets this may send her after water." This means that he is throwing his wife away. Of course, this is optional, but is frequently done.

Then after the dance the members go through the camp and sing for women thrown away. "My son's mother, you paid no heed, so you have gone thus." Frequently, some men take the women back. If anyone does this he is mocked for his inconstancy. We were told of one man who did this and the public jeered him so that he threw her away again, but reclaimed her. Then the people thought him crazy and did not pay any attention to him. He slit his yellow blanket in many places, wore a bunch of weeds on his head, carried a knife in his hand, and sang heyoka songs.

As previously stated the two important posts in this society are the two bonnet or sash bearers. The bonnets are made this way: The tanned skin of buffalo is made into a cap with spotted eagle tail-feathers in a row in the center and crow feathers on each side. At the back of the cap, there hang down spotted eagle tail-feathers with crow feathers.

The two who wear the bonnets also wear the sashes to stake themselves out in battle. These are made of buffalo or elk skin with small feathers beaded on. Rabbit ears or bits of weasel fur are placed on the sashes in four rows, with feathers at each end. They are also ornamented with porcupine quill work.

Another unusual feature is that, according to some informants, the drum

keeper in this society ranked even higher than the leaders. We were told that the drum keeper is an old man who is respected and who has never committed murder. There is a pair of sticks on either side to hold the drum above the ground when in use. Each stick is in the care of one man. When on the warpath, a feather from the stick is carried on the end of a staff and if the owner kills an enemy, he places the feather on his head. Then the drum keeper takes charge of the sticks. The same custom applies to the drumsticks but those presented with drumsticks are singers (officially), although sometimes more than four sing as others may volunteer to help.

There are two pipe carriers who are the leaders of the society. The pipes are used to quiet quarrels among Indians whether they belong to the society or not. If a member be the direct cause of a quarrel, he is expelled from the society. The pipe is taken to the scene of the quarrel and smoked as a peace pipe.

During a feast when food is to be served, they first let a stuffed owl taste the food, and then serve the society. The owl is very important in this society. The owl and buffalo appeared to the originator in a dream and told him about the organization, the regalia, and that by forming the society they would become a great and good nation.

The whips are used by the whip carriers, but there is rather a nice ceremony connected with them. When the dance is about over and the dancers are returning to their seats, the whip carriers tap each one lightly as they all stand in a circle with bowed heads. As each person is tapped he seats himself. After all are seated they rest until the next dance. This tapping does not occur at the end of each dance, but at certain times. About fifty-seven or fifty-eight years ago, they started the whip carrier office. The society had a member who came from the Crow where he saw a similar custom. When the dance was over he tapped each one and then they could be seated. Since then they have observed this custom. Previous to this, it is said, they were continually at war with the Crow and only came in contact with them in warfare.

The members paint their bodies red with blue stripes around the wrists, elbows, and upper arms. Also, a blue stripe around the face: i. e., from one cheek around the forehead to the other cheek. They wear a whistle made of bone, around the neck, and owl feathers on the top of the head. Each member had a buffalo hide robe, the center of the flesh-side bearing a rectangular design worked in quills. One side of the robe was folded back and two strips of otterskin fastened to it. If a member had discarded any wives he fastened an owl (leg and foot) to the folded end for every wife discarded. The rest of the robe was red.

It may not be out of place to remark that this society originated the

custom of throwing away wives which was then copied by the others. If a man took back his wife after having thrown her away, he was expelled from the society.

The lay members wore a conical cap made of owl feathers without the eagle feathers which were worn only by the chiefs. When dancing, the members painted their bodies, leggings and moccasins, red. Their shirts were made of buckskin, and the fringes from the sleeves running from the shoulder down to the waist were about 18 inches long. The shirt came down to the waist. This shirt was called "ogle hu (shirt back), wi yus'da (out) or back-cut shirt. The fringe on the bottom of the shirt was about twelve inches long. At the front and back of the neck, triangular pieces were sewed and they came down about twelve inches, surrounded by a fringe about an inch long. This was beaded and painted any color. The beaded work (about 3 inches wide) was of large beads and ran from the front of the shirt to the back. This was done on a piece of buckskin and then sewed to the shirt, the beadwork on the sleeves, likewise. The beadwork was in black and white, alternating. The fringes on the leggings were about two inches long and the beadwork was the same as on the shirt.

Every member was obliged to have the owl headdress, eagle bone whistle, and deer hoof rattle. The owl headdress was made of a bunch of feathers from the wing and tail fastened to a piece of buckskin and to this a small stick to tie to the wearer's hair. The eagle bone whistles were carried by a cord of buckskin around the neck. Usually some porcupine work was suspended where the whistle was tied to the cord which is wrapped with porcupine quills. At a certain period in the dance all blow their whistles. The deer foot rattle is made on a small stick about twelve inches long. A piece of buckskin is sewed tightly around the stick to which the ends of the deer hoofs (the hoof is cut after boiling) are fastened, a large number being required to make the rattling noise. This is rattled during the dance until they come to the middle when they change to the whistle for a few moments and then go on with the rattle.

THE OMAHA.

From the data at hand the omaha kaiyotag was formerly very much like the akicita societies, but not recognized as one of them. The belief is that this organization came from the Omaha, who in turn learned it of the Pawnee. The first instructions to the Dakota were given about forty years ago on

Plenty-shell River (Shell Creek?) not far from Omaha.¹ The following narrative was given by Calico:—

A shaman originated this dance since he had a dream in which he was told to make up a crow-belt, etc. He asked for a large dance tipi. First, he made the headdresses, or crests, then the whistles, then the leggings, and last the crow-belts. When all were ready, a feast was made. The shaman burned sweetgrass, then took up the regalia piece by piece and explained their uses and obligations. Everybody was invited to look in upon the proceedings. Then they danced as the shaman directed. He told them to keep up the organization and that to do this they must first go to war carrying the regalia. He said that each could make a wish as to the outcome and that such would come true. This they did. The next day they all set out to test this new formula. Everything came out just as he promised.

Now, many wanted some of the regalia. So he selected ten men; to four he gave crow-belts, to four, leggings, and to two crests, or headdresses. They prepared to set out on the warpath. They danced around a kettle of boiling meat and drew out pieces with their bare hands, like the *heyoka* (p. 85). Each member then named what he most desired. One asked to be wounded. The shaman said, that if he so wished, it would be; but that the chief function of the regalia and formula was to prevent wounds. The member still persisted. "Well," said the shaman, "then you shall be wounded and afterward may wear a small bell upon you to mark the place of injury." True enough, this man was shot in the leg and at the next dance appeared with a bell on his legging. This was popular and many wished to be wounded so that after a few expeditions many of the dancers wore bells. Those taking scalps were permitted to use knives when eating food at the ceremonies; hence, if one asks for a knife, he must stand up and count off his deeds before using it.

Now, the founder led the organization until he was very old. At last a council was called to provide for his successor. He explained that the regalia had been conferred by the thunder, but that it could be continued after his death, provided no changes were made unless authorized by dreams or visions. Soon he died. The new leader had a dream, so he said, and made some changes, but when they closed a storm came down and the lightning struck into their midst, killing several dancers. So they left out these innovations. Again, they had a dance, but they were struck again. Then an offering of tobacco was placed on some hills, after which everything went well.

Now, after a time anyone could wear the regalia and little attention was paid to the rules.

¹ What is called the "grass dance" has been revived. It is said to have derived its name from the custom, in ancient times, of dancing naked or with only a wisp of grass about the loins. Only the men appeared in this nude state. It is a night dance, and regarded as extremely licentious, although now they are represented as dancing in their Indian dress or even clothed as white men.—Riggs, (a), 227.

"The *Pezi mignaka wacipi* (the dance of those wearing grass in their belts) . . . both young men and young women take part . . . The grass dance is named after the Omaha tribe. As many men as are able to participate in that dance march abreast until they reach the camp of some gens, where they sit down facing the people whom they visit, hence the name, meaning, "the Omaha reach there and sit down." Then the visitors sing while a noise is made by hitting the ground with sticks, etc. The singers and dancers sit looking at the tents of the gens that they have visited, and remain so until property and food are brought out and given to them."—J. O. Dorsey, (a), 463.

According to Mr. Nines *pezi mignaka* is another name for Omaha *kalyotag*, which reached the Oglala through the Yankton.

The following account by *Afraid-of-bear* contains many additional points and may be quoted in full:—

A young man went out and fasted, after several days he came back. He told his mother that she must kill one of her dogs because he was to make a *wakan* feast. His mother said, "I use that dog to bring wood, and I hate to part with him." He insisted. So she killed it and they cooked it in a large kettle. He prepared the tent for a feast and in the center he made crooked lines imitating lightning on account of his dream and invited seven men, saying, "I dreamed about lightning and so we will make seven headdresses." (They are made of long-tailed deers' tails, dyed red, with porcupine quills tied over the center.) When they finished this he said, "We will go on a war party and kill seven enemies and then we will each put an eagle feather in our headgear." So they went and about the time they assembled at the hill they saw beyond seven enemies who had also come on a war party. They were smoking. So they crept on them, took off their leggings and prepared to make a charge, surprising them. The enemy lost their presence of mind, did not resist and were all killed. So they came back, made a feast, danced, and fixed an eagle feather in their headgear.

At the feast they took in new members and the head man said, "I am going to make more things." He made two bustles and two whistles. After this was completed they presented these to four young men in a ceremonial way, telling one bustle man that he would be shot by an enemy, but not badly; another that he would kill an enemy; and telling the same to a whistle man.

They went out to battle and it happened as the man had said. Then the bustle man who was wounded took a red feather, hung it in his bustle and the wounded whistle man painted his flute red and hung a red feather to it. The flute man who killed an enemy, painted his flute blue and hung a white feather to it. The bustle man took an eagle feather and hung it in his bustle.

He told them that if anyone is going to make a dog feast he must do so without fail, for if he does not, something serious would happen. The ceremony for killing a dog is as follows:—A rope is fastened around the dog and held by two persons, one on each side. Then the man who is to kill the dog stands in front, in a loud voice tells about the enemies he killed and so strikes the dog. He tells them to throw away everything but the meat, head, liver, and heart and cook all this. Of course, other food can be cooked also. No one may eat any of the food until it is tasted by the official taster. He cautions them to watch children lest they get hold of the food and in that way bring misfortune on themselves.

When the cooking is about completed the whistle men remove the bustles from where they hang and passing them over the smoke of sweetgrass lay them facing the front of the tipi and behind the sweetgrass. The bustle men sit near the singers and when the drumming begins they dance toward the bustles, back around the kettles. As they come up to the bustles around the other way they grab them, put them on and dance three times around. The fourth time the whistle men go around with them they make a pretence of reaching into the kettle. Then they take a kettle, carry it around and set it back. Before they put the bustles over the smoke, they take the kettle of dog soup and hold it over the sweetgrass smoke swinging it around four times. They always come from the right side in doing anything. So when the kettle is set back they start up a song again and the two bustle men and the two whistle men dance.

After the dance the two whistle men distribute dog and soup. First they let the leaders, drum keepers, and bustle men taste the food by handing each a spoonful. Then a sort of prayer is uttered. Then they feast. No one should throw the bones away, but save them and at the end the whistle men pass a dish around to gather up the bones.

When the distribution of dog soup is made, the head, feet, heart, liver, and the front part of the breast are saved and when the rest have eaten their dog soup one of the leaders chooses an old warrior and tells him to pick out four men who he knows have killed an enemy. These four sit around the dish and eat the selected pieces saved for them and return to their places. Then the whistle man takes the dog skull and holding it over the sweetgrass, sets it down facing the opening of the tipi. The man who is first chosen rises and renders a sort of song. The singers start a song and he dances with something in his hand showing how he killed an enemy, pointing at the dog skull as if with an arrow or gun, with which ever one he killed an enemy. He goes around three times and the fourth time pretends killing, hits the skull, then holds it up, tells his experience when killing an enemy and gives away a horse. The other three men repeat this in the same way, in the order they were chosen to eat the dog, and each gives away presents.

A certain officer is charged with closing the ceremony so no one is allowed to leave until he leaves. The singers strike up a song and this man rises, dances along and gives something away each time. If anyone wanted to leave the dance house for a few moments, he was required to pay a forfeit to some old man. The man who must leave first, leaves in a dance. They all dance as if attacking or encountering an enemy. At the fourth time they come around, the man dancing towards the door each time they come around, comes up and as if he were encountering an enemy and with many twists and gestures passes out, then all may go. The song is: "Stand up. Go outside. Afraid-of-bear, my friend, go outside."

The Omaha society usually had fifty or sixty members and was very popular. It still exists but has become a mere social function.

It seems that the Omaha was first projected in precisely the same way as the akicita societies; a shaman conceived it, he called in candidates and invested them with the regalia, they went to war to try it out, it worked, it received recognition as a society, and from time to time there were changes in the rules due to further dreams. This same tendency appears over and over among the Plains tribes; to cast borrowed organizations in the form of the prevailing type.

To hold this ceremony the Oglala built a log structure quite like a Pawnee earth lodge. At the rear sat six head men, to their north two men with crow-belts, next to these the singers, and north of the door a spoon bearer and a whistle bearer. One of the head men was also a spoon bearer and two of them wore crow-belts. On the south side of the dance house sat the lay members. Formerly, the chief ceremony was preparatory to going to war while a dance was a pantomime in which imaginary foes were scalped, scouted, speared, shot, etc. Our informants insisted that this was peculiar to the Omaha dance and not a feature of other societies. Before the feast

a kettle of food was brought in and a dancing spoon bearer scouted for it and at last counted coup upon it. Then he dipped up some of the contents and made an offering in the usual manner after which he presented food to the members.

Among the Gros Ventre and the Blackfoot we were told that this was in the nature of a test, since any member having recently embraced a woman must refuse. This was said to have held for the Omaha during the dance preparatory to the warpath. Also, a somewhat similar requirement was laid upon members of the tokala, miwatani, ihoka, and cante tinza. On the other hand, no such requirement was made of men about to set out on the warpath, it being thought proper to leave them some consolation.

A peculiarity of this society is that each member upon being taken into the organization is assigned a certain song from the ritual to be known as his song. When this song is sung, he must take the floor and dance, also giving out presents.

WAR SOCIETIES.

THE DOGS.

It is not clear whether this society is named the dogs or the wolves.¹ Its mythical originator, or patron, was the wolf. According to Thunderbear they were originally known as wolves or coyotes, but later the term was changed to dogs. Though a very famous and powerful organization it became extinct some forty years ago. While, so far, we are unable to find a living member, some informants claim to have definite information as to its character. From these accounts it appears that the ritual of the dog society contained several interesting peculiarities: thus, the members must not eat dog flesh, nor any meat cooked in a kettle. During a ceremony, no one not a member may enter the tipi or even touch their food; at the feast no one passes the food, each one helping himself. They have the privilege of entering any tipi and taking such food as they may desire; at such times they growl and otherwise act like dogs.

¹ J. O. Dorsey writes, "there is a society, called the Wolf Society, but known among the white people as the Dog Society. That society has many beautiful songs, according to Bush-otter, and its membership is confined to young men. All the wolf stories belong to this society." (a), 478.

In Schoolcraft (Vol. 2, 79) is the account of a dog dance with an illustration. This ceremony was not mentioned by our informants. In the Mills Catlin collection of paintings is a sketch of the same dance.

The following narrative of Thunder-bear accounts for the origin of the dogs:—

The founder of this society went up a high hill to fast for four days. After the fast he went home. As he approached the camp he was seen to carry a bundle wrapped in sage grass. Outside his tipi he arranged a pile of buffalo chips on top of which he placed his bundle. He said, "Make me a sweat house to-morrow and put up a tipi outside of the camp. Then I shall demonstrate my medicine." Now the next day when the tent was set up outside of the camp he directed that the floor should be cleared off and a bed of sage grass arranged in the center. When this had been done he took the bundle into the tipi and laid it down in the center. As he unwrapped it they saw that it contained the body of a crow. Then he said, "Bring me four coyote skins, four whistles of eagle bone." Then he brought out four roots of medicine, parts of which were pulverized. Then he pulled the tail feathers out of the crow and threw the body out of the tent. Then he invited seven good men to join him in the ceremony and another man to act as an assistant. Then he took some of the pulverized roots, tied it up in small buckskin bags and fastened them to the quills of the crow feathers. Then he tied the crow feathers to the necks of the coyote skins. Then he took up a black pipe and filled it. Then he tied four different medicine bags on each of four eagle plumes. Then he began to sing. As the songs progressed the coyote skins began to move of their own accord. "Now," he said, "you are to go on an expedition with me. I shall select four of you to carry the coyote skins. The others shall take the plumes." ✓ 122

They set out on the warpath, and after two days were joined by four more men, making fifteen in all. Two men were detailed as scouts and after a time reported the enemy near. Now the leader said, "All the horses of the enemy were promised to me before. Now you are to get them." So that night they went to the enemy's camp and ran off all the horses successfully.

Some time after this, while they were in camp, the leader called the members together and said, "The four coyote skins direct me to give out ten names. Of these I choose the name Little-wolf." Then he selected nine of the party who were to bear the following names: Gaunt-dog, Black-wolf, White-wolf, High-wolf, Fast-dog, No-dog, One-who-won-the-victory-dog, Dead-dog, Red-dog. The four men who joined the party last asked if they were to have names also. "Yes," said the leader, "you may have the names Big-wolf, Slow-dog, Yellow-wolf, Black-dog." Then the leader took up a whistle and began singing and dancing around the members. As he did so a live coyote came in and circled around his feet. The coyote said, "Enemies are near, we shall now go on the warpath. Five of the enemy shall be killed. When we attack the enemy, every time we meet them in a fight, the four men who carry the coyote skins are to call out each time as they strike the enemy, 'I am named So-and-so.'" (This means that each is to call his own name.)

Now the society set out to war. When they discovered the enemy they formed an ambush, rushed out, and charged them, killing five. The four coyote skin bearers rushed in, each calling his name as he struck down an enemy. The fifth one was killed by the leader, Little-wolf. Then they scalped the dead, took the plunder and went home. As they came up they rode round the camp circle, shooting into the air and shouting. When they came in each gave away a horse. This made their names famous. After this they were known as brave men.

Some time after this Little-wolf went out to war alone and captured many horses. It seemed that every time he went to war he met with good luck. So after a time he founded the dog society. There were thirty or more members.

From these practices, our informant stated, a society developed with the following organization:—

2 lances wrapped with otter fur	30 to 40 lay members
2 banner bearers	4 drummers
4 coyote skin bearers	

The four lance and banner bearers upon being installed must go to war to test the power of their office. They wore no shirts. All members carried small bags of medicine on the back of the head. The lay members had nothing else of distinction, except bone whistles. When on the warpath, they used the coyote painting, a broad red band across the mouth and cheeks, and a vertical red mark across each eye. The idea is the bloody mouth of the coyote when feeding. The four coyote skin bearers paint the face over with blue and scratch it down with the finger tips. These marks are said to denote that their medicine is strong; they are also credited with power to induce storms and fogs to conceal them from enemies.

In the dance, they stand in one place and move the body up and down, not lifting the feet, but holding whistles in their mouths and continually sounding them. There were many songs, referring chiefly to deeds of war; each ending with a peculiar wolf call.

An important requirement was that no one should ever turn back in a fight but all fight to the bitter end. They were regarded as well nigh invincible and became very famous. Another interesting feature is the giving of definite names to certain members. It is stated that no one could have these names, except as officially conferred by the society. Their function has been suggested in the narrative.

One informant knew of another organization, that passed by the name of dogs. They were a sort of fools who performed to make the people laugh. Their costume was very absurd, they painted themselves up grotesquely and wore peculiar ornaments.

BLOTAUNKA.

As stated at the outset the head akicita were entirely civil officers, but in some war parties there were analogous officers, serving under a group of men designated as blotaunka. The proper way to start a war party has been outlined by our informants as follows:— Any person whatsoever may, at his own motion, decide to form and lead a war party. Having so decided

he takes any pipe that comes to hand and calls upon a shaman to consecrate it. (Certain shamans have reputations as to the efficacy of their war medicines.) The shaman makes four sweat house ceremonies, prays over the pipe, fills it with Indian tobacco, seals the bowl with fat from the heart of a buffalo and wraps it up in a wolf skin. It is now a medicine (wakan) pipe, and is to be carried and cared for by the initiator or leader of the proposed party. The shaman also looks into the future and forecasts the result of the proposed expedition. He may accompany the war party to conduct ceremonies and to make further predictions. We asked our informant as to what action would be taken if the shaman predicted defeat. He replied that a war party seldom turned back for such a cause, since there was always the feeling that the shaman was not infallible. The leader then makes a feast to which he invites active men of war experience to whom he announces his plans and extends invitations to enroll. (At this feast the one served last gets all the food left over.) Thus, the nucleus of a party is formed which is open to volunteers at any time and we were given to understand that the services of no one could be refused. 1. 7.
2.

Our informants thought that no one would set out without a party of eight or ten men, the ideal number ranging from thirty to sixty. (Many informants specified forty as the proper number.) One informant recalled having been in a party of one thousand men.

When the party reaches the limits of the ideal number, the blotaunka may be instituted. Either just before setting out or very soon thereafter, a feast is made at which the blotaunka are appointed. (It is said that sometimes the blotaunka are appointed or selected by the leader before the shaman is called upon to consecrate the pipe.) They are chosen by the leader, or pipe bearer. He first selects two youths from twelve to sixteen years of age to act as his messengers. He then designates ten or more able-bodied men with some war experience, whom the messengers are to call in. When assembled they are informed that they are to have the honor of being the blotaunka. According to our information, these blotaunka are to constitute a corps of officers assistant to the leader. While their numbers are not limited, the ideal seems to have been about one blotaunka to three privates. The control and direction of the campaign rests entirely with the leader and the blotaunka who act as councilors and lieutenants. Now, while these men bear some resemblance to the akicita in civil affairs, they are something more, since they select from among the privates a number of men to serve as marshals, or akicita whose duties are to keep the party together, to prevent premature or individual attacks on the enemy, desertions, etc. They, in other words, enforce the orders of the blotaunka.

An informant describes the installation of these akicita as follows:—

They all start and at the fourth day of the march have a feast. The leader tells his two boys to call two young men (not in the blotaunka). When they come he takes charcoal and marks a band from one eye diagonally across the face or makes a mark on the right cheek. Then he puts a war-bonnet on each. Then he tells them to select a certain number of assistants and as they come to him he marks them also with charcoal, making akicita of them to watch over the affairs of the war party until it returns home. On returning the two bonnet men wear a black painted robe (the wakteglita s'ina, the robe belonging to the man coming back after killing enemies). The two bonnet wearers, of course, do not necessarily wear the bonnet, but anyhow they head the akicita.

With the exception of the leadership, the blotaunka is the greatest military honor and even the leader is spoken of as the chief of the blotaunka. While, as stated, anyone can organize a war party or be the leader, it is still true that in large parties or where the whole camp strength is required to make the attack, public opinion exercises a control over the voluntary leader. As an intelligent Indian said to us, "In no case did our people have such strict and carefully defined ways of managing affairs as the whites and bitter controversies over leaderships seldom arose." Now, it should be borne in mind that the blotaunka is only a special war party organization and that many small parties of three or more men went out in which naturally there could be no blotaunka for want of numbers. On the other hand, if the whole camp were called to defense or offense, they had already the four chiefs and their akicita within the camp organization and its societies to put in motion. Thus, the blotaunka stands as the special organization of a large part or a subdivision of the camp, that left the main body, often we were told with their families and full camp equipage, to go on a foray into the enemy's country. We have gone rather fully into the blotaunka because it seems to bear upon the question of the relation between the akicita societies and war organizations. Hence, we offer the following data on the operations of the blotaunka party as narrated by Afraid-of-bear:—

Perhaps one young Indian will say to another, "Let's go out on a war party. We will make a feast and invite different young Indians who we think are able to go." They make a feast and call in the young men (those who are accustomed to going out on war parties).¹ The manager of the war party is called chief of the war

¹ From Thunder-bear's narrative we extract the following details:— Then he will call in two boys 12 or 16 years old who have been on war parties. Then all leave the tipi except himself, the first friend or two and the two boys. Toward the back of the tipi he cuts the grass off in a square, brushes off the dust with an eagle wing, fills a pipe, and puts it down on the square. Then he names nine or ten different young men, that is, making twelve in all, sometimes a smaller number. These are the blotaunka. When they come he says, "Friends let us go on a war party." They consent. "In four days we will go, so have moccasins made." So on the fourth day he starts and the rest are ready to follow. He goes to a hill perhaps and sitting there waits for the rest to assemble.

party (c'a'nu'pa tawa, owner of the pipe), and all the selected ones are blotaunka, about ten in all, never over twenty. These lead the war party.

The feast is made and within ten days the war party starts. Usually in about four days they start, but not later in his recollection than ten days. Then the leader goes ahead and the blotaunka follow in line, some behind, and perhaps some to the side and after them as many volunteers as want to go, young men, boys, and even women go, there being no restrictions as to volunteers. The leader carries the pipe in hand. However, he says that this order may not be strictly observed, but that the leader is always ahead. Sometimes the distance covered each day was small, as a rule about twenty to twenty-five miles, depending upon the locations of water and firewood. Upon nearing the enemy's territory a gathering or council of the blotaunka was held and the need of scouts discussed. If such were needed, they had those who had previously served as scouts or who were fleet-footed brought to the council to the number of two or more, according to the size of the party.

The scouts may return without any information, but if they locate the enemy, the one who saw the enemy first reports the fact to the blotaunka and before anything is said one of the blotaunka gets out a pipe (not the leader's pipe) and after a smoke all hear the story of what he saw. When the scouts are setting out, some ambitious volunteers often attempt to follow them or strike out for themselves to make a personal record. Here is where the akicita appointed by the blotaunka find their chief task. They must keep close and persistent watch on the flanks and rear.

When approaching the enemy's country, one of the blotaunka suggests that they have a dance. They gather wood enough to make a large fire that the blaze may give a big light. Then they dance. At the dance, they are all painted up as if about to make a charge in battle, their horses are also painted with their tails tied up. Then two men accustomed to select men for this occasion are called upon to select eight young men and place them four on one side and four on the other. These men are instructed to kill enemies, that is, even if they have to count coup, not necessarily kill the enemy outright. These eight men may or may not be part of the blotaunka.

In this ceremony of preparing a man to kill an enemy, one may be given any object whatever with the charge or obligation that "With this (as a medicine) they shall kill any enemy or count coup." This may be returned to the owner at the end of the ceremony.

In this same torch or firelight dance the blotaunka bring forth two lances bent at the top, wrapped with wolf or coyote skins, and with strips or pairs of the skin in four separate places; also two rattles made of buffalo skin in the usual fashion. During the dance the messenger brings forward four men having distinguished themselves in killing enemies and distributes among them the two lances and the two rattles, charging them each to kill an enemy. The narrator was once invested with one of the rattles.

Also, another man is drawn, making five in all, to whom a pipe is given. This is a pipe belonging to someone else, borrowed for the special occasion, and after the presentation ceremony is returned to the original owner. This presentation also imposes the obligation to kill an enemy.

To own one of these lances is considered a greater honor than to be lance bearer in the akicita societies, making them in fact the lances par excellence. The lances must be made by a man who has dreamed of a wolf. They are

covered with wolf skin (see Fig. 1). The lance is wound with strips of wolf skin ending in crow feathers. On the end are owl feathers. The reason for the use of the wolf skin, crow, and owl feathers is that the wolf knows everything, the crow can find even dead things no matter where they are hidden, and the owl knows everything even if it is night.

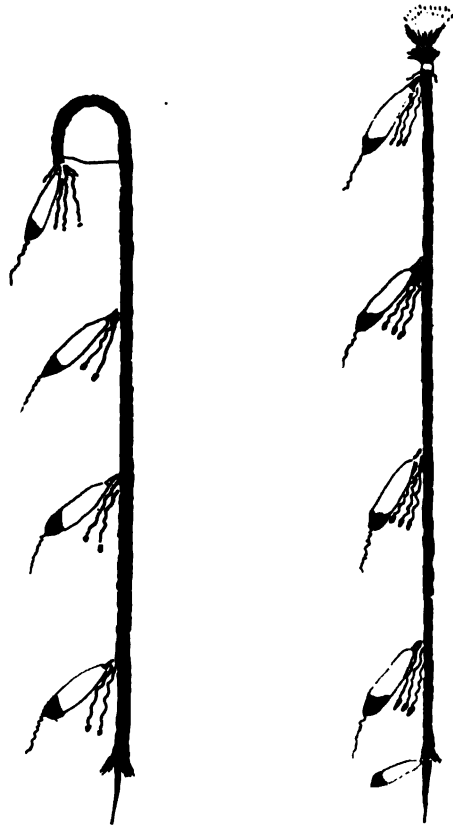


Fig. 1. Lances carried by a War Party. Types 1 and 2, page 67. Drawn by Thunderbear.

When they come near the enemy one of the blotaunka says to the rest as they are assembled after night fall, "We will have a shaman sing and prophesy for us." They fill a pipe (not the leader's pipe) with tobacco and give it to a young man to deliver to the shaman. (The leader's pipe is sealed with fat at the outset and only smoked at the end.) He takes the pipe and crying (a conventional sort of moaning) carries it to the shaman to

whom he hands the pipe, places the other hand on the shaman's forehead, who with an expression of acceptance "Ho-ye," accepts the pipe. He then lights it, smokes, and passes it to those present. When the pipe is all smoked out he hands it back to the young man with instructions to assemble the blotaunka some distance from camp. In the meantime the shaman decorates himself with paint and makes himself wakan. He then sets out, singing his wakan songs and continues until he finds the assembled blotaunka. They have the pipe ready for him and lighting it, hand it to him. He smokes and hands it back. Then they smoke in turn and before the fire is out the shaman is questioned concerning the fortunes of the adventure. He then relates the details of what will happen. For instance, in this manner a shaman named Pezo made a prophecy wherein the party was to encounter three hostile Indians butchering a buffalo. He said, "The one is afraid of me so you will not be able to catch him. The one on a white horse you will kill; the one on a bay horse with a stripe on his face and three white legs you will also kill; but the bay horse rider will get away from you." The prophecy came true in every detail, the narrator being one of the party.

After the foregoing ceremonies the party approaches the enemy. When about three miles from their camp, if a large one and apparently stationary, from six to ten warriors with fleet horses are selected. These fleet horsemen are sent forth and the akicita are on hand to see that no one else goes. To restrain the ambitious is difficult since the men selected are most certain to attain coups. This reconnoitering party makes a raid on the camp, killing some of the enemy or otherwise exciting them that they make a return charge. They then flee back to their party drawing on their pursuers. When they get within striking distance, the akicita let the main body charge the pursuers. When these have been annihilated the camp is stormed. During this general advance the leader goes first carrying the pipe in his arms, next follow several of the blotaunka, and then the rest of the party, among whom were scattered the other blotaunka and the akicita so as to make their control effective.

After the victory, in true Indian fashion, the party hastens back to the main body. Upon nearing the camp, they form in a line, with a young boy selected for the occasion, carrying the leader's pipe, while marching with him are those who "killed or counted coup." The pipe was slung on the boy's back and held there by a cord over both shoulders. All this time the pipe is wrapped up in fox or wolf pelt and held as wakan. Before the party set out on the excursion the pipe was filled with a tobacco known as "palani ta c'anli" (Pawnee tobacco) mixed with kinnikinnick, all this comprising a ceremonial act. This done, the pipe was sealed with fat taken from the heart of a buffalo. It was claimed that this fat would not melt

in warm weather. The pipe was then wrapped as mentioned and was not unwrapped until nearing the camp as above, when it was unwrapped, the seal broken, and smoked. Should the tobacco be consumed before all could smoke, it was passed on without being refilled and smoked in a symbolic way. Following this is the victory dance.

To the foregoing may be added some interesting war party customs. If a young man from ten to sixteen years of age happens to be in the party, some man who had the experience, kills a buffalo, takes the heart sac and makes a water pail. This he ties to the end of a stick about five feet long, one end of which is forked and bears crow feathers. He gives it to the boy telling him that at one time he himself was with a war party that successfully killed enemies and that he came back with his water pouch and with his face blacked (that is, dark blue, from a stone they get along the Niobrara River with which all the members of the war party paint their faces on returning and even those who did not go on the expedition). The boy is

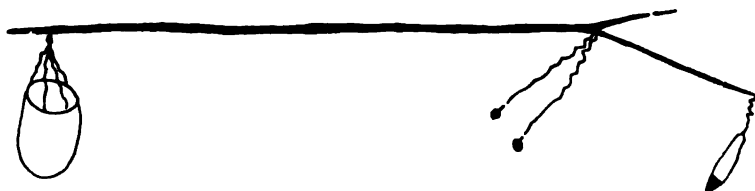


Fig. 2. The Water Boy's Lance. Drawn by Thunder-bear.

instructed to carry water for the war party. Then some dark night, that the courage of the boy may be developed, he is sent to a distant place and carries the water, one pouchful for each tipi. If after they have all drunk at one tipi some water should be left, he throws that away and goes for more. The name of the water boy's emblem is minieya wahokeza, water pouch lance. (Fig. 2.) Later, the water pouch may be thrown away and the stick alone used as a lance. If the young man is successful in overcoming the enemy or stealing horses, he may quit the office of water bearer. When carrying water to the chiefs at night in the beginning of his career, to develop bravery the leaders may say, "I give you a horse," or, "I give you an enemy's horse." This is believed to increase greatly the boy's chances of success because of certain wakan power associations with these men.

Also, they have a kind of joke to play on some young boy who happens to be on his first war party. If they kill a bunch of buffalo, in butchering someone will take the heavy tendon from the back of the neck and give it to the boy with instructions to take it to a certain tipi where it is wanted.

When he gets there he will be told that there must be a mistake that they want it at some other tent, and so on. Finally, they all cheer him, laugh, etc., until he realizes that a joke is being played on him.

At the victory dance they also have a ceremony of throwing away their old names and inviting some relative to select a new name. The narrator's name in childhood was "Clam," after a chief among the northern tribes, conferred upon him by the father of American-horse. Then when he came back from war with a coup, his mother gave away a horse and going to Red-cloud, a relative, asked him to select a new name as the old one was to be discarded. Red-cloud then said, "Once I dreamed that I visited a certain group of stars and after I got there found the inhabitants to be bears. Hence I will name him Afraid-of-bear. He is the bear and the enemy will all be afraid of him. In after years his name will be well-known on account of his killing many enemies." Then the herald announced in public that the name Clam was discarded and the new name Afraid-of-bear was taken and that everybody should take note of it. Then the horse was given to someone to whom the family owed a present or to someone in need.

We have noted that the title of blotaunka was one of great honor, though it held for a single war party only. When the whole camp organizes for defense, the chiefs society is usually recognized as the blotaunka. An informant recalls that once when threatened by the Pawnee, this society was made the blotaunka. It is clear that their functions are similar. A curious custom, however, is to appoint blotaunka after a fight. Thus, if the camp was surprised but stoutly resisted, the survivors would afterwards select a leader and appoint blotaunka who would thereafter have full credit for such service.

SOTKA TANKA.

This is somewhat similar to the miwatani society. The members never render akicita service, but only dance, feast, and go on war parties. The society is very exclusive in that they demand great bravery as a requirement for admission. When about four of their members are killed, they select that many more to fill the vacancies. There are also two virgin singers.

They have a lance made like a medicine bow except that the medicine bow is painted red and decorated with various kinds of bird feathers. This is made of wood with a buckskin string with eagle feathers and white rat skins fastened to it at intervals. On the string is eagle down and at each end owl feathers are placed. The point is of iron.

The sotka yuha and the hanepi sotka are different societies from the sotka tanka. The difference between them lies in the fact that the "night

sotka" was composed of younger men and the sotka yuha of older men (in other words, a rival organization); but this sotka tanka is different. The sotka yuha and "night sotka" have lances like the ihoka while everything else is the same with the exception of the bow-lance, which is used neither in the sotka nor "night sotka." For dances and feasts, they dress to suit themselves.

According to another informant this was a war society, derived either from the Crow or Pawnee. When he was a young man he saw the dance among the Crow. Later, it was introduced among the Oglala. There were about twelve members, each bearing lances and vowing to die in battle. (All these special lances used in societies are called wopaha; lances as weapons are called wakakeza). Later on, the number of lances was reduced to four. It was about forty-eight years ago that the society was founded and it existed about twelve years.

GENERAL DISCUSSION.

We have now discussed such details of men's societies among the Oglala as we were able to secure. We believe our list includes all that were in existence during the last hundred years, though it is possible that a few may have been forgotten. The tribe was confined to Pine Ridge and Rose Bud Reservations about 1877. As stated elsewhere this necessitated a radical change in organization, the United States government officers then performing in part the functions of the wakicun and maintaining their own police, or akicita. Our informants all agreed that most of the societies in this list passed out of existence during the first few years of reservation life, because the old camp organization in which they played a part was a thing of the past. In most cases, it was said, they ceased to appoint new members and hold feasts, in consequence of which many persons now living regard themselves as members still. However, the tokala and the chiefs society seem to have survived to within a few years and the ska yuha to have been originated during the years 1879-1886.

If we consider men's societies as a whole we find certain similarities in organization and underlying conceptions. All are assumed to have originated in the mystic experiences of shamans by virtue of which certain medicine attributes were associated with the various rituals. In organization all show a tendency against single individual leadership, having two or four leaders of equal rank supported by a definite number of officers or councilors. With one or two possible exceptions all selected their own members in secret

meeting, applications for admission could not be made. No women were admitted except a few to assist in the singing. All were independent in so far that membership in one was not a stepping-stone to membership in another. The age qualifications of all were equal except that boys and very young men were rarely taken into the chiefs society and the ska yuha.

When we consider the akicita group alone we find a surprising degree of uniformity in details. All were liable to be called into akicita service, while other societies never rendered such service. Every spring when a new tribal camp was about to be formed, each akicita society made ready a special tipi and sent messengers about the camp to solicit materials for making a new set of regalia. This is said to be peculiar to these organizations and we may suggest that this is due to their akicita function. They are all credited with the rule of not notifying a newly elected member until the messengers arrived to conduct him to the place of installation. Other societies notified them upon their election. The scheme of officers is practically the same. All have from four to six lance bearers who are the most conspicuous, if not the most important personages in the society. They are usually grouped in pairs, as in fact are nearly all the other officers; hence, we find two or three pairs of lance bearers, and a pair of leaders. Next in rank to the two leaders stands another pair, among the cante tinza and the wiciska they are known as bonnet bearers, and among the others as pipe bearers, but their functions are much the same. These two ranking pairs are sometimes spoken of as the four chiefs in charge of the organization. There are two whip bearers in all, except the kangi yuha in which their functions seem to be divided between two rattle bearers and a pair of extra lance men. All these are posts of distinction, there being five pairs in all, except the kangi yuha and the ihoka who had six. As to food passers, drummers, and singers, there is general uniformity throughout. It is thus clear that whatever may have been the origin of these societies, they were all brought to an approximation of the one type.

The general order of dancing and ceremonial procedure was the same for all akicita societies. We did not investigate the songs, other than to note what informants had to say on the subject. It seems that the ihoka, sotka, wiciska, have many songs in common, or peculiar to them, while the others have for the most part distinct songs; yet, some songs are common to the whole group of six. In all songs and dances each of the societies had its own peculiar way of ending by which the listener would know who was singing or dancing. (This is rather common to all ceremonial songs among the Plains Indians.)

Having now defined the akicita group we may turn to the others. If we should waive the akicita distinction, the miwatani, the dogs, and perhaps

the omaha should be included in the first group. The chiefs society, on the other hand, seems to have a different organization with four shirt bearers as the leaders, yet we note that the conceptions underlying these shirts and their mode of installation are quite like those of the lance bearers in the akicita group, the miwatani, the dogs, and the omaha. This cannot be a mere generality, for though we find a similar scheme of officers among Black-foot societies we find no such conceptions of their obligations as among the Oglala.

The fact that all these societies have responsible officers charged with particular obligations in battle, suggests that their functions are chiefly military. Indeed, they were often spoken of by earlier writers as soldier organizations. The Oglala themselves seem not to entertain such an idea. It is true that the members of the akicita group were usually under fifty years of age, the period in life when men went out in war parties; but anyone could go to war whether he belonged to a society or not. Also, it is asserted that a society rarely went to war as an organization in charge of the party, and this would be the inference from the data on the blotaunka. On the other hand, if a member joined a war party, he was expected to carry his society regalia and observe all the obligations thereto. The origin myths for these organizations usually take this form; a shaman has a vision in which an organization is suggested, gets together a war party to test it and eventually forms a society. Thus, it is plain that according to Oglala theory these societies were developed from war parties.

However this may be, our informants maintained that the purpose of all these organizations was to enhance social and fraternal relations among their members. We were told that poor men were never taken in because they had not the means to assist the needy and to make feasts and also because a man who had no personal ambition to rise in the world was not a likely person to carry out the ideals of an organization. We must note that the Oglala conception of a rich man is one who produces much and gives most of it to the poor and dependent in his camp. Should a man be a great producer but selfishly hoard his property, he would be considered poor and disregardful of the welfare of the people at large, and would not be elected to a society. It is the ideal that members help both by word and deed the struggling poor man; should he rise, he would be respected but rarely taken into a society, since he did not rise unaided. On the other hand, if one rose by his own efforts, he would be sought by many societies. All this supports the Oglala conception that men's societies of the type described in this section are to promote the not altogether selfish social and philanthropic activities of their members and that they are in no sense military organizations. Perhaps we may be justified in regarding akicita service by one group and arbitration and legislation service by the other as prompted by this ideal.

For example, it was said that if anyone commits a wrong the chiefs society, miwatani, or omaha go to the wronged one and prevent him from retaliating by offering him a pipe to smoke and presenting him with a horse. He in turn presents a horse. Then they go to the guilty one and tell him that he must settle with the man he has wronged by a payment of some kind. 146

It is the rule for all societies to expel anyone who does wrong. If a lance carrier is afraid of an enemy, he is supposed to be ashamed of his act and not continue as an officer; however, if he is not ashamed they poke fun at him, saying he is a lance carrier and should be a brave man but is afraid of the enemy, thus making him so ashamed that he withdraws. 17

If a member wishes to quit he is supposed to announce the fact at a feast, saying that he can no longer endure belonging for certain reasons. This reason may be an offense of some kind against the society or he may be tired of his membership. Some do not announce the fact of their leaving, but anyone so doing is not regarded as a great man. A member does not have to pay to be released. If the society desires the membership of the man to continue, they labor with him and may give him something as a present to stay. If a lance carrier desires to quit, he may make a feast and in returning the lance to the society give presents, also material for making up a new lance when the society reorganizes at the next feast. Sometimes they return the lance to the same lance carrier at the next feast, if he is willing, but generally it is given to a new man.

It is usual to appoint at least two or three boys ten to fifteen years old to each society. The idea is that their mothers will bring food and take an active part in helping to prepare the feast; also that the fathers or relatives will use the boy as a medium for making presents to the poor.

Members must be good dancers. Generally the boys are bashful about dancing and those who are, are not in demand. Also, they must appear to be brave. Of course, bravery was a common ambition and it was a ready means of winning public approval or esteem. If a member went out with a war party and distinguished himself by killing enemies, he was almost certain to get the post of lance bearer the next time it was vacant.

Investigations among many Plains tribes have brought to light certain age-groupings to which we have previously referred. Among the Oglala there seems to have been neither a definite entering nor a retiring age, since some men maintained their membership during life; on the other hand, it was regarded as usual for one to retire when middle life was reached. So long as one was in good standing the initiative of retirement lay with him, the society having no more to say about it than he had about his own entrance into it. While there is some difference of opinion it is clear that one was permitted to hold membership in more than one society at a time. An

informant tells us that the regular meetings of the societies take the form of feasts. Thus, to-night they will have a tokala feast, a few days later they will have the brave feast, later on the miwatani, etc., and a person may belong to all and attend all.

We collected data as to terms of membership from the following individuals:

No.	Name	Age
1	Calico	68
2	Thunder-bear	64
3	Red-feather	58
4	Woman-dress	—
5	High-bear	72
6	Iron-tail	60
7	Afraid-of-bear	70

We may summarize these statistics first as to age of individuals at entrance:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Range
tokala	20	24	20	18	20	19	27	18-27
ka ⁿ gi yuha	—	—	16	—	24	20	18	16-24
c'a ⁿ te ti ⁿ za	—	10	20	18	22	22	9	9-22
miwatani	9	—	—	18	23	6	—	7-23
ihoka	—	27	—	—	—	26	—	26-27
sotka yuha	21	—	—	14	22	30	17	14-30
wic'iska	34	—	—	27	24	—	25	24-34
chiefs society	—	33	48	50	29	—	34	29-50
omaha	—	—	21	14	43	32	30	14-43
ska yuha	—	—	—	49	27	35	—	27-49

Again as to number of years a member of each:—

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
tokala	1	1	?	c	3	?	c	1-3-c
ka ⁿ gi yuha	—	—	?	—	3	?	c	3
c'a ⁿ te ti ⁿ za	—	11	c	3	1	?	c	1-11-c
miwatani	9	—	—	1	5	?	—	1-9
ihoka	—	3	—	—	—	?	—	3
sotka yuha	10	—	—	1	28	?	c	1-28-c
wic'iska	1	—	—	8	1	—	c	1-8-c
chiefs society	—	c	c	c	c	—	c	c
omaha	—	—	c	c	c	c	c	c
ska yuha	—	—	c	1	c	c	—	1-c
c — did not retire at all								

6 and 7 — did not remember that they ever withdrew from any of these but 6 gradually ceased to attend the meetings of those in the akicita group.

These men were our chief informants in the preparation of this paper and are among the ablest members of the tribe. Naturally, they were likely to be sought by all organizations. We note that one entered but four societies, another nine out of a possible ten, the average number being about six or seven. No one entered the akicita group after election to the ska yuha or the chiefs society. The tendency in the akicita group is toward a brief membership in contrast to a life membership in the others. No. 7 insisted that he never ceased to attend any society to which he was elected so long as the organizations existed; while No. 6 simply ceased to attend, still regarding himself as a member. Previously, we noted that the miwatani resembled the akicita societies which is again noticeable in the periods of membership.

As just stated, the Oglala theory seems to be that the societies originated in war parties; this is also suggested by the blotaunka and the organization of a war party. It will be recalled that in organizing a war party two men are invested with curved lances and two with straight ones and that these are the lances par excellence, outranking all society emblems that may be carried in the ranks. There are two men bearing rattles of almost equal rank. Upon these were laid military obligations similar to those found among the societies. While there is here no definite proof, it seems more reasonable to assume that fraternal organizations took their military features from war organizations than the reverse. In the napes'ni (no-flight) we have a suggestion of this; among the Santee division this seemed to have been a war party organization, but it appears among the Oglala as an adjunct of the cante tinza. 71

Two competent informants, Thunder-bear and Sword, each prepared a series of sketches in color of the regalia for each society. The one by Thunder-bear is the most complete. He gives four general types of lance: 1. A crooked fur-wrapped lance bearing four bunches of tail-feathers, used by the cante tinza, ihoka, and wiciska. 2. A straight fur-wrapped lance bearing four bunches of feathers, used only in association with type 1. 3. Straight lances with feathers in rows, cangi yuha and cante tinza. 4. Straight beaded lances with two bunches of feathers, the tokala only. 5. A bow lance, the sotka tanka. As noted elsewhere the regular war party carried four lances of its own, a pair each of types 1 and 2. (Fig. 1.) Thus, we seem to have a direct association between the formal war party and the cante tinza, ihoka, and wiciska societies. It seems more reasonable to suppose that this has a general rather than a specific significance, since with the exception of the bow lance, the other lances vary only in the placing of the feathers. In every case four lances are used in pairs.

The wearing of the sash is in a way analogous to the lance. While every-

one agrees that the practice was introduced by the miwatani, others insist that it was not peculiar to them. Thunder-bear described a rival cante tinza that had two such sash bearers. Some other informants declared that the "staking down" was a characteristic of the napesni. We believe that as with the lance there was a tendency to consider the sash conception as a detachable feature which any person or organization was free to take up.

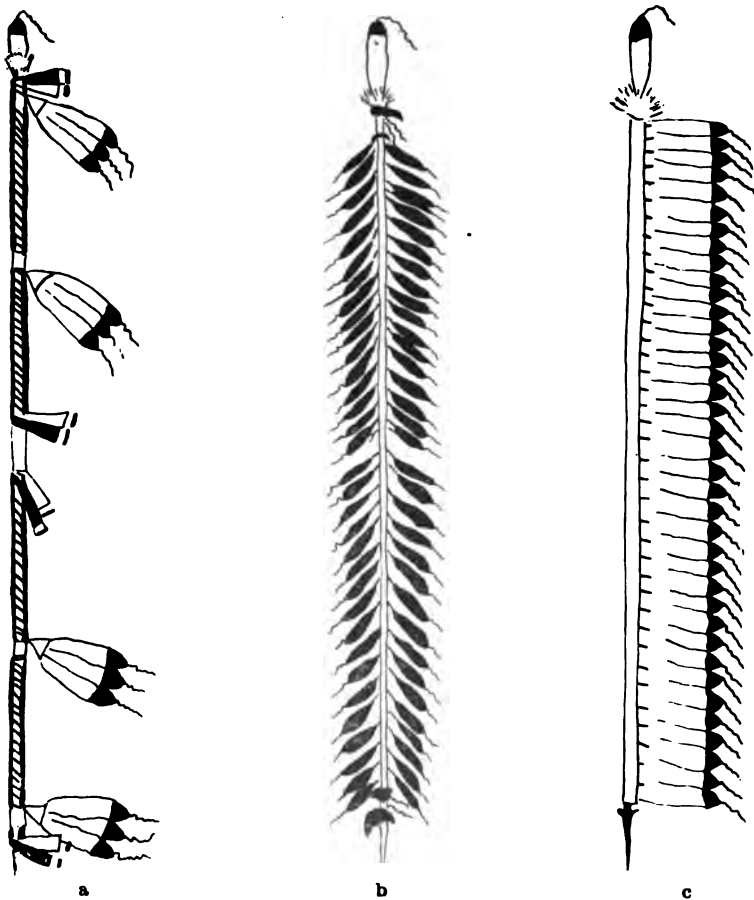


Fig. 3. Lances. a, Wic'iska. b, Kangi yuha. c, Cante tinza. a has a double shaft and spiral wrappings of red and white strips. Drawn by Thunder-bear.

Among the Blackfoot we find a highly developed system of purchase or transfer to the extent that members enter a society by purchasing the regalia and rites of another, who thereby gets out of the organization. This idea is not found either in Oglala societies or ceremonies, though something like

it occurs in a single instance (p. 30). According to the Oglala, anyone could make the regalia and sing the songs of a society and it would be beneath the dignity of the organization to protest. It was common for boys to form temporary organizations using the regalia and ritual of the regular *akicita* organizations. Such organizations might become permanent as the

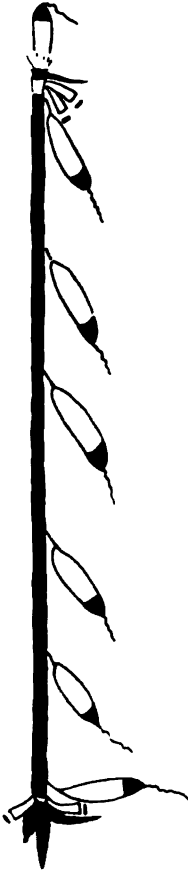


Fig. 4. Kangi yuha lance.

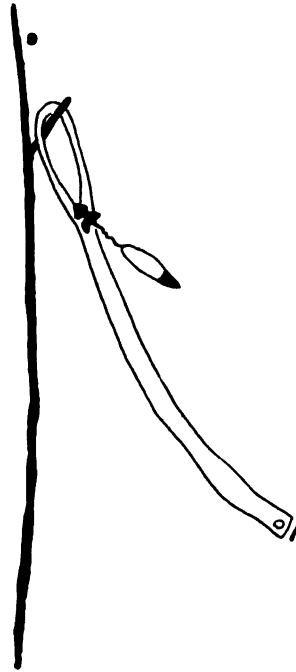


Fig. 5. Sash and supporting Stake used in the Miwatani. Drawings by Thunder-bear.

boys matured, but rival organizations were usually formed by adults who had not been elected to membership in the existing societies. There is a general belief among many of our informants that most of the *akicita* societies originated as rival groups, using the rituals of another but to which were added from time to time the creations of a shaman. The information at hand makes this quite plausible.

This may account for certain discrepancies in the accounts of J. O. Dorsey:—"the Mandan dance, performed by the cante tinza okolakiciye, or the society of the stout-hearted ones." (a, 463.) Again, "Another of his articles tells of the miwatani okolakiciye kin or The Mandan Society, which used to be called cante tinza okolakiciye, or Society of the Stout Hearted Ones. It is now known as kangi yuha, keeps the raven." (a, 498.) That these statements cannot be true of the Oglala is clear from our table on p. 66.

Except as singers, women are not associated with any of these societies. There are no corresponding women's organizations as among many Plains tribes. As has been noted elsewhere some societies had a peculiar custom

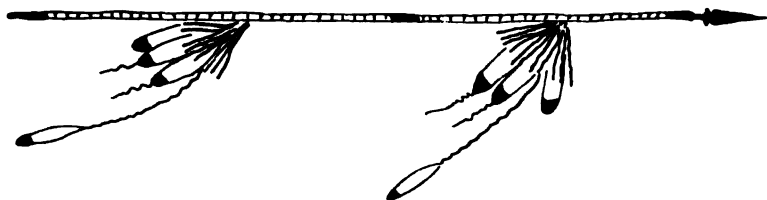


Fig. 6. Tokala Lance. Drawn by Thunder-bear.

by which a member divorced his wife. By tradition, the miwatani introduced a ceremony, or sacrifice, known as "throwing wife away." Later, it was adopted by the tokala, ihoka, sotka, and the intrusive omaha organization, but not by other akicita societies. At a formal ceremony, a man may feel full of the spirit of the hour and desire to make a great sacrifice: so, if he have a good wife, he may formally address the assembly, stating that he now throws his wife away. As he says this, he strikes on the drum used for the dancing. After such an announcement the society continued in session all night that the man and his divorced wife might not meet and relent. At daybreak they march around the camp, while the herald announces the separation of the couple. Then feasts are made and praises sung. The more perfect the character of the divorced wife, the more laudable the sacrifice. Naturally, it is a trial for the man, but should he again take the woman, he would be dismissed from the society and greatly derided in songs and speeches. The woman has not been dishonored, rather the reverse. She is free to marry again. After a time the society assists the man in finding a new wife. She is taken on probation and, if not finally approved by the society, she is put away and another taken.

On several occasions in the preceding discussion we have called attention to the distinctions between akicita and other societies as recognized by the

Oglala themselves. According to tradition there were at the start four societies, the tokala, cante tinza, kangi yuha, and miwatani. This myth as narrated by Thunder-bear runs as follows:—

Once a war party of four men was out near the Black Hills, walking along. They saw a large wolf running about as if at random. He carried something in his mouth. He came up to the top of a hill when he turned into a man. This they thought mysterious, but took him for an enemy. They threw down their robes and rushed for him. As they came nearer, they saw that the mysterious man carried a lance. He held a rattle in one hand and sang a song as if to raise his courage. As they approached, he threw the rattle down, thrust the lance into the ground, and running back disappeared over the hill-top.

The party took up the lance and the rattle, but pressed on to see what had become of the mysterious man. Presently they saw him standing on the opposite side of a stream with another lance and a rattle. Then he began to dance and sing tokala songs. Now, they were mystified, but rushed him again. As before, he threw down the rattle, thrust the lance into the ground and vanished over a hill-top. When they followed up, they saw him standing as before, but with a miwatani lance. He sang some of the songs. Then he vanished.

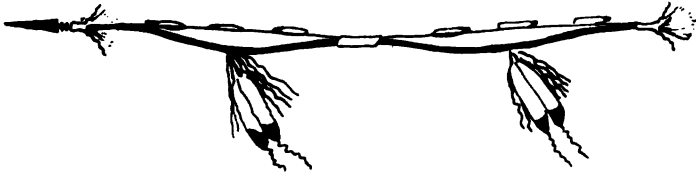


Fig. 7. Bow Lance for the sotka tanka. Drawn by Thunder-bear.

Once again they saw him, but now with a kangi yuha lance. Everything happened as before, except that as he ran he became a grey wolf and waited. The four men approached and stood around. The wolf said, "My brethren, I give you these charges and obligations. You shall head four different societies: cante tinza, tokala, miwatani, and kangi yuha. Go home and each set up a tipi within the camp circle; the kangi yuha to the north of the door, the cante tinza to the south; the miwatani at the north rear, the tokala at the south rear. The cante tinza shall make lances of ash, the tokala of willow, the miwatani of box-elder and the kangi yuha of cherry. Now, go home."

So the four men set out bearing their lances. They were four days on the journey and on the fourth night camped in sight of their people. That night the wolf appeared again: "Before you reach your camp send two men ahead. Tell the people to move camp, to go toward the north, to a nice flat near a stream. As you camp there many buffalo will come from the north and on the following morning you shall kill many of them. As the camp is being moved you are to keep out to the rear. When the four tipis are ready in the new camp, you may come in and enter them."

While they sat out in the rear waiting for the new camp to be pitched, a man came up and sat down at their left. He was painted with blue and red stripes, wore a crow-wing hair ornament and carried a wooden staff about an arm long. He said

"I came here to be your friend. You received these lances that you might become powerful for the good of your people. Cante tinza, you should have a whistle like this (the staff). Tokala, here is a rattle for you. Miwatani, you also shall have a whistle. Kangi yuha, you shall have a rattle. (This places the rattles and whistles opposite each other in the camp circle.) For decorations on the lances, the chief birds shall be the eagle, spotted eagle, osprey, owl, crow, magpie, and large hawk. Cante tinza, you shall tan otterskin well and wrap your lance with it. Tokala, you paint your lance red and arrange four bunches of feathers with four different kinds in each bunch. Miwatani, you paint your lance red and decorate at one place with owl feathers. Kangi yuha, you shall have a lance as long as a man and decorate it with crow and magpie feathers continuously from top to bottom, an eagle tail feather at the top and a spotted-eagle tail feather at each of two intermediate points.

Also I have asked men to place two calf skins at the tipi for the cante tinza; for the tokala, the same; for the miwatani a bunch of wing bones for whistles; for the kangi yuha two calf skins; and for cante tinza, a wolf skin; an antelope skin, to each of the four tipis.

The insides of the tipis, I have ordered strewn with sage grass, very thick at the back. You are to teach the different songs and the dances. All winter long there shall be many buffalo. Now, you may enter the tipis."

At the door of each tipi was stationed an old man. Each leader directed one to invite ten representative young men. All sat down to a feast. Cante tinza said, "You get an antelope and two calf hides, feathers of the eagle, spotted eagle and owl, also two otterskins and some sinew." Tokala ordered feathers of hawk, magpie, and spotted eagle, also eagle down, two calf skins, an antelope skin and sinew. Miwatani ordered eagle feathers, owl feathers, wing bones, paint and sinew. Kangi yuha ordered crow feathers, eagle tail feathers, two calfskins, an antelope skin, dark blue paint, and some sinew. Four virgins were then called in to dress some buffalo calf skins.

Toward evening four strange men were seen approaching. The leaders ordered all to sit still. Just at dark a man entered each tipi bearing a straight pipe filled with tobacco and placed it before the leader. Each said, "The one who gave you these things, sent us here to teach you the songs. You have been given long life and great power. Now stand up."

"You shall make five more lances like these. Then no enemy can overcome you. You shall use drums, whistles, and rattles. Now, I shall teach you the songs."

First, they sang ten songs and then two more. After one singing each was learned. In order they were: three songs, three dance songs, three songs, and finally three dance songs.

Now, the cante tinza had four lances wrapped with otter fur, two short lances, painted red with a buffalo horn on the end. From the buffalo rawhide two sashes were cut and decorated with eagle feathers; one sash was painted blue and the other red.

"Now, I shall instruct you how to go to war. First, you will meet a herd of buffalo, pursuing them will be four men. These you shall kill; each society to kill one with a lance. Now, I shall go away. When lances are being made you must be very careful. Take eight days for this work. I shall return each evening to instruct you."

Then, the man turned into a gray wolf and ran out through the camp passing out at the opening in the circle.

So all went out and gathered material to begin their eight days' task. They made the lances as ordered. For painting them the *cante tinza* uses a pinkish red; *tokala*, yellow; *miwatani*, red; and *kangi yuha*, dark blue. For eight nights the work went on. Thirty more young men were invited to join each society. The *tokala* made a globular rattle with a fox skin guard; they painted it yellow. The *miwatani* painted red, wore a bunch of owl feathers on a stick for a hair ornament, hung whistles on their necks and carried rattles of dew-claws. The *kangi yuha* painted dark blue and had four rattles for the singers.

On the evening of the seventh day the instructors said, "All will be completed by morning. You must select the best young men to hold the lances. Then you must march around the camp, dancing before the tipis of chiefs. On the ninth day you shall kill the four enemies."

All these instructions were carried out. Early in the morning one saw a herd of buffalo approaching. (They were also instructed that a white buffalo would be in the herd and that, if it was killed, the buffalo would always follow the camp.) So they killed buffalo and then the four enemies as predicted.

Now, there was great rejoicing in the camp. At the fourth evening the four strange men came again. Now, they directed that there should be two men with short lances, who in battle should thrust their lances into the ground and not run back. The *tokala* two lance men shall stand far apart with the members between. The *kangi yuha* have two lance men in the middle and one at each end of the line.

These and all other instructions were handed down.

The main points in this agree with the versions rendered by some other informants. It implies an original similarity in function and, hence that all four were *akicita* organizations. Though it is claimed that later the *miwatani* ranked with the older men and was not called upon for *akicita* service, it took in boys and young men. Reference to our statistics fails to show any age differences. Therefore, though this point cannot be settled, it appears likely that the exemption from *akicita* service and the different mode of selecting candidates was a later development. However, as we are here concerned with the functions of these societies, we have accepted the classification of the Oglala themselves. As noted we have found it generally consistent with the data collected on the various organizations.

Notwithstanding the myths there are historical traditions for the origin of many societies. It is said that the *ihoka* came from the Crow, the *miwatani* from the Mandan, and the *wiciska* from the Cheyenne. We have found nothing among the Crow to suggest the *ihoka*. As to the *wiciska* which is sometimes called the shield bearers, the Cheyenne afford no parallel. Thus, while there is no good reason for taking these traditions seriously, it is interesting to note that similar organizations were attributed to the Crow by Lewis and Clark (a, Vol. 1, 130).

As stated elsewhere the Oglala were formerly divided into four independent camps with slightly different forms of government. The tendency was for each of these to organize duplicate societies, except in the case of

the chiefs society. We did not learn as to the actual distribution of the various societies, but were told that the miwatani, sotka, wiciska, and the tokala occurred in each of the four; but that the kangi yuha existed in the Red-cloud division only. We were told that in case of the tokala there was a complete organization in every distinct camp in each of the four divisions, but that this was true of no other society. These were, so far as could be learned, independent of each other and not under the control of a general council of any kind.

Although all akicita societies have much in common they seem not to have felt any bonds or obligations toward each other. We are told that wife stealing was a great sport, but one was not supposed to meddle with the women of a fellow member; all not belonging to members of his own particular society being legitimate prey. In gaming there was great rivalry. An informant saw a horse race between the miwatani and the cante tinza. Each ran four horses on a course of about one mile. Two of the cante tinza came out ahead and the miwatani lost all the property they had. In hunting, there was also great rivalry, but most of all in deeds of the warpath. This intense rivalry is not quite consistent with the freedom to membership in more than one society at a time. In public and private each society ridiculed all others. The miwatani, for example, was spoken of as insane, silly, etc., because of the rule requiring the sash bearer to be staked down before the enemy; yet, many of these scoffers would have been glad of an invitation to join.

On going out with a war party, there is considerable rivalry between the members of different societies as to who shall kill the enemy first. Often the ambition for honors of that sort is so keen, that in case they are not selected to make the first charge, they steal away from the akicita and try their luck in an independent attack. Any way on returning home they hold a ceremony of rivalry. Two societies gather together, one on each side. First one member will get up and tell of how he killed an enemy, enumerating the hardships, the difficulties encountered and set up a stick as a mark. Then someone on the other side will tell of a deed, etc. Then they commence to give horses and other goods away. It will even go so far that wives are given away. There is no little rivalry at the games, members of one society trying to beat those of another.

II. FEAST AND DANCE ASSOCIATIONS.

Under this head we shall give such information as came to hand concerning associations or dances not primarily devoted to shamanistic practices.

THE SILENT-EATERS.

The society of the *ainila wotapi* (silent-eaters) is spoken of as a feasting society composed of middle-aged men and is said to have been organized about the time of Custer's defeat. It had a roll of about seventy members, scattered throughout the various Oglala bands. There were two head men, two food bearers who always sat at the sides of the door, and a herald. There were no special singers and neither drums nor rattles. As there was neither singing nor dancing at the feast, they were called silent-eaters. At their feasts a hole is dug in the center of the tipi into which all toss the bones. At the end all make a pipe offering. One member is designated to care for the pipe and always prays, "These are all warriors; they always overcome enemies, etc." War deeds are the usual topics of discussion. For food they are supposed to have the finest cuts of buffalo and dog. In most feasts guests are permitted to carry away food, but not here.

The members are required to exercise fraternalism. If one is in trouble, all give assistance. They must also help the aged and the very poor. If a member has a death in his family, a meeting is called at which steps for his consolation are taken. If a member die, a kind of memorial is held for his relatives, at which time someone is also chosen to fill the vacancy. Undeserving conduct at home or when among a distant tribe was punished by dismissal. As among *akicita* societies a member deserting another in battle, would be dismissed in disgrace.

A similar feast was sometimes made for the *blotaunka*, called the *zuya woha^api*, but there seems to have been no organization.

SHIELD-BEARERS.

There was a woman's association regarded as of great age, but which has not held a meeting for about forty-two years. A few members are still living, among them Black-elk's mother. The original name for this was *kat'ela*, a term of uncertain origin, but seemingly implying the celebration of killing enemies. J. O. Dorsey, (a) 498, gives another name, *taniga*

icu society. The later name was shield-bearers and their dance was sometimes spoken of as "the wounded." To qualify as a member one must have a husband or relatives with many deeds to their credit. The woman carries in the dance some of the arrows or regalia of the man honored. In later times, it is said, they usually carried a shield, so that the bearing of a shield became the symbol of the ceremony. Men took no part in the dance, except that four were selected to do the drumming and to assist in the singing. The members had no special regalia and no distinct organization. Their faces were painted black. The association was called together by a woman having a son or relative who returned with a horse or from killing an enemy. She makes a feast for all the kat'ela women, who dance the kat'ela songs in honor of the woman's son. They also give presents. The dance was usually in the open before the tipis of head men, where they stood in a circle, sang their songs, and danced toward the center. It seems that having once qualified to enter the dance, a woman had the privilege of participating in all the kat'ela ceremonies during her life.

In recent years, "the wounded" dance was sometimes given at the omaha assemblages. Formerly, these demonstrations were supposed to stimulate the men to deeds of bravery in that their women might glorify them.

PRASEWORTHY WOMEN.

A woman's society composed of women of all ages was called the wiⁿ yaⁿ tapika (praiseworthy-women). This was borrowed from a northern tribe. The members wear a strip of otterskin around the forehead and eagle feathers crosswise on the forehead in the hair. They leave the hair loose and wear their best clothes. About ten men sing for them and they dance in a circle.

OWNS-ALONE.

For women there is also a feast or ceremony for those who have reached forty years or more and who have had but one husband, or rather those who have been strictly true to the marriage relation. At certain times it will be shouted out by a herald, that the owns-alone (is'nula ikite'un, for your exclusive use) will feast. They assemble in the open air where all who feel qualified may join. Here they are subject to challenge by the men. If a man sees one with whom he has been familiar, he may go into the circle, take up the feast bowl of the guilty one and toss it away. Then the crowd will shout and deride. The women may require her accuser to take an oath. One form is to hold a gun barrel, a knife, or an arrow in the mouth.

If he swear falsely he will be killed by a weapon. Sometimes a lighted pipe is prayed over and then smoked.

The following account is by one of our informants who witnessed several feasts:— Let us suppose that here is a young married woman with children and along comes a gossiping woman who accuses her of adultery behind her back. Her friends tell her of the gossip. She then gathers food for a feast and calls upon some old women who never knew but one man and who are experienced in the ceremony. When all is ready an old woman shouts about the camp stating that "her vagina was used by but one man" and that all who have the same virtue are invited to a feast.

When all have assembled, the accused woman cooks the food and carries it to the middle of the camp circle where the feast is to be held in the open. Only a few women could qualify for the feast for the rule was absolute that they must have never been intimate with any man except the one they married first. The woman herald shouts out a challenge for the men of the camp to come forward and impeach the virtue of those assembled. In the center of the circle is a gun, an arrow, a knife, and a snake cut from rawhide.

The whole camp assembles and the herald announces that the men are to challenge. If a man see among them a woman with whom he has been intimate, he will come forward and point her out. She will challenge him to take up the gun, arrow, knife, and snake and swear by each that he tells the truth. The oath is a very solemn one and most men shrink from it. If the accuser so swear, the public pelt the woman with buffalo chips and filth, running her out of camp.

The woman accused then challenges the gossip to bring forward the man having dishonored her and let him take the oath. The gossip herself may be challenged to take the oath.

Those who remain are to feast. The herald announces that all spectators are to withdraw as they are about to proceed with the feast.

There is a similar ceremony for virgins and virtuous young men called *wimanasai c'itepe*. All the people assemble and dig a hole about eighteen inches deep. Beside it they place a knife and an arrow. Then the young women who have never been intimate with a man reach into the hole and then bite the knife. Then any young man who has never been intimate with a woman or has never touched the vulva of a woman (a courting custom among young men) goes up and reaching into the hole bites the arrow.

If a young woman is guilty and yet pretends that she is not, any man who knows that she is lying will go up, throw a handful of dirt in her face, or throw her dish away, saying, "This is a feast for virgins and you are a woman," or perhaps he will drag her forcibly from the place. There is always a large crowd looking on.

PRAIRIE-CHICKEN DANCE.

This was a ceremonial assembly of women. It has not been danced for many years. The dancers hopped about and made noises like prairie-chickens. No man took part except a few as singers. A member would prepare a feast and send an old woman out to call out invitations.

WIC'ILO.

This seems to be a ceremony over a favorite son. It first started about eleven years ago.

NO-BREECH-CLOTH-DANCE.

When preparing for an expedition the warriors may give this dance in which they are entirely nude. Every night while on the warpath they must dance it. In addition to some songs of their own, they use those of the *cante tinza*. Those who join in this dance must not desert their wounded, but bring them off safely. Usually about fourteen men took part. One informant insists that this was another name for the *cante tinza*, but others are equally positive that it was as stated.

DRAGGING-FEET DANCE.

The *nas'loha wacipi* is a modern social association, or dance, said to have come from the Skutani (Gros Ventre) ¹ about six or seven years ago. Men and women dance together holding arms, whence it is sometimes called the "hugging dance." The step resembles a waltz. It has special songs and is very popular with the young people. This has some resemblance to the kissing dance of the Blackfoot Indians and other northern tribes. The Oglala say that it originally came from the Rabbit-skin-wearers west of the Gros Ventre, among whom it was *wakan*, but here it is entirely social.

NIGHT-DANCE.

An association for young people of both sexes is known as the night-dance, *haⁿ wacipi*. (Mentioned under this name by J. O. Dorsey, a, 498.) It was learned from the Cheyenne at Fort Robinson some thirty-eight years

¹ In Riggs' Dictionary the term is rendered as "Kootenai," but our informants were sure that the Prairie Gros Ventre is the correct rendering.

ago and was quite popular for a few years. (Calico states that it came originally from the Kiowa and that formerly they, the Cheyenne, Ute, Shoshone, and Arapaho were east of the Black Hills, but were driven out by the Dakota.) The members were unmarried, but two men acting as leaders were usually married. They opened the ceremony by recounting their deeds. The young men sat on one side of the tipi, the young women on the other. As the songs for this dance were sung, a man would rise and dance with a present which he then presented to one of the young women. In the same way the young women danced with presents for young men. This was regarded as a kind of courting ceremony. Then all danced in a circle, holding hands. At the close a feast was made.

THE TANNERS.

An association of women spoken of as tanners (*taha kpoⁿ yan pe*), but properly tipi-makers, seems to have been a kind of guild. One with a tipi cover to make, prepares a feast and sends out a herald to invite all the tipi-makers. When they have assembled, an offering is made and prayers given for the good of all. The skins are then divided out and dressed. Then they are joined and sewed into a tipi cover, etc. It was said, that this served to elevate the craft.

There seems to have been some secret form of asking for food. Invitations were sometimes given by throwing skin dressing tools through the doors of tipis. At the feast, each must eat all set before her, or pay a forfeit. After the tipi is completed and set up another feast may be given to which many old men are invited. This is called "enlarging the tipi."

PORCUPINE QUILL WORKERS.

Any woman who is efficient in porcupine quill work, does it for pastime and for the sake of making beautiful things. On a certain day, the porcupine quill workers (*wipata oklakic'eya*) gather together and exhibit their work to each other. At the meeting they have a feast, talk about their work, tell how they did it, and what they have made in the past; also make presents to each other, but they keep their own work. The meeting is called by an old woman sent out by the one making the feast. The hostess may give out tasks to the guests. The association is somewhat *wakan*, since it was founded by virtue of a dream of the deer-women (two-women).

SCALP DANCE.

This is the victory dance (iwakic'ipi) in which women dance around a pole as described on p. 44. The men returning from a war party with deeds to their credit lead the dance, the women following.

Catlin made a sketch of the Dakota scalp dance and gave a brief description of the ceremony (245). Another by Capt. Eastman was published by Schoolcraft (Vol. 2, pl. 12). There is also a brief description by Mrs. Eastman who regards it as a "highly religious ceremony, not, as some suppose, a mere amusement." (xxi.)

WⁿYⁿAⁿ TAPIKA.

This was a wakan society for young women started three generations ago. In later years it was known as the wakan wac'ipi. All the members wore buckskin dresses, hair loose over the shoulders, a head wreath of sage grass with an eagle feather, and a bunch of sage with a feather in each hand. Their hands and arms were painted red; faces, red with four blue marks, two on the median plane (chin and forehead), two transversely on the cheeks. The meetings were held in a tipi, the back part covered with sage grass. A pipe, two drums, two rattles, and a shaman's medicine bag are required. A shaman leads the ceremony to represent the founder or dreamer of the ritual. A few other men are called in to drum and sing. The women stand in a row when they dance. It was said that though the society originated here, the name was borrowed from some northern tribe.

According to Riggs,¹ the eastern division of the Dakota used the term wakan wacipi to designate a ceremony resembling the midewin of the Central Algonkin and connected with which was a sacred feast, a wakan-wohanpi.

We heard of a dance called the drinking dance in which tea is drunk, the men and women dancing by couples in a circle.

Another dance was known as wild carrot (paⁿgi yuta). The step was a peculiar hop. It takes its origin from the tale of Unktomi and the carrot.

¹ a, 228. See also Mrs. Eastman, XXI and J. O. Dorsey, (a), 440.

III. DREAM CULTS.

As we interpret our data these cults are in the main, groups of shamans, having similar wakan dreams.¹ We were told that not any kind of a dream is wakan, for admission to a cult requires that the dream shall conform to a certain formula. In such a dream we must have:—

- a. The dreamer.
- b. The instructor.
- c. The person requiring aid, or the one to be overcome by medicine.
- d. The person or persons giving the medicine.

It is required that *b* appear to *a* as a person, with the announcement that medicine is to be given. *b* points out or conducts *a* to *d*. The latter rarely speak, but appear as persons. *c* is then pointed out and may be a sick person or an enemy. After *b* has done this he runs away as an animal. Instead of *d*, the dreamer then sees as many different plants as there were persons. Also instead of *c* he may see something suggesting the diseases or condition to be overcome by the medicine. The plants are then to be used as the medicine (*pejuta*) according to instructions, but the dream takes its cult association from the animal form of the instructor (*b*). Any person having such a dream is a shaman.

The plant or plants are gathered, prepared, and some parts pulverized. The powder is placed in small bags and used in all shamanistic and medicinemen's ceremonies. If a shield is to be made wakan a small bag of medicine is tied on to it; if a warrior is to be protected, a small bag is tied to the hair; if a horse is to win a race, medicine is given to or rubbed on him, etc. In short, the bag of *pejuta* is always an essential. Its contents are vegetable, but it was not unusual for some dried flesh of the animal (*b*) to be combined with it.

¹ In some of the older literature we note a tendency to speak of the cult as clans. Thus Mrs. Eastman (xix) says "there are many clans . . . distinguished from each other by the different kinds of medicine they use." The medicine is a root. She seems to have had the cult in mind. Prescott writes in 1847 as follows:—

"As for clans, there are many, and there are secret badges. All that can be noticed, as to clans, is, that all those that use the same roots for medicines constitute a clan. These clans are secretly formed. It is through the great medicine-dance, that a man or a woman gets initiated into these clans. Although they all join in one general dance still the use, properties &c., of the medicine that each clan uses is kept entirely secret from each other. They use many roots of which they know not the properties themselves; and many of them have little if any medicinal properties in them." (Schoolcraft, Vol. 2, 171.)

Again on p. 175, we find reference to these clans as venerating wolves, deer, beaver, etc. While this is based upon data from the eastern division, it seems to refer to cults and not to clans as we now use that term.

As just stated, all who have had dreams in which *b* turned out to be a wolf, for example, will be regarded as members of the wolf cult. A person so dreaming may make a feast and send out a herald to shout out invitations to all who so dreamed. They assemble and go through with the ceremony custom prescribes for their cult.

In this connection it may be well to distinguish between a medicineman (*pejuta wic'asa*) and a shaman.¹ The former is one who gets medicines and formulae from a shaman, or an originator. The shaman puts him through four sweat houses, teaches him the songs and other parts of the formula and delivers a bag of the medicine. He may or may not give the directions for preparing the medicine, so that often the medicineman is entirely dependent upon him for a new supply. On the other hand, the medicineman can, it is said, create other medicinemen by a similar ceremony. Throughout we find no such conception of ownership and transfer of songs and formulae as among the Blackfoot tribes.

Should one desire to become a shaman and not have normal dreams or experiences of the requisite form, he may go to a shaman for a special ceremony. After certain preparations and instructions the shaman takes the candidate out to some lonely place, sets up four offerings on poles. Here the candidate may fast and pray. The shaman may cut and tie him as in the sun dance, or the candidate may himself cut off and offer small pieces of flesh. If a dream or vision is granted, the candidate goes into a sweat house on his return and relates to the shaman his experience. He, himself is thenceforth a shaman.

THE HEYOKA.

All who dream of the heyoka cult or the thunder, must participate in the ceremonies, otherwise calamities will befall them. The heyoka are sometimes spoken of as clowns, or lunatics, because they do things contrary to nature and expectation. One of their most spectacular feats is that of plunging the arms into boiling water and splashing it about over each other, complaining that it is cold. Before this performance, the skin is coated with the linseed-like fluid from certain roots, which participants tell us protects them absolutely. Formerly, it is said, the heyoka shaved one side of the head and were sometimes called "the half-shaved heads." Also that they wore a buckskin shirt trimmed with crow feathers and carried a rattle of dew-claws strung on a stick.

¹ See J. O. Dorsey, (a), 495, for a discussion of this point. For an account of methods of doctoring, Mrs. Eastman, XXIII.

The following account was given by Calico, now 68 years of age:—

One time when I was about 13 years old, in the spring of the year, the sun was low and it threatened rain and thunder, while my people were in a camp of four tipis. I had a dream that my father and our family were sitting together in a tipi when lightning struck into their midst. All were stunned. I was the first to become conscious. A neighbor was shouting out around the camp. I was doubled up when first becoming conscious. It was time to take out the horses, so I took them.

As I was coming to my full senses I began to realize what had occurred and that I should go through the heyoka ceremony when fully recovered. I heard a herald shouting this about, but am not sure it was real. I knew I was destined to go through the heyoka. I cried some to myself. I told my father I had seen the thunder: "Well, son," he said, "you must go through with it." I was told that I must be a heyoka, if so I would entirely recover. If I did not go through the ceremony, I would be killed by lightning. After this I realized that I must formally tell in the ceremony exactly what I experienced.

I also saw in the dream a man with hair reaching his heels while all over his back were many birds moving about. He was painted red; on the arms and legs were longitudinal marks with forks at the ends. On his face were live tadpoles and dragon flies. He carried a sinew-backed bow with four red arrows. In one hand he carried something covered with horse flies; it seemed afterward to be a dew-claw rattle.

In the heyoka I was ordered to array myself as nearly like this dream man as possible. So I had a long-tailed bonnet made and covered the tail with feathers. On my face and body I painted tadpoles and dragon flies. In one hand I carried a dew-claw rattle and a string of the same over the shoulder.

When everything was in readiness, I came out and danced around through the camp with other heyoka, sounding my rattles and dodging about. While this was going on a cloud came up and threatened rain, but after we stopped it broke away. Then I took off my regalia in the ceremonial tipi and some old heyoka took the things out to a high hill and left them as an offering. They said I did very well in the ceremony and that everything would now be all right.

After this I did not feel uneasy and afraid because of a threatening storm. Hence I believed there was much truth in the teachings.

This is the way one must do. He must make a feast and invite the heyoka. Thus I did. I told them all about my dreams. Then two heyoka took me in hand, arranged my regalia, gave me instructions and saw me through.

Now, there are two kinds of heyoka, one kind are crazy or foolish. I was of this kind. When they take in new members, they fill a kettle with boiling meat. Then all thrust in their hands to grab for the finest pieces. They have two kettle bearers to bring the kettle into the ceremonial tipi. The heyoka dance around it, singing heyoka songs. They select roots to chew and rub on their hands and bodies; this is medicine (pejuta). As the leader sings all get ready and baring their arms crowd up around the kettle, joking with each other. One will dip up water out of the kettle in the hollow of his hand and dash it in the faces of the others. Then they plunge their arms into the kettle and grope around in the soup. I went through with this. The medicine keeps the water from scalding.

Since all members of the heyoka have experienced wakan dreams each has a special song. In keeping with their clownish practices, it was said,

each sings his own song at the same time, thus producing a riot of voices. No other cult has such a practice.

Dr. J. R. Walker in an unpublished manuscript states "that the term *heyoka* applies to any being who acts anti-natural. *Iktoi* and *Cnaskan* are both *heyoka*, as well as any human being who has seen the person of *Wakinyan*, or had a vision from him. Some consider the Four Winds as *heyoka*, others not."¹ Mrs. Eastman describes in some detail a ceremony of the Eastern Dakota which resembles that of the Oglala and gives an Indian drawing of "*haoka*, the anti-natural god."² An interesting discussion by J. O. Dorsey³ seems to be based upon the Bush-otter accounts and therefore either from Oglala or Brulé sources. In addition to the above we quote in full an excellent discussion by Dr. Walker:—

When one seeks a vision and sees lightning or the Thunder-Bird, thereafter such a one must imitate *Heyoka* by being clownish and absurd in his words and actions before the public. An especial act that he must do is to dip meat from a boiling kettle with his bare hands and carry it to someone. From this action comes the term *woze* which means to dip out. Such a one is also credited with power to get others out of trouble and is permitted to appear as an intermediary in contention or strife and to bring about a settlement of differences. When one sees either the lightning or the Thunder-Bird, when seeking a vision, he returns to the camp and informs his advisors who then cause a *tipi* to be set up in the center of the camp. This should be an old and worn *tipi* and if it is almost unfit for use because of dilapidation so much the better.

After the one who has seen the vision and his advisors have undergone the ceremony of sweating and he has told his advisors what had been communicated to him in the vision, they enter this *tipi* where the advisors interpret the communication and advise him as to what he shall do in compliance with it. The obligation to comply with the advised course of action and conduct is much stronger in cases of this kind than in visions of any other kind. If one fails to comply with the advice given, *Heyoka* will visit him and bring misfortune upon him and it may be even death.

Further, one who sees a vision of this kind is an especial mark of hatred to the Thunder-Bird. He is always looking for such a one and the glance of his eye (a flash of lightning) is apt to fall on him or his *tipi*, his horses, or anything belonging to him so that he lives in constant fear of lightning. For this reason he is more or less shunned and is apt to become morose or melancholy and spend much of his time alone. He makes many offerings to the Thunder-Bird and to *Heyoka* and his songs when he sings alone are addressed to either of these beings.

After his advisors have interpreted his vision and directed his course of action he must give a ceremonial feast which must be prepared in the old *tipi*. All *heyoka wozepi* in the camp are obliged to assist in the preparation and distribution of this feast. This feast is a hilarious occasion for all the people who attend it, and every one may attend who wishes to do so. The women kill and prepare a sufficient

¹ In this connection J. O. Dorsey's criticism of Dr. Brinton may be cited, (a), 469.

² Mrs. Eastman, 206.

³ (a), 468-471.

number of dogs and build a fire in the old tipi, sufficiently large to cook all the dogs by boiling them in kettles. The other food may be prepared on fires outside the tipi. The heyoka wozepi ostensibly aid the women in all this, which being contrary to the custom that men shall not aid the women in their work, supplies grounds for fun for the people. The heyoka wozepi act the buffoon in all their helping, doing the opposite of what should be done, jesting, or doing anything which may be comical. They are usually dressed as clowns. Certain ones of the heyoka wozepi are designated to attend the cooking of the dogs. These are supposed to be the wittiest. During the time the dogs are cooking anyone may go into the tipi and suggest or do anything that may be amusing.

The one who gives the feast must take an active part as a heyoka wozepi and all the other heyoka wozepi may play any kind of a trick on him to make him appear ridiculous. During this time his advisors watch him closely to see that he performs his part in the proper manner. If he fails to act according to their advice in interpreting his vision he must repeat the feast at another time. Sometimes one must give several feasts before it is announced that he has acted according to his vision.

When the dogs are pronounced cooked the heyoka wozepi take the flesh from the boiling kettles with their bare hands and distribute it to the people. Those who wish to be served must come to the pots where they can be served quickly. The one who is giving the feast must take the hot meat from the kettle and if he scalds his hands he must give another feast. Before beginning to serve the meat the heyoka wozepi invoke heyoka and prepare themselves by dipping their hands in an infusion of some plant that covers their hands with a mucilaginous coating and prevents the boiling contents of the kettle from scalding them. This they repeat as often as necessary for protection.

It sometimes occurs that the advisors interpret the vision to mean that the one to whom it was given shall do some distasteful or dreadful thing, made known to the people. If this is a course of action for life, when the people see such a heyoka wozepi alone, or looking melancholy, they call out to him to do that which he was commanded to do. A heyoka wozepi may even be advised to kill a man, woman or child, in which case he must obey and until he does he is upbraided by the people for not doing what he was advised to do. If such a one takes life in compliance with such advice, he may plead it as a defence against the vengeance of the killed one's friends.

To be a heyoka wozepi is a misfortune dreaded by all, for such a one is held in light esteem by the people and expected to act the clown all the time. Yet a witty heyoka wozepi may exercise his wit so as to gain the esteem and confidence of the people and become a head man among them.

THE ELK CULT.

All persons dreaming of elks or the elk cult are required to perform the ceremony and give a feast to the members. Unlike the heyoka anyone may join in the dance, but only the dreamers can sing the songs and take the leading parts. A special tipi is set up. At the proper time, the dancers appear in their regalia. They wear peculiar triangular masks made of

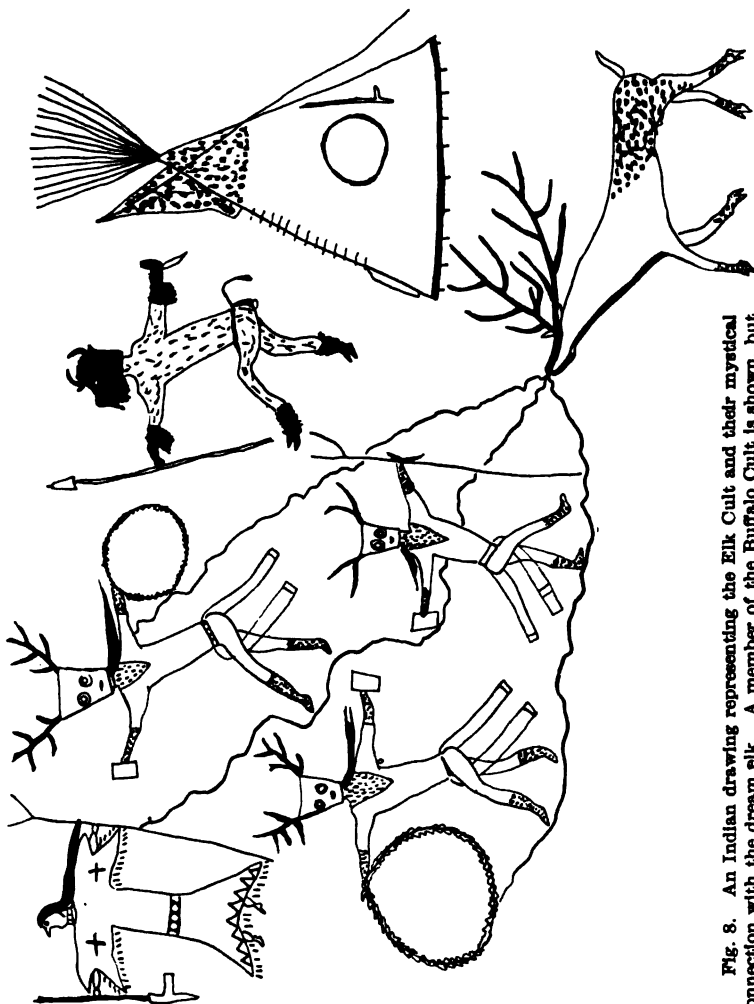


Fig. 8. An Indian drawing representing the Elk Cult and their mystical connection with the dream elk. A member of the Buffalo Cult is shown, but not in rapport with the elk. The man with the forked stick is also not directly influenced and is probably a member of the Black-tail deer Cult. In this sketch the mirror is held in one hand and the hoop in the other. Drawing collected by R. Ornanau.

young buffalo skins, with a pair of branches trimmed to represent elk's antlers. These horns are wrapped with otter fur to represent horns "in the velvet," as the immature horns of the elk are described. They carry a hoop of two cross cords, supporting a mirror at the center. These dancers are believed to have magical powers and to throw or shoot their influence into all they oppose; so, as they dance about the camp circle, they stamp a foot and flash sunlight from the mirror at persons in sight. This is supposed to put the victims in the power of the elk cult.

Miss Fletcher has described the dance of this cult, chiefly from observa-

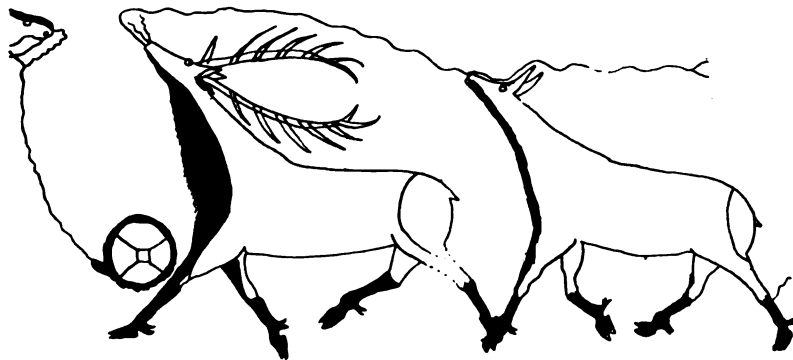


Fig. 9. Sketches showing an Elk Cult dance and the power of the dream elk over females. Collected by R. Cronau.

tions in 1882 made at Pine Ridge." (a), 276. Dr. J. R. Walker is authority for the statement that the dance is still given.

Among the Oglala the elk was regarded as endowed with special powers over the females of its kind. The dreamers of the elk are supposed to be privileged to steal women. Of course, in former times, everybody stole women, but they think it their special privilege. They profess to be acquainted with the weakness of women and to know how to persuade them.

They have a song running thus:—

“I throw a hoop,
It crushes anything it comes in contact with.
I turned a whole tribe (that is, the thoughts or prejudices).”

An elk dreamer makes a feast for the rest when they sing and make medicine for procuring women (wiⁿ c'uwa). For this they may take the white part of the eye of an elk or part of the heart, the inside gristle from the projection of the fetlocks, or the hind feet, and mix it with medicine. The flute and the mirror are regarded as powerful accessories in using such charms.

At the feast the elk dreamers are all invited and also those possessing “woman charmer” medicine may attend. In the ceremonies a member may get up, act like an elk and run about the tipi. When the people look at his tracks, they see genuine elk tracks. When a new member is indicated, they set up a tipi in the woods far away from the regular camp circle. There the members paint themselves yellow and black from elbow down and from knee down and put on the headdress. They spread fine earth over the floor of the tipi and walk out so as to make elk tracks.

The dreamer goes out the way he saw the elk act in the dream. Then two women and a few men, not elk dreamers, whom he has invited go out with the dancers. The women (virgins) have their hair hanging loose, wear a good dress, and each carry a pipe. The women lead and the rest follow, going inside the camp circle and clear around. A member carries the hoop and looking glass which is supposed to “catch the eye of a girl and bring back her heart.”

Whenever the elks thus appear, the heyoka come near and try to make medicine to harm the elks and their followers, but are usually unable to do so.

THE BEAR CULT.

It should be understood that there are seldom many members in a cult, in most cases but three or four. Naturally, since a wakan dream is the essential qualification, women may belong. In case of the bear cult, however, no women members are known. We were told that women never dreamed of bears. The shamans of this cult were held in very great regard because of their power in healing wounds. When one of them gives a feast all medicinemen having received their medicine and all who have been cured by the bear medicine are invited to attend. The wives of the shamans and medicinemen may also attend, but no other women.

At the feast the medicines are displayed. Sometimes a shaman dis-

plays his abilities by suddenly hitting the earth upon which a turnip or a small cedar tree springs up. An informant heard of a shaman putting up a plum tree, a juneberry, or cherry tree, and when the singers were singing and beating the drum, he sat there with his face painted up wakan and suddenly shook the tree upon which the fruit fell to the ground. The members usually each ate a little of the fruit and saved some for medicine. A shaman at Standing Rock, it is said, would first hit the earth, then put his hand to his mouth when all would see his canines protruding like a bear. If anyone is badly wounded in battle he is taken to the tipi and the bear cult called in. They sing all manner of songs.

An informant tells of an experience when he was shot in the breast:—

He was taken home. The bears sang all night and toward morning they painted his body red, put a war-bonnet on him, singing various songs while they were doing this. "The moon has risen. He is my relative." "The sun has risen. He is my relative," also, "A bullet is lodged in you, eat this and you will live." He then walked out first, the others following, singing, "You have eaten something wakan. Stand up so you can be seen."

Before this they brought him a stick painted red for a cane. Then, before going out a branch of a tree is placed in each of the four directions. About dawn they sang the song of the sun, an invocation for help.

It was dawn when he emerged from the tent and saw a large crowd waiting to see the performance. The cult sang, "Stand in four places (directions). Walk in four directions." He started to walk toward the south, standing where the olive branch was stuck up. His sisters and near female relatives (not his wife) danced back of him, never going in front. Then they went to the west, all the while singing the same song and so on, to the north, then to the east, and then back to the tipi.

When they gave him the cane the shaman said, "You think you will die, but if you take this you will live to be an old man." When walking to the four directions they sang, "You are walking in the four directions. You are walking with a bear." Later, when he could not sleep on account of pain, the shaman took the bed cover and holding it over the medicine grass smudge, said, "My grandfather, make this wakan (addressing the bear), make the robe like a bear (because the bear is wakan)."

The bear cult may dance at the time of the feast. They parade about the camp like the heyoka. They paint their bodies red. The shamans may wear an entire bear skin. They may run about the camp growling and chasing people. They may sit about like bears, and feeling around upon the ground, dig up a turnip and eat it with grunts like bears. They may even fall upon a dog, tear it to pieces, eat the liver and some of the flesh raw. Also, in battle they may attempt to frighten the enemy by such actions.

If anyone wants medicine from the bears he makes a feast (dog usually). He makes a sweat lodge for the shaman, tells him that he wants the medicine and then the shaman asks him what kind of medicine he wants. Then the shaman tells him that he will make a medicine pouch. but that he must

make another feast. When the medicine is delivered the shaman receives a horse.

A special study of the medical practices of this cult has been made by Dr. J. R. Walker and will appear in his contributions on the religious ceremonies of the Oglala.

THE BLACK-TAIL DEER CULT.

Unlike the elk cult that of the black-tail deer seems to have been limited to young men. The dancers wear a mask similar to that of the elks with horns like the black-tail deer. They carry hoops also, but with an imitation of a spider web in the center. Like the elks they have bells on their legs, to ring and emphasize the stamp when they shoot magic. No drums or rattles are used.

According to one informant, these dancers are rivals of the heyoka with whom they have magical trials of powers. Others claim it to have been the most powerful cult because in the ceremony when one looks around, the others fall down as if dead. The members carry small black pipes with black stems, while the elks use yellow pipes. Sometimes, like the elks, they call in two women to carry a pipe, a hoop, and a forked stick.

THE WOLF CULT.

Those who dream of wolves or the wolf cult must make a feast and go through the dance. A tipi is set up and the feast prepared. A herald shouts out the invitation around the camp; he also notifies the heyoka to get ready as "soon there will be a wolf coming over the hill." In the tipi, there are ceremonies and the candidates are invested with their regalia. They have wolf skins over their backs, on the arms, and legs. On the head, they wear a rawhide mask with holes for the eyes and one for the mouth through which the whistle is sounded. Symbols of the owner's dream may be painted on the mask. The legs and arms are painted red, their bodies white. Some carry an imitation snake from which they shoot wakan influence. When members are shot, they spit out bird claws, sage and bugs, supposed to have been shot into the victims.

No women are taken into the cult, and there are but few members. They had some power to cure the sick and to remove arrows, but never treated wounds. They made war medicines (*wotawi*), especially wakan shields.

Somewhat analogous to this was the *ozunya cin nupa*, a kind of war shaman wolf cult. We were told that a shaman who has dreamed of wolf will make a sweat house and whoever so wishes may join. Anyone who has been with a woman during the previous night may not enter the sweat house as he will be blinded. The shaman chooses four men who are instructed to go out, each kill a wolf and have the skin tanned by some virgin. When this is done they bring them to the tipi. Some medicines are fastened to the whistle and some on the skins, also four crow feathers and one eagle feather. Below the eyes the skins are painted red and the ends of each foot have a piece of buckskin painted red attached. The back end is strewn with wild sage while the front end is just scraped off. He sings, whistles are heard to make a noise without being blown, the wolf hides move about, and wolf tracks can be seen. When the ceremony is over the shaman announces that they are to go on the warpath. A black pipe is wrapped in buckskin and placed in charge of a young man, making five in all.

When on a war party the wolf hide bearers act as scouts. They wear the wolf hides on the back, passing the head through a slit near the neck. They paint their arms from the elbows down and their legs from the knees down with red paint. They go out in pairs and only return when they locate an enemy. They are very fleet of foot, like a wolf.

Then the war party moves forward toward the enemy's camp. As they draw near, the shaman takes the black pipe and the medicine on the back of the wolf hide and holding the pipe chews some of the medicine and blows it out into the air to make it misty and dense (a wolf's day). Thus, they approach the enemy unseen and take the horses away. The enemy goes out to look for the horses and will be killed. The shaman and the wolf hide bearers each get a horse as a reward.

BUFFALO CULT.

There was a group of men and occasionally a few women, known as the buffalo dreamers. When they had their dance, a shaman would appear in the head and skin of a buffalo. As he ran about the camp a nude young man stalked him, while the cult followed singing. At the proper time the hunter discharged an arrow deeply into a spot marked on the buffalo skin. The shaman would then stagger, vomit blood and spit up an arrow point. The wolf cult would then pursue him. Later, another shaman would use medicine (*pejuta*), pull the arrow out and at once the wound was healed.

In the regular ceremonies while the drumming is going on, the members

bellow like buffalo and some stamp a foot leaving buffalo tracks upon the ground.

Bush-otter's stepfather belonged to the "tatang ihanblapi kin, or the society of those who had revelations from the buffalo," which appears to have been our cult. In this account will be found the personal experiences of a member.¹

THE BERDACHE CULT.

This is not the native term nor do they have ceremonies, yet since they have dreams in common it may not be out of place to note them under this head. According to some informants, these abnormal persons are made so by dreaming of a "wakan woman," by others the obsession is due to repeated dreams of buffalo. One informant claimed the dreams must be of "buffalo who are men" or pote wiⁿ kte (hermaphrodite buffalo). Such buffalo are regarded as berdaches. In the old days all the berdaches were very wakan. At the present writing it is said there is a young man at Wounded Knee who wants to wear woman's clothing, carry wood and water and who makes improper advances to men. To all appearances he is male. It was said that a man formerly living on Wolf Creek once married a berdache. For further discussion the reader is referred to J. O. Dorsey, a, 467.

THE DOUBLE-WOMAN CULT.

A mythical being sometimes called the double-woman plays an important rôle in the supernatural affairs of the Oglala. This is evidently the character represented by Bush-otter's sketch on file at the Bureau of Ethnology.² It seems to have been the custom to make a feast when one dreams of this being and invite all those having previously experienced such manifestations. There is no special dance.

Allied to this, but in a way not clearly understood by us, is the quill-workers' cult. Quill work seems to have been especially wakan. It is said that once a young woman dreamed of the double-woman who taught her the use of quills. Before this no one imagined porcupine quills of any practical value. So the young woman asked for a porcupine and a separate tipi. When these were ready she went into the tipi alone and warned everyone to keep away. There she plucked out the quills and assorted them according to lengths. Then she went out into the brush looking for dyes; she

¹ J. O. Dorsey, (a), 497.

² J. O. Dorsey, (a), 480.

selected red, blue, yellow and black. Also, she asked for a white gull (called the woman's bird). The feathers of this she dyed blue. Now, she asked one to dress a skin for a buffalo robe.

She worked alone in the tipi. No one saw her save at meal time or when she came out to make her toilette. The quills of feathers she split and with them laid on the colors (?).

Now, she invited a girl friend and instructed her. They took the dressed robe and decorated it with quill work. Then she made a feast and invited many women. She sang songs and explained that all came from the double-woman. To the feast she invited all of the dream cults. Here they exercised their magic powers and contested. Among the spectators they sought women who had dreamed of the double-woman. When the mirror was flashed upon them they became dizzy, fell down and spit blood and black earth. This was a sure sign, whence they must join the cult. In this way the making of quill work was celebrated ever afterward. It was very wakan.

Dreams of the double-woman take many interesting conventional forms. Thus she may appear inviting a woman to go with her, conducting her to a lone-tipi before which stands a skin dressing frame of curious pattern. As the woman comes up to the door and looks in she beholds the two deer-women sitting at the rear. By them she is directed to choose which side she shall enter. Along the wall of one side is a row of skin dressing tools, on the other, a row of parfleche headdress bags. If the former is chosen, they will say, "You have chosen wrong, but you will become very rich." If she choose the other side, they will say, "You are on the right track, all you shall have shall be an empty bag." This means that she will be a prostitute and otherwise an evil woman. In the future she may wear a miniature headdress pouch as a symbol of her experience. Such women are wakan, but not regarded as exactly normal; they are always running after men and have unusual powers to seduce them.

At the close of the dream the two women run away as black-tail doe.

A man may have a dream in which a male messenger calls for him. For him, the tipi has skin dressing tools on one side as before, but bows and arrows on the other. If he should choose the former, he will live as a hermaphrodite or a berdache.

Like other cults a feast will be made by one having dreamed of the deer-women. They parade through the camp shooting power at each other. There are always two leading women held to be very wakan (*itaⁿc'aⁿ*). A woman may secretly hide a mirror in earth, but some of the most wakan members will go directly to the spot, take it up and put some sage leaves on the back and flash it about. Many persons will fall down dead and

afterwards spit out the sage. Others spit out black dirt or blood. The two leading women with sage in their hands, hold the ends of a buffalo hair cord to the middle of which swings a small doll. Once in a dream one of the cult saw the deer-women swinging a real child in this manner. This was said to signify that all their offspring will die. The doll and rope are very wakan. When they are swung at the man with the mirror, he falls down, spits dust and blood until the sage comes out.

Should the flash of the mirror fall upon someone unconscious of a dream of the deer-women, that one also will fall and spit. The belief is that in the dream a lot of black dirt is placed in the back of the dreamer. Sometimes they spit up plant down instead of sage.

This is a powerful cult and many women when in the trance get power to make very effective shields and other war medicines.

A note on the distribution of the deer-women will be found in Vol. 2, 162. The following narrative was obtained:—

Once on Beaver Creek in the winter time a young man had courted a beautiful girl for many months. However, he was not able to win her. Early one morning while he was out driving the horses to the water and as he was driving along a narrow path in the cottonwood trees he heard someone chopping wood. He followed the sound and presently saw the girl he had been courting. He went on with his horses and after driving them back stole into the woods and surprised her. He asked her to marry him and she consented. She said, "That is why I came here." So he embraced her but immediately she vanished and a long-tailed doe dashed away. He mounted his horse, pursued the doe. It ran through the camp and into the hills but at last he overtook and killed it. He had been joined in the chase by many young men. As soon as the deer was killed, the young man began to snort and otherwise act like a deer. Soon after his return to camp he died.

This woman was the deer-woman. Anyone making love to her is sure to die. He will immediately lose the power of speech. Sometimes a man may not die, but in that case he would always be considered very wakan. If a man meets a lone woman in the woods or on the prairie, he will avoid her for fear she may be a deer-woman.

The belief is that the deer have a peculiar odor in the hoof, which becomes fine perfume when the deer takes the form of a woman, and that it is this perfume which acts as a medicine and works its evil spell on man. It is said that sometimes even wishing to make love with the deer-woman, will result fatally.

DREAMING-PAIR CULT.

If two people have dreams in which each sees the other, they may make a feast and invite those with like experiences (*wakan ic'ihabla*). We did

not learn the details of this, but it is said to be very wakan. During the dance they shoot medicine at each other. The pair seem to feel some perpetual bond like the chums of other tribes. (Vol. 7, 16.)

MOUNTAIN SHEEP CULT.

It is not clear that an active cult of this kind existed (*heciⁿskayapi ihaⁿ blapi*). Some affirm and some deny. One of our informants, however, had a wakan dream of the necessary kind. Woman-dress told of his experience in fasting on the summit of a hill. He said that after being there a considerable time, probably the morning of the second or third day, he was sleeping and heard a rumbling noise. Looking up, he saw before him a mountain sheep with its curling horns and large yellow eyes. The sheep remained an instant, then vanished and in its stead was its skull. However, he was never invited to dance with a cult of dreamers. By some, the shamans of this cult were credited with powerful war medicine.

J. O. Dorsey, (a), 497 notes this cult but translates the name as goat.

RABBIT CULT.

This was not strictly a cult, since but one man was known to have the dreams. On the other hand, if others had experienced the proper dreams, it would have been a true cult. This shaman was noted for war medicine. In his dream a man conducted him to many others each of whom gave out medicines and instructions, after which the messenger ran away as a rabbit.

We have now passed in review all the cults of the *heyoka* type. We heard of an antelope cult but received no other data. There were neither snake nor bird cults according to our informants. Some were disposed to consider the preceding as all parts of one great cult and it is true that they often held their ceremonies at the same time and all jointly participated in the ceremonies of shooting medicine, where they made a show of rivalry. We have noted examples of this in the preceding. There remain a few groups of dreamers with ceremonies of a different type, though otherwise they are similar to the preceding cults.

THE HORSE CULT.

While this is said to be more of a society than the preceding, yet it is made up of persons dreaming horse medicines. They hold ceremonies in a *tipi*, dance and have a spectacular parade around the camp. They do not

practise medicine shooting, one of the most striking characteristics of the preceding. Their formulae are believed to govern all phases of horse using and raising.

The origin tale is as follows:—

A man went up on a high hill to fast. After four days a figure appeared to him. As it approached, it was seen to be a person. This person explained the rules and formulae. Then he became a horse and disappeared among the thunders.

The man returned to his people bearing three roots for medicine. He waited outside of the camp, asking for a sweat house and a special tipi. When these were ready he entered. To those invited he said, "I give you three kinds of medicine for horses." Then they went to the tipi. There he sang the songs, demonstrated the formulae and prepared some accessories with buckskin, flannel, and tobacco.

"Now," he said, "we shall capture many horses." So they took their new medicine outfit and set out. The next day they saw a bunch of fine horses. These they surrounded. The magic power of their formulae made the horses powerless to run, so that they were captured. Thus the power was demonstrated.

Then, they founded a cult. They dance singly and give away to the poor flannel and tobacco. When they have a feast "it is very wakan." Once when the cult was in session, a man gave them presents and received power to capture horses. The next day he set out. Soon he saw a dun colored stallion, marked with black stripes, with long tail and mane. This he brought into camp. The leader of the horse society said it was a thunder horse, that it was fortunate to catch such a one, but that it would be best to turn it loose. This was done. At once, there was a great cloud; the horse went into it. Then it rained and thundered, the lightning flashing between the tipis. In the center of the storm, they saw the horse rising to the heaven, his halter still trailing behind.

Now, the leader of the horse cult said, "the thunder horse promised us four captures of horses. A bunch is now near by." Then the society stood in a circle, with the leader in the center, whom each of them lassoed in turn. After this dance, they set out. On the second day, they took a very swift black stallion.

This they repeated three times obtaining a dun colored, a white, and a sorrel stallion. As these were very swift horses, the leader advised that they be kept for breeding.

Then the leader demonstrated the power of his horse medicines. An offering was made and the floor cleared off in a tipi. Then the leader got up and danced about like a horse. He neighed. Then his tracks in the earth were like those of a horse; then he dropped horse dung. After this dance, he gave out three medicines, to make horses very swift of foot, also to heal the wounds of war horses and finally to cure the ills of horses. He was a great shaman and lectured the assembly. "If you believe and follow carefully these directions your tribe shall prosper, they shall capture many horses. If your horses have colts, put an offering of flannel around their necks with pendant hoofs at the end. Then they will thrive. Also paint them on the forehead and shoulders."

It seems that both men and women belonged to this cult. There were groups of members in each camp of the Oglala. There was no special regalia, except that they usually used a piece of flannel on the head. When

they met a feast was made. There was a special rectangular medicine bag in which tobacco, the medicine and a pipe were kept. When colts were born, a feast was made for the cult. The pipe was taken out and offered to the four directions, then pointed to the colts, with the prayer, "Winged-ones, may the horses that you gave us live and increase."

According to Calico the shaman to originate this cult was named Sits-in-wallow, his mother's grandfather. They had medicines to restore exhausted horses. These were carried in small bags. When a pinch of the medicine was placed on the tongue of a horse, he would shake himself, then roll and rise fresh for another dash. If a horse is sick, there are particular medicines for each ailment. As wild, or "outlaw" horses cannot be given medicine, a special kind is tied on the end of a root digger and set up on the range. The horse will be attracted by the smell and grow fond of the odor, so that he will approach a person holding some of the medicine in his hand. Brood mares were often treated with all of the above medicines to produce fine colts. For a horse that balks, runs to one side, or bolts, when charging the enemy or running buffalo, a medicine is chewed by the rider and spit upon the fore-top, mane, tail, and nostrils. This also makes him fleet of foot. For racing medicines are rubbed upon the feet and body. The end of a willow switch is chewed, dipped in medicine, and used as a whip in the race and for touching an opposing horse to make him slow.

The medicines are gathered and prepared by a shaman. A small bag is worth a horse. When sold a ceremony is necessary with a sweat lodge, after which the proper songs are taught by the shaman and instructions given. Women do not use the sweat lodge, but otherwise perform the ritual. Purchasers desiring a rehearsal, make a feast and call in the members of the cult to which all purchasers may be invited. At such feasts all the horse medicine songs may be sung of which there are a great number.

The cult may appoint a day for the horse dance. The herald makes the announcement. He also calls for sixteen horses, four of each of the following colors, bay, black, buckskin, blue-gray. A dance shelter is erected in the center of the camp to which the horses are brought. Young men are selected to ride these horses, they assemble inside with the shaman, conducting the ceremony, who instructs them. They paint their own horses, red for the bay, black for the black, yellow for the buckskin, and clay blue for the gray. Zigzag lines with forked ends are painted down their legs. Sage grass is tied on the forelock and tail. The shaman then makes the riders wakan by painting them according to the horse each is to ride, ties the hair with sage grass, a plume, and a tail feather. Four drums are painted, one with each of the four colors. Four men are selected for each drum and painted accordingly.

Two pure unmarried women are selected by the shaman to carry the wakan pipes. They wear red dresses and use red paint. Their hair hangs loose. The longest tail feather of the spotted eagle is tied on.

The leading shaman rides a black horse, but uses white paint. He paints his body black and marks it with white. Two eagle feathers are placed in the bridle like buffalo horns. The shaman wears a mask of black cloth, through which he cannot see. Two mirrors are placed over the eyes. At the top, he places two curved feathers to represent buffalo horns.

All this time the people of the camp are getting their horses ready, the men decorating them according to their deeds. At the proper time, the two women emerge with the pipes. Then come the drummers. Next the sixteen riders come out and mount. Last comes the shaman. Through a hole in his mask he sounds a whistle. The riders form a line with the shaman in the center. The other riders then fall in behind. Among them are all the owners of horse medicines with their entire outfits. At certain signals by drum the pipe bearers run forward a pace and pause. The lines move up into position, the horses are kept circling as if dancing. When they come into position, the men riders dismount and dance holding their halters. In this way they encircle the camp once. Then the mounted men charge the dance shelter; the one striking it first, will kill an enemy.

When the shaman leaves the shelter a guard is placed at the door and the ground carefully smoothed off. On the return of the procession, tracks of horses and men may be seen within, from which a shaman can predict the fate of the next war party. The appearance of tracks is called wac'aⁿkea implying that the ghost of a person left a track.

Again, hair (horse or human) may be discovered upon the pipe carried by the two young women.

The ceremony now ends. Immediately, a war party sets out. This may or may not be made up of those taking part in the dance.

The Blackfoot have horse ceremonies that are quite like the above. In their horse dance the painting of the mounts is identical and the use of medicines suggests many exact parallels.

THE WOMAN'S MEDICINE CULT.

Formerly, women who had certain dreams of buffalo, elk, and horses formed a kind of association. It is not clear to us as to whether these were distinct cults or a single organization. According to our information, the three divisions had separate organizations with four male singers in each. Their chief function seems to have been the giving out of war medicines.

Young men about to go to war would apply to them for medicines and receive a bird skin, feathers, etc., with a small bag of medicine attached. The society also made shields and gave them their wakan properties.

In summer (June) it was the rule to hold an annual ceremony, or dance. The three cults sit apart while those warriors that received medicines the preceding winter come forward one by one to count off their deeds. Thus, it could be shown which of the three divisions had the most wakan power. The women then formed a procession around the camp, dancing before the tipis of head men like the akicita societies. Before the close of the ceremonies in their tipi, they forecast the war record of the next year.

The women were not paid for the war medicine, but received a share of the spoils. Our informants regarded it as a very wakan organization.

THE MESCAL CULT.

The mescal has a firm hold among the Oglala notwithstanding official efforts to suppress it. The usual form of rattle and drum is used. It was said that a dream eagle appears to the devotees, sounding a whistle and giving instructions. Some of the songs seem to be of Christian origin. Though but recently introduced, and not generally recognized as a cult by the Indians themselves, the underlying conceptions of sanction and sources of power seem about the same as in case of typical dream cults.

A DOG CULT.

According to Woman-dress there was in very remote times a kind of cult known as the dogs. These were all considered wakan, but were a sort of fools (not heyoka clowns) who performed to make the people laugh. Their raiment was very absurd and they painted themselves up and wore peculiar ornaments.

DANCE ASSOCIATIONS OF THE EASTERN DAKOTA.

BY ROBERT H. LOWIE.

VOYAGE DE M. DE LA PÉRIÈRE

INTRODUCTION.

The data here presented on the dances of the Eastern Dakota were collected during two very brief visits, one in the fall of 1911 to the Santee of Santee, Nebraska, and the second in the fall of 1912 to the Sisseton and Wahpeton of Ft. Totten, North Dakota. At Santee I was able to secure but a single good informant, and at Ft. Totten the number of old men and women competent to give information was also very small. Accordingly, the statistical method of determining how individuals were affiliated with different dances at different periods of their life could be applied only with moderate success, and altogether the data are less satisfactory than those presented in this volume for other tribes. The gaps left in the objective description of the dances have in some measure been filled by quotations from older authorities that are not readily accessible. As the data on the organization of those participating in a dance are in part contradictory, a survey of this subject is best deferred until after all the concrete information shall have been presented.

At Santee my interpreter was Captain Young, and at Ft. Totten, Mr. Buisson, both of whom are part Sioux and have lived with the Eastern Dakota for many years.

ROBERT H. LOWIE.

February, 1913.

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DANCES.

KIT-FOX DANCE.

According to Whale (Santee), those performing this dance (tokā'ta watci'pi) numbered from twelve to thirty. An old man acted as herald, all the others were young men from twenty years up, though they might continue to perform as long as they lived.

One man always got up the dance; and he would appoint two men to select possible incumbents for the two military offices of the association. The persons filling these positions did not expect to survive the next war party, for they were in duty bound to be especially brave in a fight. Some were actually killed, while others succeeded in getting out alive. If an officer was wounded in battle, he was permitted to resign.

The two men delegated by the leader set out, each carrying twenty-four black and red sticks. With one pair of these they would approach one of the guests to be invited, who took either stick — it did not matter which ¹ — in token of acceptance. When all the sticks had been distributed in this manner, the two delegates reported to the leader, and after a while the guests arrived at the dance-ground with their invitation sticks. Two songs were sung, then the two delegates rose and danced. Next the two resigning officers rose and danced about, selecting from among the guests the bravest fighter and swiftest runner, whom they seized and made to sit down in the middle of the place. This indicated that he was to fill the position to be vacated by one of them, — in other words, that he was to encounter great danger and would be doomed to die. Accordingly, while no guest ever declined the honor, his female relatives regarded it as a sentence of death and began to wail in anticipation. When the second new officer had been selected in the same way, a song was sung, and the two newly-chosen warriors rose to recite a warlike deed, such as striking a coup. Then they sat down, and the former officers sharpened knives and shaved their successors' hair, leaving a central roach, which was waxed with buffalo tallow. Their bodies were painted red; the face and the shaved part of the head, blue. They were presented with a belt of buffalo skin with a fringe of dried kit-fox tails, beaded on the outside. As an emblem of their position they also received a crown of cloth or skin decorated with a large number of

¹ Riggs (b. 133) explains, in another connection, that red sticks and black sticks symbolized respectively those tribesmen who had, and those who had not, killed enemies. But compare this paper, p. 134.

kit-fox jaws. At a dance these officers wore no leggings, only a breech cloth. They sprinkled ashes on their foreheads. The other performers might dress as they chose.

As soon as any one announced that he was setting out on a war party, these two officers joined him. They would charge the enemy's camp. If the enemy charged the Santee, they went in advance of all their fellow-tribesmen. Only after one of them had been killed, the other warriors might advance as far as they pleased. On the other hand, the two Kit-Foxes had the first chance to strike coups. If they came out of a battle alive, they became chiefs (*wiⁿtcácta yā'tapi*).

Such a selection of officers as that described might sometimes take place but once in twenty years. The men invited but not selected simply went home. At other times the dancers might meet simply for amusement. The dance somewhat resembled the Grass dance.

No payment was required for joining in the dance, nor was any fee demanded for the officers' regalia. However, the relatives of those newly chosen for office would give away horses or large amounts of property to some old man or to a good young man who was in want of a hunting-horse, — all this in honor of the officer-elect.

There was nothing sacred or secret about the Kit-Fox dance. Members were not permitted to join in the *napě'cni* dance.

Among the Indians of Ft. Totten, very little information could be obtained regarding this dance, here called "*tokā'na watei'pi*," which my interpreter translated "coyote dance." Little-fish, a Sisseton, declared that the young men not belonging to the *napecni* danced the *tokana*. There was no special dress or paint, but members wore a headband decorated with the upper teeth of a coyote and had their hair roached in the center. When a member had slain enemies he would stick one feather in his roach for each man he had killed. There was a single leader and a crier to announce the performance of a dance. The dancers were young and middle-aged men. At their dances they were wont to "throw away" women and horses.

Cipto-duta (Red-heads) a Sisseton, saw the *tokana* dance but once. He did not want to have his hair pulled out, because he thought it looked very ugly.

NO-FLIGHT DANCE.

The founder of this dance among the Santee said that he had originally been born to the right of the sunrise but that he was re-born with a mission to go to the sunset. When he had completed the journey, he called upon the Thunder as his "grandfather," and the Thunder responded, showing

him the *napē'cni* dance. Some of the people participating in it were painted red, others blue. Some had red spots on their temples, with lightning lines running down the face. The mouth was painted red, with black paint above and below. Streaks of lightning were marked on the arms. The dancers carried large war clubs. "These," said Thunder, "are the kind of people you must dance with." They were all Thunder people, and the founder took them back with him. From time to time they would strike the ground. When the visionary had returned home, he was ordered to organize the dance before he got married, but first he was to perform some heroic deed. The Thunder told him that enemies (Ojibwa) were dwelling between north and south and that he must go and destroy them. Accordingly, he set out on a war party and in the guise of a Thunder being, killed some enemies, then resumed human shape, and came back. After his return he went to the woods with several young men who had been on a ¹ war party, and for several days taught them his songs. He made a promise that he would never retreat from the enemy.

The latter part of this origin narrative merges into the account of what a leader of the dance was expected to do after his first war expedition.

If the leader was successful, then four years after the first war party he would again set out on an expedition. The scalps brought home were used at the dances, but were kept only for four months. During this period they were painted four times on the inside, and all kinds of trophies, such as eagle feathers, bells, or beads, were tied to them. After the fourth painting of the scalp, which work was the privilege of the four men who had counted coup on the scalped enemy, the members prepared to bury the scalp. All the members of the war party then went to the burial site selected for the purpose. The fourth coup-counter dug the hole and buried the scalp.

The leader of this society had the power of making the war medicine known as "*wō'tawc*," though others who were not members of the association might also have this power.

If any of the Thunder's regulations were disobeyed, the Santee believed that the offender would be killed by lightning. When the United States took away the lances of the people after one of the Sioux uprisings, the Thunder was angry and many people were killed by lightning.

John Kato, one of the oldest living Santee at Santee, Nebraska, belonged to the *napē'cni* in his youth, and was leader.

Whale identified the *napē'cni* with the Brave Heart (*caⁿte t'iⁿza'*) dance.²

Hepana, a Wahpeton informant, independently said that the *napē'cni* originated in a Thunder revelation.

¹ *Hia?*

² See this volume, p. 25.

Little-fish, a Sisseton, said that he was about twenty-two years of age when he entered the dance, but another Sisseton, Red-beads, gives his age at joining as eleven, and says that all the members were young boys. This seems somewhat improbable, unless a boys' imitation of the napecni is referred to.¹

Little-fish enumerates three officers, to whom might be added a fourth who acted as crier. The three officers would appoint the time of a performance and had it heralded round the camp by the crier. All three had a feather transversely across the crown of the head, flanked with owl's ears, and wore a weasel-skin cap on the back of the head with a beaded fringe falling down. Two of the officers were leaders and bore long sticks with two feathers at the top and an iron point at the bottom. The third officer carried a whip or tomahawk, and whipped those who would not dance at a performance. In war these were the only weapons carried by the three officers. If they got killed, it did not matter to them, for that is what they were officers for. In battle the whipper took a position in the rear to whip on any of the members whose courage might fail. The officers were appointed in a general assembly of the society and remained in office until such time as they chose to retire, when others were chosen to take their place. The privates did not wear any special costume, but all had rattles, which they shook during a dance, there being no drum.

There was no initiation fee, but the membership was limited by the obligation to be very brave in battle. Little-fish sets the number at from thirty to forty, Red-beads at twenty. Any member might have a feast prepared and then invite his fellow-members. There was a public performance of dancing round the camp. Red-beads and Little-fish agree that those belonging to the napecni did not participate in other dances.

Red-beads says that the members had quill-worked strips of deerskin in the back and that each wore a red flannel sash. According to him, two officers bore straight flannel-wrapped sticks with alternating white and black feathers; two others carried hooked sticks wrapped with otterskin.

Riggs points out the close association between the napecni and military activity:—

In the organization of an army and its preparation for effective service a large amount of drill is found necessary. Something very like this, in its objects, is resorted to by the Dakota war captain in preparing the young men and boys for the warpath. It is called the "No flight dance." This gathers in the young men who have not yet made their mark on the battle field, and drills them by the concerted motions of the dance, while, by the recital of brave deeds, their hearts are fired and made firm for the day of battle. The instructions given are lessons in Indian warfare.²

¹ Cf. Wissler, this Volume, p. 23.

² Riggs, (a), 225.

RAVEN-OWNERS.

The full name given for this dance was *kari'yuhā ōkō'daktēle watci'pi* (Raven-owners' meeting dance). I did not even get the name at Santee, but a few data were supplied by Hēyóha, a Sisseton living near Ft. Totten.

The members of this organization are said to have numbered over a hundred. Only one of them owned the drum of the society, and there were four singers, who also acted as leaders. Two members bore gourd rattles. The last-mentioned officers crossed each other's path at the commencement of a performance, which was the signal for all the Raven-owners to begin their dance. The members were naked except for a breechclout, and were painted black. They wore beaded necklaces and had skunk skins tied round the upper arms. There was no set time of the year for a dance, nor was a performance restricted to either the daytime or the night. It took place whenever victuals had been prepared for the society.

BADGER DANCE.

Hēyóha, a Sisseton, thought that this dance, called *íxoka* came from the Arikara. It was danced sometimes in the daytime, and sometimes at night. The members chose the officers. There was one drum owner, but no singers. Two men carried, holding the central part, straight sticks about three feet in length, wrapped with flannel and decorated at four points with pairs of eagle feathers. Two members carried long hooked sticks wrapped with otterskin and decorated at three points with pairs of feathers. A third pair of officers bore sticks about three feet long, wrapped with otterskin and decorated with a feather at each end.

The Oglala (this Volume p. 31) derive the society from the Crow, but say that the tobacco used in the dance originated with the Pawnee and that the Crow received their tobacco from the Arikara. The Dakota word translated "badger" closely resembles the word (*íxuxka*) for the Kit-fox, which is the name of a Crow society. It is therefore conceivable that the Oglala adopted both the Crow name and the Crow society and afterwards re-interpreted the meaning of the name according to their own language. Wissler's data on the Badger society are not sufficient to establish a definite relation with the Crow. However, the feature of the four women singers in the Oglala organization occurs in the same form in the Arikara and the Hidatsa Kit-fox societies, and the Hidatsa word for Kit-fox is "*íxoxka*," thus resembling the Dakota term for "badger" even more closely than the Crow word.

OWL FEATHER DANCE.

This dance (iha'' cuⁿ watci'pi) was revealed to the Santee by the buffalo. Whale saw one performance of it. The head man proclaimed the dance, gathered many young men together, and taught songs to them. In inviting these he sent out two men with 48 red and black sticks to be distributed among the prospective guests. When the supply of sticks had been exhausted, the two delegates returned and began to sing, and the guests gathered at the place of singing. The head man selected two brave men, then these chose others to come towards the center. All those chosen sat with bowed head, while their relatives gave presents of horses to some poor old people. Those in the center then rose. All who had received sticks gave away property on their own account. During the dance the leader said: "Late in the fall I wish you to find two little birds; kill them and bring them to me." The birds meant were the owl and the crow. Sometimes they killed about 150 crows, enough for decorating forty-eight headdresses. These consisted of buckskin caps; the crow feathers were marked with little strips of weasel skin. The owl feathers were put together in a bunch and quills were painted red. The Sisseton and Wahpeton were both requested to save owl feathers for these headdresses. Further, each member had a whistle made of a long swan's wing bone and a rattle composed of a wooden stick enclosed in a buckskin envelope, to which deer hoofs were attached. A sash (cináca, named after red blankets) was prepared by sewing together a strip of red cloth and another of black cloth, and leaving a loop for the neck, the rest of the sash falling down the back. At intervals there were attached to the sash wooden bars decorated with porcupine quills and feathers. All the performers decorated themselves with vermilion paint.

The leader spoke mournfully and sang a song, which he declared was a mourning song,— the kind sung when a person was dying. Among a tribe called Head-Cutters (pā'baksà) there was a man who was seriously ill. The chief of his band, Wā'nataⁿ, invited the Owl Feather dancers to visit this sick man before he should die. All the members accordingly went there in single file. When their hosts saw them, they raised up the bottom of the sick man's tent and supported it with sticks. The dancers surrounded the tent, and sang a song. During the second song the patient died. He had said that if he saw the dance first he should be willing to die. Then the two braves of the association told their deeds. They pulled out their knives, seized each of the dancers, raised a portion of their skin and ran blades through it. The head man said, "It matters not when or where one of your number dies, run a knife through your skin in token of mourning."

The mawátani¹ dance is said to be related to the Owl Feather dance, though there was no special occasion, such as the death of a tribesman, for its performance. Robes were worn over the costumes, which consisted of buckskin shirts with fringed sleeves, and handsome leggings with fine strips of beadwork or quills. As soon as the members got to the dance ground they doffed their robes, displaying their dress. Some had straps with little bells below their knees. A bunch of owl feathers, supported by a stick, was worn at the back of the head. While dancing, the members remained in the same place, only one or two moved up and down in the center.

When the napecni dance had been abandoned by the Sisseton, the same men who had performed it joined the Owl Headdress dance (iha^{n'}caⁿ wapáha watci'pi). Little-fish was about thirty years of age at the time. According to him, Pta-há'na (Otter-skin) who was not a napecni, originated the dance as the result of a vision and gave all directions as to dress and activities. He personally invited men to join the dance. "He invited me because I was fit to join." There were forty members, grouped in two divisions of equal number and rank. All wore caps of owlskin, with the tail hanging down and red plumes stuck in all over. But the men of one division, who painted their bodies red, wore headdresses of the natural color of the owl, while the other twenty men painted both their headdresses and their bodies black. My informant belonged to the division using red paint, affiliation with either group being a matter of choice. When a member died or was killed, a new one was chosen to fill his place. All wore a sash of red flannel trailing down in the back and decorated with quill work. A little whistle was fastened to the flannel in front and blown during the dance. The performers wore leggings, moccasins, and a clout, but no shirt. There were two drums, one being held in the hand, the other hung from two sticks and beaten by two musicians. Another instrument consisted of a stick inserted into the skin of a deer leg, with the hoof left on, and decorated with porcupine quillwork. During a dance this stick was moved up and down and finally planted into the ground. I do not know how many members had one of these rattles. There were four leaders, including the founder of the dance, and one crier.

Tawatcihe-homini joined the Wahpeton mā'tano² dance at the age of sixteen. He said the dance did not originate in a dream. Only brave men were expected to join, but there were four women singers. There were about sixty members, twelve of them officers.

¹ The name of a Dakota band.

² This was the form of the word employed by several informants, though Hepana, another Wahpeton, used the term mawá'tani found among other Dakota groups. The translation given by my interpreter at Fort Totten was "Mandan Dance."

Of the officers, four wore a crown of red flannel; down the back there was a streamer that was decorated with owl feathers. These men were the leaders proper, and if any member of the dance had done something to be ashamed of they might throw him out, in which case he was not permitted to return. They were called *iha'cu wapáha ita'tca*, "leaders with owl headdresses."

A second quartet wore sashes of red flannel, with trailers decorated with owl feathers like those of the leaders. In front the sash was decorated with a strip of buckskin, which had a quill work decoration of the size of a hand. These men were called *má'tana wi'tcitcake ita'tca*, "leaders with sashes." If any tribesman was wounded or killed in battle, it was the duty of the sash-wearers to rescue him or his body even at the risk of death. If the Wahpeton retreated from the enemy, the four must always remain in the rear, nearest the pursuers.

A third quartet had a stick about three feet long, wrapped in quill-worked buckskin and tipped with an eagle feather at one end. Below the handle there was a strip of buckskin three or four inches wide and trimmed with tin cones. These officers were called *má'tana ita'bu yuhā'pi*, "drumstick-owners." Their function was to adjust quarrels in the camps. If the disputants did not obey, the drumstick-owners struck them with their sticks, sometimes even killing them. In the latter case the relatives of the slain man had no redress but received horses from the officers.

The rank and file wore at the back of the head an eagle feather with a stripped owl feather attached to it.

The officers were chosen at a big gathering. First four electors were appointed by the assembly, and the electors then chose the twelve officers, taking into consideration the bravery and uprightness of possible incumbents. If satisfactory, officers would fulfill their functions indefinitely.

There was a drum hollowed out from the section of a tree and suspended from four sticks. The six drummers sat in the center of the lodge, which was formed of two ordinary tipis, and the four women singers sat behind them.

In dancing one foot was alternately made to glide in front of the other.

The members were expected not to be jealous if other men courted their wives. If a member did exhibit signs of jealousy, he was regarded as disgraced and was dismissed from the dance.

ELK EAR SOCIETY.

The native name of this organization is *upa'' nakpa' ō'kodaktciž*.

Red-heads, a Sisseton, joined the society after leaving the *napecni*. There were about thirty-four members, including my informant's father and about five men, all told, of his father's age. Red-heads remained in the organization for nine years. At the end of that period an accident happened to one of the members through the accidental discharging of a gun, and for this reason the society ceased to perform its dance. It was intended to do this only for a limited time, but somehow the dance was never resumed.

There were no leaders in this body nor any distinctive articles of costume. All the members used elk ears to carry their tobacco in. The musical instrument consisted of a big drum made from a hollowed-out log covered with a rawhide head; the singers sat round it. If strangers came to camp, this society would entertain them.

HĒYŌ'KA.

The *hēyō'ka* ceremony figures prominently among both the Eastern and the Western Sioux.¹ Its mythological associations vary somewhat according to different accounts, but everywhere the idea seems to be uppermost that the performers imitate some supernatural being or beings acting in a way contrary to nature and custom, so that possibly "*heyoka*" should be construed as a generic term covering all who indulge in such activity. Thus, Mrs. Eastman speaks of "*Haokah*" as a single giant, while Riggs (quoted by Dorsey) defines him as existing in four varieties, "all of which have the forms of small men." But both authorities agree that *Heyoka* feels cold in the summer and warm in the winter. The most remarkable ceremonial expression of this "contrary" character consists in the performers' plunging their arms into a kettle of boiling water without being scalded. This trick, it should be noted, was also practised by the Ojibwa *Wabeno*² and the Hot Dancers of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara.³ Whether the Dakota *heyoka*, like the clowns of some other tribes, expressed the reverse of their intended meaning, does not seem certain. In answer to

¹ Cf. J. O. Dorsey, (a), 468-471; Mrs. Eastman, 206, 243, 255-257; Wissler, this Volume, 32-85. Dorsey quotes from recondite papers by Riggs, Pond, Lynd, and from the Bushotter manuscript.

² Tanner, 135.

³ Maximilian, II, 144.

a leading question my Santee informant stated that, while "backward speech" was called *heyoka cyapi*, it was not necessarily connected with the heyoka performers; Red-beads' wife said that the Sisseton heyoka did not practise "backward speech"; and Hepana replied that the Wahpeton heyoka did practise it during their dance.

All sources of information connect the heyoka ceremony with thunder or lightning. Among the Eastern Dakota disregard of a vision ordering the performance of various ceremonies was believed to be punished by death through the thunder deities, but in the heyoka the association between disobedience and punishment of this form was perhaps even more strongly accented, and this was certainly true of the Oglala. A Sisseton told me that a heyoka dreamer must perform the dance lest he should be killed by lightning. According to a Santee informant, a heyoka dreamer once thus addressed his fellow-performers: "You have saved my life. Thunder-storms have been passing over us frequently, and I was terrified. I made offerings of beef, but the next time I suppose I should have been killed." This man had disregarded two admonitions by the thunder beings to conduct the ceremony. He had often sung heyoka songs, and the other people had been wondering why he did not give a dance.

Dorsey speaks of the Heyoka *society*. Wissler tells us that all members had experienced dreams of the same type, on the basis of which statement the heyoka would by some writers be classed as a "religious" society. The impression received from my Eastern Sioux informants is somewhat different. According to Whale (Santee), the person giving the dance had had a vision and would send red and black invitation sticks to others, but it does not appear that these were necessarily also heyoka dreamers. Whale himself once accepted a stick sent him and participated in the ceremony, but he says nothing of having had a vision. In addition to the hot water performance the heyoka had no feasts or meetings, in other words, they did not constitute a permanent organization. For the Wahpeton, Hepana made a still more explicit statement. Only one man would dream of the dance and those who joined him were not thereby prevented from entering other dances. The same individuals repeated the performance in successive years, but there was nothing to prevent anyone else from joining if he so chose. The small number of performers according to some versions is noteworthy. Hepana recalls seeing as many as ten: Red-bead's wife (Sisseton) never saw more than two men performing together; and another Sisseton remembers heyoka performing singly or in pairs. Possibly these statements do not refer to the scalding ceremony, for Lynd's and Mrs. Eastman's accounts of Eastern Sioux heyoka performances give the impression of a fairly well-sized assemblage, as does also the account of my Santee informant.

Recollecting that there may have been differences in the matter of organization even among the different groups of Eastern Sioux, we may perhaps interpret the data as follows. The hot water performance was undertaken, at the instigation of a special vision, by all who had ever dreamed of the heyoka, but others might and regularly did join. The number of heyoka dreamers was small, and without forming a definite organization they would from time to time act in a clownish way, singly or in concert, quite apart from their joint participation in the heyoka ceremony.

Thus, Tawatchi-homini once saw a heyoka enter the Sun Dance with a mock whistle. Instead of facing east like the performers he looked toward the west. At this stage none of the dancers had as yet been pierced, but two men told the leaders to pierce the clown's gunnysack raiment and suspend him from the pole. The clown, however, got wind of the plan and made his escape unnoticed. Men acted thus as a result of a dream. On another occasion the same informant saw two heyoka, wearing their hair unbraided and tied in front, with their heads decorated with red, white, and blue plumes. A black cloth tied over their heads fell down in front so they could only see what was on the ground. They were joined together by a buffalo hair rope. By sleight-of-hand they crossed over and changed the position of the ends of the rope,¹ the spectators not understanding how it was done.

Little-fish (Sisseton) recalls one or two heyoka going through camp, blowing whistles and acting in a foolish manner. Their quivers held a crooked stick for a bow and straws for arrows. Among the Santee, the heyoka played a part when the elk and Two-Women performance took place (see pp. 117, 118), which indicates, of course, that there were men recognized as heyoka apart from the ceremony of that name.

For the ceremony itself, it will be best to quote Mrs. Eastman's account and then add a few details obtained from other sources of information:—

The dance to the Giant is always performed inside the wigwam. Early in the morning the dancers were assembled in the chief's lodge. Their dress was such as is appointed for the occasion. Their hats were made of the bark of trees, such as tradition says the Giant wears. They were large, and made forked like the lightning. Their leggins were made of skins. Their ear-rings were of the bark of trees, and were about one foot long.

The chief rose ere the dawn of day, and stood before the fire. As the flames flickered, and the shadows of the dancers played fantastically about the wigwam, they looked more like Lucifer and a party of attendant spirits, than like human beings worshipping their God.

¹ I failed to get a clear notion of just what the trick consisted in.

Markeda stood by the fire without noticing his guests, who awaited his motions in silence. At last, moving slowly, he placed a kettle of water on the fire, and then threw into it a large piece of buffalo meat.

Lighting his pipe, he seated himself, and then the dancers advanced to the fire and lit theirs; and soon they were enveloped in a cloud of smoke.

When the water began to boil, the Indians arose, and, dancing round the fire, imitated the voice of the Giant.

"Hah-hah! hah hah!" they sung, and each endeavored to drown the voice of the other. Now they crouch as they dance, looking diminutive and contemptible, as those who are degrading themselves in their most sacred duties. Then they rise up, and show their full height. Stalwart warriors as they are, their keen eyes flash as they glance from the fire to each other's faces, distorted with the effort of uttering such discordant sounds. Now their broad chests heave with the exertion, and their breath comes quickly.

They seat themselves, to rest and smoke. Again the hellish sounds are heard, and the wife of the chief trembles for fear of the Giant, and her child clings closer to her breast. The water boils, and, hissing, falls over into the fire, the flames are darkened for a moment, and then burst up brighter than before.

Markeda addresses the dancers — "Warriors! the Giant is powerful — the water which boils before us will be cold when touched by a friend of the Giant. Haokah will not that his friends should suffer when offering him a sacrifice."

The warriors then advanced together, and each one puts his hand into the kettle and takes the meat from the boiling water; and although suffering from the scalds produced, yet their calmness in enduring the pain, would induce the belief that the water really felt to them cool and pleasant.

The meat is then taken out, and put into a wooden dish, and the water left boiling on the fire. The dancers eat the meat while hot, and again they arrange themselves to dance. And now, the mighty power of the Giant is shown, for Markeda advances to the kettle, and taking some water out of it he throws it upon his bare back, singing all the while, "The water is cold."

"Old John" advances and does the same, followed by the next in turn, until the water is exhausted from the kettle, and then the warriors exclaim, "How great is the power of Haokah! we have thrown boiling water upon ourselves and we have not been scalded."¹

While Mrs. Eastman speaks of the dancers' leggings, Lynd says they were nearly naked and my Santee informant that they wore only a breechcloth. Lynd describes the hats as tall and conical; my Santee says the dancers put white powder and bladders on the head to simulate baldness. According to Lynd, the skin of those who plunged their arms into the water had been deadened by rubbing with a certain grass. Little-fish (Sisseton) says the dancers chewed roots in the mouth and blew them over different parts of their bodies. Whale (Santee) states that only the head man knew the medicine and he would not reveal the secret to anyone; he it was that chewed the medicine and put it on the performers' arms. Hepana (Wah-

¹ Mrs. Eastman, 255-257.

peton) says the dancers blew whistles as they moved in their places; two of them carried little drums, the heads of which were not tightened, so that they were merely able to produce some sort of noise. According to Whale, twelve kettles of water were suspended over the fireplace, and in one of them beef tongue and heart were kept boiling. Two of the heyoka went in search of the boiling meat, dipping their hands into the boiling water until they found the tongue and heart, which they threw backwards over their heads.

THUNDER DANCE.

A Wahpeton man dreamt of the Thunder, who bade him perform the dance lest he should be killed by lightning. The members danced in their places, flapping their hands up and down. All of them were naked except for a breechclout and moccasins. Their bodies were painted yellow and round the neck they were painted gray. There was only one leader.

ELK DANCE.

Long ago a man might go about imitating the actions of an elk and would make himself a tent in the wood. He declared that, if shot, he should be able to cure himself. As soon as others who had had elk revelations heard his song they would join him. Sometimes there were as many as five of these, and they would go round the camp singing. The heyoka, bear dreamers, and persons with other visions, all went in pursuit of the elk. Many acted like dogs, scenting the tracks. My informant also imitated a dog. Of the five Elks only three left footprints resembling elk tracks, so the pursuers gave chase only to these three. The Elks had their medicines in a hole under the tent poles. The heyoka searched all over the tents, but could not find the medicines. One Elk had a looking-glass and some *peji'xō'ta* (sage?). The mere fact that they were overtaken would kill the Elks, but those that really had had Elk revelations were able to revive.

What may be a related ceremony is described by Mrs. Eastman:—

In the dance Ahahkah Koya, or to make the Elk, a figure of thunder is also made and fought against. The Sioux have a great deference for the majesty of thunder, and, consequently for their own skill in prevailing or seeming to prevail against it.

A Sioux is always alarmed after dreaming of an elk, and soon prevails upon some of his friends to assist him in dancing, to prevent any evil consequences resulting from his dream. Those willing to join in must lay aside all clothing, painting their bodies with a reddish gray color, like the elk's. Each Indian must procure two long saplings, leaving the boughs upon them. These are to aid the Indians in running. The sap-

lings must be about twelve feet in length. With them they tear down the bark image of thunder, which is hung with a string to the top of the pole.

All being ready, the elks run off at a gallop, assisted by their saplings, to within about two hundred yards of the pole, when they stop for a while, and then start again for the pole, to which is attached the figure of thunder.

They continue running round and round this pole, constantly striking the figure of thunder with their saplings, endeavoring to knock it down, which after a while they succeed in accomplishing.

The ceremony is now ended, and the dreamer has nothing to fear from elks until he dreams again.¹

TWO-WOMEN DANCE.

The Two-Women are mythical characters renowned for their feminine accomplishments; accordingly a woman who has seen them in a vision becomes expert at women's work. Such visionaries also learned the Two-Women's songs; they were expected to perform a dance (*wiⁿ'yaⁿ nū'papi watci'pi*) and to exhibit special powers. Some men would sing for them.

Men also might have visions of the Two-Women. Sometimes a man would come to a tent and see them singing there. A cousin of Whale's had a dream in which he came to a tent and entered. There were butterflies on one side, and eagle feathers on the other, and a path on each side. After some deliberation the dreamer decided to take the right-hand path, where the eagle feathers were. Then the Two-Women told him that if he had chosen the other path he would have become a berdache. In a vision these Two-Women rebuked the same person for not fulfilling his promise. He could not recollect what he had promised. They rose with their hair streaming down over their face and body and looked like skeletons. They told him that if he did not fulfill his promise he would die. Some time after this incident he was at a lake, when someone began to throw balls of clay into the lake. At first he could see no one. Finally he caught sight of the Two-Women above him, and they again admonished him as before. Then at last he recollected his original dream and he invited all those women that had had a revelation from the Two-Women, as well as many other women visionaries. The women visionaries came, holding ropes, one of them at each end of the rope.

The organizer of the performance then took bunches of variously colored porcupine quills and buried them in the ground in places unknown to the approaching Two-Women visionaries. Some of the other women invited had had visions of the elk, grizzly, and also of other animals, though the two mentioned were the most important. Accordingly, the organizer had a

¹ Mrs. Eastman, 264-265.

piece of rawhide cut into effigies of these animals and buried them also in the ground. The women knew nothing about this beforehand. There were heyoka and three other kinds of dancers who joined in the performance. Those who hid the effigies and quills declared that the women dancers had no powers. Then the dance began. Suddenly someone said that he¹ had dreamt of the elk, stooped down, and got the elk effigy from below the ground in token of the truth of his statement. Two-Women visionaries established their character as such by digging up the buried quills.

During these proceedings the heyoka performed their antics outside the dance ground. The heyoka usually dreamt of elks, though any other person might receive a revelation from the elks. Once a frog effigy was buried in place of the elk effigy, and then the heyoka would not come near at all, because they were afraid of frogs.

Elk effigies were buried only at the Two-Women performance.

BUFFALO DANCE.

Among the Santee, the men performing the Buffalo dance (*tataⁿ'k watci pi*) had had visions of the buffalo, though apparently the sons of such men were also entitled to join.

One man might dream that he was a buffalo and had been shot by an arrow so that he could barely get home. The arrow continued to whirl round in his body. He dreamt that the only way for him to recover was to go into a sweat lodge. First he asked for one of four different kinds of earth to mix with water, drank the mixture inside a sweat lodge, and then recovered. Such a man painted himself vermilion to represent the trickling down of the blood. Another man dreamt of being shot with a gun. Such a one would act out his dream during a Buffalo dance. A third man dreamt that a bullet pierced his eye and came out at the back of his head. He announced his dream, and shortly after that he was actually shot in that way. Still another man announced a dream to the effect that he was shot through his temples, and this also came true.

While dancing, dreamers would call on outsiders to bear witness to the truth of their statements about such experiences. Once a heyoka challenged a dreamer's account, saying that no man could recover from a wound of the kind described. Straightway the dreamer offered to be shot by the clown, who shot a bullet through him. The wounded man staggered off, went to a sweat-lodge, and actually recovered within a few days.

¹ Apparently, then, men also had an opportunity to exhibit their powers on this occasion.

David Whale's own brother took part in a battle against the Gros Ventre while in Canada, had his hand shot off, and was scalped and killed. When found on the battlefield, he had neither scalp nor hand. The Sioux left him and went homewards, reaching their camp after three days and three nights' journey. On the third day they were very hungry. They saw a buffalo galloping down the valley and lay in wait for him. When he was within range of their guns, they discovered that it was none other than Whale's brother, unscalped. He said to them, "Do not touch me; if you do, you will die, for I am not quite alive. But it is I, the same that you left on the battle field." They let him go, and he retraced his steps homeward. He had dreamt many years ago that the only way to save himself from the enemy was to turn into a buffalo, and had acted accordingly.

There was an old saying that if any one constantly had the Buffalo dance on his mind, yet failed to have it performed, the thunder would strike him, or a buffalo would trample him to death, or some other unnatural form of death would befall him.

Whale mentioned a man who did not himself perform the dance, because he felt unprepared for it, but exhorted his son to do so after his death. Those who had witnessed his brave deeds, he said, would naturally participate in the performance. When Whale was a young boy, a Sisseton named Standing-buffalo revived the ceremony.

When the cherries were ripe and the Sioux were on a buffalo hunt they would propose to have a Buffalo dance. The regalia consisted of forty-four headdresses prepared preferably from the heads of buffalo killed on the same day. The heads were cut off, stuffed until they were dry, and then served as masks. These headdresses could not be bought, but if one of the forty-four members died, his son inherited the mask and the membership privilege. Obviously one who was not a regular member might sometimes take part in a performance, for my informant did so four times as a substitute for a sick member. In addition to the forty-four dancers, there were four singers.

For a performance the members either painted themselves with vermilion or blackened themselves with mud. They hooked one another and otherwise imitated buffalo. The people had prepared for them large buckets of sweetened water, and the Buffalo would bend down and drink.

All those who had belonged to the organization fled to Canada after a massacre in the Sioux war, and there they sold their headdresses.

According to Whale, the organization did not meet for the sake of mere amusement, but only to perform their dance. However, if many lodges were camped together, they would circle round the camp, singing here and there and receiving gifts.

The Buffalo dance as described by Little-fish was rather different in character, the esoteric elements being apparently absent among the Sisseton.

Standing-bull is said to have originated the performance before my informant's day, and his son kept up the dance. The headdress consisting of a buffalo head, with all the hair and the horns, was worn by all participants, and each had a buffalo tail fixed in the back. Some had little feathers on the buffalo head, and others little shells. Each member prepared his own headdress, slicing down the skin lest it should be too heavy. The paint differed with different individuals. There were no officers and about twenty members. Only good singers were asked to sing. The society does not seem to have been especially connected with warlike activities. At the close of a dance the members bellowed like buffalo, and a large tub of sweetened water was put down for the dancers to drink from.

Red-beads (Sisseton) said that he never joined the Buffalo dance because no one made a headdress for him. The dancers might be of all ages provided only that they could get the headdress. During the dance they held a painted disc of rawhide over the left shoulder, for the visionary had dreamt of the use of such shields.

BEAR DANCE.

The Bear dance is recollected by Whale to have been performed but twice by the Santee,—once long ago and the second time at Red-otter's initiative.

The head man ordered each of the dancers to prepare a little two-foot hoop and a wooden knife, which was painted blue and held by each man in the same hand as the hoop. The latter was crossed by strings attached in the position of the spokes of a wheel. Eagle feathers were fastened to the strings at each point of attachment to the hoop. During a dance the performers would stoop down and touch the ground with their hoops. The head man said to his company, "I have never told you the meaning of these feathers. I am going on the warpath. If I kill an enemy, you will have the right to wear an eagle feather."

The head man set out on the warpath. After several days he got to the enemy and captured one or two scalps. A man who had struck a coup was entitled to use an eagle feather and a deer-tail headdress. The old people got together and discussed the doings of the war party, saying, "The Bear dancer now has what he desired." This added to the renown of the company. Only the head man was permanently associated with the dance. Anyone wishing to join his war party, might do so, but only those with hoops were regarded as his men.¹ Before setting out on the warpath, the feathers were detached from the hoops and taken along.

¹ This statement is apparently contradicted by another that anyone might take a hoop and join the party.

Before going on the warpath, Red-otter bade the people make a big den for him in the woods. He got into it. The people went there and pretended to hunt "the bear," Red-otter having painted himself the color of the animal. When the people were close, he scented them, thrust his head out a little, and on sight of his pursuers withdrew it again. Four times he scared the hunters away, returning to his den after each time. Finally he abandoned his place of refuge and began to flee. The people gave chase, and he ran away as fast as possible. Finally, they closed in on him and captured him. To the man who first laid hands on him the impersonator of the bear said: "You will kill an enemy because you have been the first to touch me. You will kill an enemy and get an eagle feather." A prophecy of this sort always came true. When Red-otter's prediction turned out true, the Santee said, "Now, we must all learn his songs."

During a dance presents were given away freely. Sometimes the performers killed a dog, threw it into the center of their meeting-place, and ate it raw. When they had eaten all of it, they would perform one or two dances. They were in the habit of dancing at the lodge of a chief. Their paint was yellowish-red.

A Sisseton informant said his tribe did not practise the Bear dance, but he knew of it as a Santee performance.

HORSE DANCE.

My Santee informant saw this dance (cúñka waka^{n'} watci'pi) performed only once. Red-bird (Zitā'taca') had been initiated into the ways of horses. The horses were also believed to be related to the Thunder, and Red-bird informed his relatives that he should get killed unless he performed the dance. Accordingly, they helped him with the performance. There were from twelve to sixteen men on horseback, and several afoot. The horses were decorated with blue or reddish paint. The horses seemed to understand the dance and galloped in time to the beating of the drum. The performers all held their guns downward and fired as rapidly as possible while circling round the drummers. The horses jumped down. The head man was afoot among the singers. He was painted red, wore a red blanket tied in front, and carried a blue whip. At the close of the singing he said, "hi^{n'}, hi^{n'}!" He seemed very eager to have the dance brought to a conclusion. Then both he and his followers received numerous presents.

Hepana (Wahpeton) says the Horse dance originated in a dream. A horse told the dreamer that if he did not perform the dance he would either die soon or suffer all his life for it. Accordingly, the visionary pre-

pared a feast and organized the dance. There was no particular costume. The performers made a galloping step, holding hoops with rawhide over them. There was one leader. My informant has seen the Horse dance about ten times.

RAW-FISH-EATERS.

The person who got up this dance (*hosā'ka wō'tapi*) was a Thunder worshiper; he believed that if he did not eat raw fish and go on the warpath he should be killed by the Thunder. He announced his intention to perform the ceremony and withdrew to the woods, where he erected a tent, singing and drumming all night. As soon as he struck the drum, he heard many voices around him. He heard a voice saying, "I wish you to go to war, but first you ought to have *hosā'ki*. Send canoes manned by two young men armed with long unfeathered arrows into the lake, where they will see big shovel-nosed sturgeon. Perhaps the sturgeon will be floating on the surface nearly dead. Let them shoot them, and bring them to me. Then get up the dance. If you do not obey me, the Thunder will kill you."

When the fish had been secured, the young men would join the dance in order to be able to go to war afterwards and obtain eagle feathers. Sticks were put together to represent a cormorant's nest. The head man painted all the dancers black, with a white collar round the neck, so that they resembled the cormorant. For this bird lives on raw fish and was therefore to be imitated by the dancers. They went round the nest, acting as if they were flapping their wings. The head man also circled round the nest, singing, and approached a pail of boiled water. He put his mouth into the vessel, filled it, and blew the water on the dancers. Then he threw himself down and took the first bite of the fish. After him anyone might eat of them. They danced round the fish, each dancer biting off a piece. Somehow even the fish bones were made away with. When all the fish had been eaten, the head man said, "In four days we will march against the enemy. There is a tent in the wilderness, and there is one whole band there. I shall make a circle of all of them (*i. e.*, I shall kill five of the enemy)." If any of the Sisseton or Wahpeton heard of the expedition they also joined so as to make a large party. They were desirous of getting eagle feathers.

A good objective account of the ceremony by an early observer may well be reproduced here:—

Some days since, an Indian who lives at Shah-co-pee's village dreamed of seeing a cormorant, a bird which feeds on fish. He was very much alarmed, and directed his friend to go out and catch a fish, and to bring the first one he caught to him.

The Indian did so, and the fish, which was a large pike, was painted with blue

clay. Preparations were immediately made to celebrate the Fish dance, in order to ward off any danger of which the dream might have been the omen.

A circle was formed of brush, on one side of which the Indians pitched a wigwam. The war implements were then brought inside the ring, and a pole stuck up on the centre, with the raw fish, painted blue, hung upon it.

The men then enter the ring, almost naked; their bodies painted black, excepting the breast and arms, which are varied in color according to the fancy of each individual.

Inside the ring is a bush for each dancer; in each bush a nest, made to resemble a cormorant's nest; and outside the ring is an Indian metamorphosed for the occasion into a wolf — that is, he has the skin of a wolf drawn over him, and hoops fixed to his hands to enable him to run easier on all fours; and in order to sustain the character which he has assumed, he remains outside, lurking about for food.

All being ready, the medicine men inside the wigwam commence beating a drum and singing. This is the signal for all the cormorants (Indians), inside the ring, to commence quacking and dancing and using their arms in imitation of wings, keeping up a continual flapping. Thus for some time they dance up to and around the fish — when the bravest among them will snap at the fish, and if he have good teeth will probably bite off a piece, if not, he will slip his hold and flap off again.

Another will try his luck at this delicious food, and they continue, until they have made a beginning in the way of eating the fish. Then each cormorant flaps up, and takes a bite, and then flaps off to his nest, in which the piece of fish is concealed for fear the wolves may get it.

After a while, the wolf is seen emerging from his retreat, painted so hideously as to frighten away the Indian children. The cormorants perceive the approach of the wolf, and a general quacking and flapping takes place, each one rushing to his nest to secure his food.

This food each cormorant seizes and tries to swallow, flapping his wings and stretching out his neck as a young bird will when fed by its mother.

After the most strenuous exertions they succeed in swallowing the raw fish. While this is going on, the wolf seizes the opportunity to make a snap at the remainder of the fish, seizes it with his teeth, and makes his way out of the ring, as fast as he can, on all fours. The whole of the fish, bones and all, must be swallowed; not the smallest portion of it can be left, and the fish must only be touched by the mouth — never with the hands. This dance is performed by the men alone — their war implements must be sacred from the touch of women.¹

DOG-LIVER-EATERS' DANCE.

One man had the power to start this dance (cunk pi'yutapi watci'pi). David Whale never saw the dance itself, but only the party coming to perform it. All the men were holding guns and powder horns. They would circle round a spot where four dogs had been killed and their livers placed in a pan. After dancing for some time, the participants ate the four livers raw.

¹ Mrs. Eastman, 77-79.

Fortunately this performance has been described by white eye-witnesses, and one account follows:—

This dance is peculiar to the Dakota tribe, and takes its name from the fact that the raw liver of the dog is eaten by the performers. It is not often performed, and only on some extraordinary occasion. The performers are usually the bravest warriors of the tribe, and those having stomachs strong enough to digest raw food.

When a dog-dance is to be given, the warriors who are to take part in it, and all others who desire to witness it, assemble at some stated time and place. After talking and smoking for awhile, the dance commences. A dog, with his legs pinioned, is thrown into the group of dancers by any one of the spectators. This is despatched by one of the medicine-men, or jugglers, with a war-club or tomahawk. The side of the animal is then cut open and the liver taken out. This is then cut into strips and hung on a pole about four or five feet in length. The performers then commence dancing around it; smacking their lips and making all sorts of grimaces; showing a great desire to get a taste of the delicious morsel. After performing these antics for awhile, some one of them will make a grab at the liver, biting off a piece, and then hopping off, chewing and swallowing it as he goes. His example is followed by each and all the other warriors, until every morsel of the liver is eaten. Should any particles of it fall to the ground, it is collected, by the medicine-man, in the palm of his hand, who carries it round to the dancers to be eaten and his hands well licked.

After disposing of the first dog, they all sit down in a circle, and chat and smoke awhile until another dog is thrown in, when the same ceremonies are repeated, and continued so long as any one is disposed to present them with a dog. They are required to eat the liver, raw and warm, of every dog that is presented to them; and while they are eating it, none but the medicine-men must touch it with their hands. Women do not join in this dance.

The object of this ceremony is, they say, that those who eat the liver of the dog while it is raw and warm, will become possessed of the sagacity and bravery of the dog.¹

FIRE-WALKERS' DANCE.²

Suddenly a man would say, "I will have the fire-walking dance (*pé'ta na sní'pi watci'pi*) performed." Then many young men wished to take part. He selected four of them and bade them sing. "In the north," he said, "there are twelve real buffalo that ordered me to get up this dance. It does not amount to anything, but they bade me get it up on pain of death from buffaloes. If I disobey, they will harm me. They say they have two kinds of weapons with which to injure me. I suppose they mean that if I go to war I shall be wounded."

The performers removed their moccasins. They piled up wood high, to the length of thirty feet. Before the fire-walk the head man would

¹ Schoolcraft, II, 79-80.

² Literally, "they extinguish fire with their feet."

inspect the wood pile, and in my informant's opinion, he sprinkled some medicine on it, probably the same as that used by the heyoka (see p. 116). He would say, "Let some one set the wood afire. No one need be afraid, you cannot burn yourselves." He selected twelve men for fire-walkers. "The twelve buffalo told me that no one should get hurt by going across the fire." The men chosen mixed tallow with vermilion, and rubbed it on their bare feet. They waited until the wood was kindled into a blazing fire. Then they fell to singing and drumming, and the fire-walkers started across the fire, three abreast. The head man merely looked on. They went the entire length of the fire, then they retraced their steps. Sometimes they succeeded in putting out the fire on the second trip; it never took more than four trips. After the last walk neither ashes nor any other trace of the fire remained visible.

The fire-walker's dance was performed when there was a great gathering of people. David Whale witnessed it only twice. On both occasions the same person acted as head man, for the native theory was that only the man having the appropriate vision had the right to have a dance performed.

ROUND DANCE.

A man who had had a revelation from the Thunder would organize this performance (*yumi'ni wate'pi*). He would sing all night, while others constructed an unroofed circular brush enclosure, about eight feet in height. As the leaves were allowed to remain on the branches, it was impossible to look through the enclosure. At the beginning of each quadrant, there was an entrance, the four entrances together symbolizing the Four Winds. In the center of the enclosed space the people planted a straight tree, leaving on it some of the branches near the top. High up on this center pole there was tied a piece of birchbark cut into the shape of an eagle. Inside the fence a large pit was dug.

The head man painted his face black with lightning streaks, and covered it with a veil of black beads. He wore a hairy robe and a crown of sluegrass, with feather quills rising from it like horns. He hid in the pit, began to sing, and raised himself halfway above the pit. In this position he remained throughout the ceremony. He looked fierce as he appeared above ground; children were afraid of him, and even grown-up people trembled before him. He sang slowly at first, then more rapidly, and at the same time beat his drum. Then young men and women came rushing in by each of the four doors, and all began to dance round in a circle. As soon as the head man ceased to sing, the dancers dashed out of doors at top speed.

Then the head man sang slowly, tapping his drum in accompaniment. After a while he beat it faster again, then all the performers, and possibly some who had not participated in the first dance, rushed in again, and began to dance. There were four of these dances. The third time the men coming in gave the warwhoop. At the close of this third dance, the leader said, "Once more." The fourth time the men brought their guns. As soon as they had done dancing, they shot at the string by which the eagle effigy was tied to the center pole. It was believed that the one who hit it would capture a scalp. As the image dropped, all tried to strike it, for it represented the enemy. The one who shot it down and the one who struck it assumed the honor marks associated with the actual performance of the corresponding war deeds.

A Sisseton told me that the yumini was a Santee dance not practised by his own group.

Mrs. Eastman's account of the performance follows:—

U-mi-ne-wah-chippe is a dance given by some one who fears thunder and thus endeavors to propitiate the god and save his own life.

A ring is made, of about sixty feet in circumference, by sticking saplings in the ground, and bending their tops down, fastening them together. In the centre of this ring a pole is placed. The pole is about fifteen feet in height and painted red. From this swings a piece of birch bark, cut so as to represent thunder. At the foot of the pole stand two boys and two girls.

The two boys represent war: they are painted red, and hold war-clubs in their hands. The girls have their faces painted with clay blue: they represent peace.

On one side of the circle a kind of booth is erected, and about twenty feet from it a wigwam. There are four entrances to this circle.

When all the arrangements for the dance are concluded, the man who gives the dance emerges from his wigwam dressed up as hideously as possible, crawling on all fours towards the booth. He must sing four tunes before reaching it.

In the meantime the medicine men, who are seated in the wigwam, beat time on the drum, and the young men and squaws keep time to the music by first hopping on one foot, and then on the other — moving around inside the ring as fast as they can. This is continued for about five minutes, until the music stops. After resting a few moments, the second tune commences, and lasts the same length of time, then the third, and the fourth; the Indian meanwhile making his way towards the booth. At the end of each tune, a whoop is raised by the men dancers.

After the Indian has reached his booth inside the ring, he must sing four more tunes as before. At the end of the fourth tune the squaws all run out of the ring as fast as possible, and must leave by the same way that they entered, the other three entrances being reserved for the men, who, carrying their war implements, might be accidentally touched by one of the squaws — and the war implements of the Sioux warrior have from time immemorial been held sacred from the touch of woman. For the same reason the men form the inner ring in dancing round the pole, their war implements being placed at the foot of the pole.

When the last tune is ended, the young men shoot at the image of thunder which

is hanging to the pole, and when it falls a general rush is made by the warriors to get hold of it. There is placed at the foot of the pole a bowl of water colored with blue clay. While the men are trying to seize the parts of the bark representation of their god, they at the same time are eagerly endeavoring to drink the water in the bowl, every drop of which must be drank.

The warriors then seize on the two boys and girls — the representations of war and peace — and use them as roughly as possible — taking their pipes and war-clubs from them, and rolling them in the dirt until the paint is entirely rubbed off from their faces. Much as they dislike this part of the dance, they submit to it through fear, believing that after this performance the power of thunder is destroyed.

Now that the water is drank up and the guardians of the Thunder bird are deprived of their war-clubs and pipes, a terrible wailing commences. No description could convey an idea of the noise made by their crying and lamentation. All join in, exerting to the utmost the strength of their lungs.

Before the men shoot at thunder, the squaws must leave the ring. No one sings at this dance but the warrior who gives it; and while the visitors, the dancers, and the medicine men, women and children, all are arrayed in their gayest clothing, the host must be dressed in his meanest.¹

According to Riggs this dance was performed by the organizer of a war party in order to obtain the help of the gods before starting on his expedition. After a preparatory sweat bath the organizer had a tent set, joined to which was the enclosure. Riggs estimates the diameter of the circle at forty feet and the height of the central pole at twenty. At the entrance to the booth were a fire of coals, a stone painted red, and a pipe. The organizer, naked except for a wisp of grass round his loins, came out of his tent with a drum and rattles. He halted before the stone and prayed to it to have mercy on him. Then he entered his booth to sing and beat his drum. The dancers came in, numbering about a dozen or more, and began to dance, followed by three or four women. The men sang and the women answered in chorus. This continued for about ten minutes, when all retired for an intermission, returning again to resume the dance. After repeated performances of this sort the men shot down the wolf image from the top of the pole, and then the war prophet gave forth his oracle.²

In another work Riggs says of the Dakota warrior that "after fasting and praying and dancing the circle dance, a vision of the enemies he sought to kill would come to him."³

MOCKING DANCE.

Among the Santee Wa^{nu}'tca (He-mocks or He-mimics) was the originator of this dance (wa^{nu}'tcapi watci'pi). He painted his face a whitish color

¹ Mrs. Eastman, 262-264.

² Riggs, (a), 225-226.

³ Riggs, (b), 77.

and made for himself a large-sleeved jacket of reddish-colored white muslin. His followers wore similar costumes, though the colors varied. All wore fine caps of otter or mink, or some other fur, some using blue mallard skins. All the caps were peaked in front. Each dancer had a one-foot hoop crossed by two strings, with a bunch of eagle feathers at the center and colored down round the circumference. When the singing began, all the Mockers raised their hoops. The leader had a hoop about 5 feet in height, and continually blew a flute about 6 feet long. While the others danced round the circumference of a large circle, the leader walked along the diameter, blowing his flute. He would say to his followers: "Before I was born on an island in the ocean, I was already alive. Then I had to make a journey towards sunset. In going over the country I saw tracks in the snow, going in different directions. I was told that these were all the tracks of twins. Later I found out that they were the tracks of monkeys. When we get up the dance, they will give you such and such a horse, or mule." This prophecy always came true.

Hepana says the Wahpeton Mocking Dance (*wa+uⁿ' tcana watci'pi*) originated in a dream of Bukúna's, a man who lived in my informant's day. Bukúna would hold a hoop in one hand during the performance and jump through it. There were about thirty members. The leader wore a cap of blue mallard skin, the others a grayish cap of material unknown to Hepana.

OTHER DANCES.

Tawátcihe-homíni (Wahpeton) was fourteen years of age when, at the invitation of the man getting up the *kaiyō'na* (Coyote) dance, he joined in the performance. There were six leaders and, counting both sexes, about forty members. Whenever a dance was given these members joined, but anyone might join without offering pay for the privilege. Those joined who were not too bashful to be seen dancing. Members of either sex might invite those of the other to be their partners. A woman put her shawl round her partner's head and thus danced with him if she was not afraid to be seen by her husband. While partners were so close together, the paint from the face of each would rub off on the other's face. Suddenly the shawl was snatched off, and partners publicly kissed each other. The kissing was essential to the performance, but it was preceded by four dances round the circle without this feature. The *kaiyona* was performed whenever the six leaders announced a dance, and both old and young people might take part. Of the six leaders only one beat the drum, a hollowed-out section of a log, while the other five beat frying-pans and the like to keep time.

While a member of this dance association, my informant might have participated in any other dance. The *kaiyona* was kept up for two years, when it was stopped by the agent, and my informant then joined the *mā'tano* (see p. 111).

My Santee authority said this dance, which he called *kaiyō'ta watci'pi*, was also known as the Night dance (see this Volume, p. 78). In step it resembled the Shuffling Feet dance, and both were of a purely social character like the Grass dance.

The Shuffling dance (*nas'o' watci'pi*) was performed without special costume. After the dance the performers ran, loading their guns, and discharged them into the air. There were three or four singers, who also beat drums. Hepana does not know whether the dance started in a dream. The Santee also mentioned this dance.

Only women performed the *hō'kobi*, dancing round in a circle, but there were two male singers. My informant (Hepana) did not know whether this dance originated in a dream.

Heyoha, a Sisseton, joined the Grass dance (*pej' mi'kenáñka watci'pi*) forty-three years ago, although it seems that he has never danced it since then. The entire body of members chose two leaders and four singers, new ones being elected every year. There were about thirty members, and four women came to help the singers. At present *Xexáka howacté* (Good-elk-voice) and *Iyá-ac-mā'ni* (Walking-with-some-one) are the leaders; dances are performed about once a fortnight. In former times some dances were got up for the distribution of horses and other property among needy old men and women. Nowadays the Grass dance serves only for amusement. It was known among the Santee, who also called it *hota'ka watci'pi*, Winnebago dance.

Whale once heard of the Yankton Dakota performing the *sotká yuhá* (see this volume, p. 33). He also mentioned a Red Eye dance (*i'ctáca watci'pi*), but explained that it was a Winnebago, not a Santee, dance.

A Wahpeton informant mentioned a Dog dance.

GOVERNMENT.

In 1680 Hennepin met a party of Santee who had secured a good supply of buffalo meat and freely offered him of it, but suddenly

Fifteen or sixteen Savages came into the middle of the Place where we were, with their great Clubs in their Hands. The first thing they did was to over-set the Cabin of those that had invited us. Then they took away all their Victuals, and what Bears-Oil they could find in their Bladders, or elsewhere, with which they rubb'd themselves all over from Head to Foot. . .

We knew not what these Savages were at first; but it appear'd they were some of those that we had left above at the Fall of St. Anthony. One of them, who call'd himself my Uncle, told me, that those who had given us Victuals, had done basely to go and forestal the others in the Chase; and that according to the Laws and Customs of their Country, 'twas lawful for them to plunder them, since they had been the cause that the Bulls were all run away, before the Nation could get together, which was a great Injury to the Publick; For when they are all met, they make a great Slaughter amongst the Bulls; for they surround them so on every side, that 'tis impossible for them to escape.¹

Corresponding practices were noted by later travelers. In October, 1838, Sibley attended a feast of the Eastern Dakota to which all of the warriors of the neighboring villages were invited. "After the feast an old man was sent around to announce the object of the gathering. Several hundred small sticks, painted red, were then produced and offered for the acceptance of each grown warrior. It was understood that whoever received one of these sticks was solemnly bound to be one of the hunting party under penalty of punishment by the soldiers. One hundred fifty men accepted and were thereupon declared to be duly enrolled. These men at once separated from the main body of Indians and selected ten of the braves and most influential young men to act as soldiers, having absolute control of the movements and authorized to punish any infraction of the rules promulgated for the government of the camp." One man who refused to move at the proper time was forced to do so; though permitted to get off without further punishment he was warned against a second act of disobedience. The punishment was discretionary with the police.²

Renville gives a full account of the customs connected with the communal hunt. The police force gathered in a special tipi (tiyotipi) and chose four chiefs, a crier, and two "touchers" who attended to all the provisions brought to the lodge. Two scouts were appointed to report as to the location of the buffalo herd, and on their return they privately disclosed their news to the crier, who heralded it forth. The four chiefs then determined the time for the hunt, and the crier proclaimed it. On approaching the game, the party divided into two wings to approach the herd from opposite sides. If one side got in too much of a hurry, thus driving off the game, "then their blankets and even their tents are cut to pieces. This they call 'soldier killing.'" After returning from the chase, all who could do so brought fresh meat to the tiyotipi, the Touchers cooked it and put some pieces in the mouths of the four chiefs, and finally all ate.³ In another connection Riggs states the important fact that men might not be 'soldier-

¹ Hennepin, 187-188.

² Robinson, 187 ff.

³ Riggs, (a), 200-202.

killed' provided they had killed more enemies than anyone else in camp, or had accomplished some other unique feat of bravery.¹

The following data were obtained from my own informants.

During a communal chase by the Santee, the head man of the tribe lived in the *tiyō'ti* lodge, which was put up anywhere within the camp circle; he had been selected for his bravery. He would bid the crier summon all the people who had ever been wounded in battle to the *tiyoti*. Then began the selection of *akitcita* from among the candidates summoned. One man would rise and say, "So-and-so has performed such and such a deed." Then the candidates were required to recount their deeds. If one man had performed a creditable feat, while another had two of the same sort to his credit, the latter was selected by preference. Thus, the bravest men were selected, to the number of eight.

The method of hunting buffalo was for the hunters to divide into two semicircles, which closed in and surrounded the herd. The leader of each moiety bore a flag. No shot was to be fired before these leaders had come together. The eight *akitcita* divided into two quartets, each being associated with one of the semicircles. If the *akitcita* of one side transgressed the rules of the chase, the *akitcita* of the other side attacked them. If a private of either side broke a rule by prematurely attacking the buffalo, the *akitcita* of the other side captured him and cut up his breechclout, which was accounted a great disgrace. They also destroyed his tent, broke up all his utensils, and killed his horse. In some instances they even killed the offender.

At the close of the hunt, the buffalo meat was piled up in a big heap in the *tiyoti*. When the leaves were turning yellow, a herald announced that the pegs of the *tiyoti* were to be pulled up. This marked the end of the buffalo-hunting season, which had begun in the spring. Then the people dispersed.

It was only at the time of the buffalo-hunt that the *akitcita* exercised the powers described.

A fairly clear account of the Sisseton *akitcita* concept is furnished by Little-fish. According to him, his tribe was ordinarily under the chieftaincy of a single man with power to make treaties who bore the title of *wi'tcācta yā'tapi*, literally "you-eat-the-man." The office was for life and was usually inherited by the eldest son, but if the eldest did not enjoy a good reputation the next oldest son was chosen. Under the chief there were four ministers known as *akitcita*, each of whom wore a medal as a badge of authority. Little-fish himself served as *akitcita* under Wabidénidjaⁿ, of whom he bought an old King George medal for a horse or mule, thereupon

¹ Riggs, (a), 220.

becoming an akitcita, which office he still claims as his own. Of the four akitcita, one was of superior rank and took the leadership in inviting people to a council. He was known as *waiyū'ta*ⁿ, "food-distributor," and filled his office as long as he lived. While the wives of all the four officers cooked for those invited to the council, the *waiyuta*ⁿ, in accordance with his title, distributed the food prepared. All the akitcita were supposed to police the camp. If, for example, one tribesman had killed another, the akitcita tried to reconcile the relatives of the slain man and the murderer by offering a gift of horses to the former. When an akitcita died, the chief appointed one of his sons, or in the absence of any sons, some other man to fill the vacancy.

While these were the officers governing the tribe under normal conditions, there was a complete suspension of their authority for the time of the annual buffalo hunt. Just before this undertaking ten "judges" (*waⁿyátcō*) were selected in a tribal council, and these exercised supreme authority during the chase. They were chosen only for one particular hunt, and another set would be appointed the following year. All the ten were alike in rank and were not necessarily selected for bravery. They remained in a central tipi called "tiyotipi" while the hunters were camped in a circle on any one site, and issued orders through a crier, bidding the young men remain in camp at night in order to protect the tribe from the enemy and prevent the theft of horses. The judges took the lead on the march, dismounting for the midday meal and for the night's camping. When the tribe had come close to a herd, the judges appointed two scouts to locate the buffalo and also two akitcita, who had nothing whatsoever to do with the four akitcita who served under the tribal chief on ordinary occasions. When the buffalo had been located, the hunters grouped themselves in two semicircles, each of which was headed by one of the akitcita, surrounded the herd, and then began to shoot the buffalo. The akitcita were the ones to cry "*hokahe!*" thereby giving the signal for the charge, and if anyone disobeyed them they ran towards the culprit and struck him and his horse with a bow or whip. The offender was not supposed to resent this punishment. After the hunt all came together and divided the meat secured. Certain parts of the buffalo, such as the ribs, tongues, and tenderloin, were reserved for the tiyotipi. Two young men were appointed to cook these parts, and when they had done, a crier bade all tribesmen "come home and eat."

Quite different again were the akitcita accompanying a war party. They were chosen by the entire body of warriors for that particular occasion only. If the scouts, instead of merely sighting the enemy and reporting their findings, shot at the enemy, they were whipped by the akitcita. So were any other persons who attempted to charge before the proper time.¹

¹ Cf. Mrs. Eastman, 153.

Red-beads, although likewise a Sisseton, gives a very different view of the tribal government. According to this informant, his father had served as an akitcita under Wabidenejaⁿ and there had been another man holding the same office. It was his father's duty to provide food and offer it to anyone about to do mischief, thus preventing the deed. Red-beads' father bore the title of akitcita wintcastā'tapi or "head soldier." At the proper time for a buffalo hunt he would call a meeting to discuss the subject, and if the people were unwilling to hunt he would appoint some good man to try to persuade them. The chief left this matter wholly in the head soldier's hands. When the hunt started, all men assembled in a central lodge, the *tiyotipi*, and appointed four akitcita. They also distributed ten sticks to brave men,—five black ones to those who had killed an enemy and five red ones to those who had been wounded in battle. These ten men were merely privileged to provide food for the council, from which all women were barred. They had nothing further to do with the hunt, which was regulated solely by the akitcita, who were paired off on both sides to keep back the hunters up to the appropriate moment, when they would cry out: "What are you waiting for? The buffalo will run away!" If any hunter resisted an akitcita on the hunt, the other three would aid their associate and nearly kill the offender with their clubs.

Wahpeton conditions were described by Tawatcihe-homini as follows. The Wahpeton were divided into three local groups, all presided over by a single chief. My informant belonged to Sleeping-eye's band; the two other chiefs were Runs-as-he-walks and Thunder-face. If any men in Sleeping-eye's band wished to go out against the enemy, the chief sought to restrain them, preparing a feast for the warriors to make them desist. If his arguments did not prevail, he called on the strongest men to aid him. The chief had two orderlies or akitcita appointed by himself, who carried his orders to other men. These akitcita never took the initiative themselves, but merely carried out Sleeping-eye's bidding.

At the time of a buffalo hunt two lodges were set up close to each other in the center of the camp circle, each being occupied by one head man. These tipis were called *tiyotipi* or *tipi iō'ka*. In each there were twenty sticks. About forty councilors went round the camp, singing and carrying guns loaded with powder. Whenever they came to a man whom they wished to appoint as chief they discharged their firearms and offered him one of the sticks, saying, "*inī'ta'kte*," "You'll be a leader." Thus they went from lodge to lodge until twenty leaders had been selected. Each of the appointees brought the stick, together with a potful of cooked food, to the two *tiyotipis*, where all the men went to eat up the food provided. The twenty leaders then discussed the hunt and selected an old herald, who cried out

that evening that the people should be ready to move the next morning. Before sunrise this herald again cried: "Put moccasins on the children's feet!" The twenty head men took the lead. They proclaimed that no one should move anywhere except to follow them and appointed the tokana dancers, numbering from forty to sixty, to go to the rear and take care lest any one should leave the party. The people proceeded according to the leaders' directions until evening, when they were ordered to pitch their lodges. The two tiyotipi head men first circled round the site, then the others followed and put up their lodges in a circle. The two tiyotipi head men appointed two young men with fast horses to scout for the game. If the scouts returned and, when seen at a distance, crossed each other's paths, this was a signal that they had sighted a great many buffalo, possibly several thousand. When the scouts were returning, the entire party of hunters grouped themselves in two lines. Dried cow dung was piled up to the height of several feet. If a scout had seen a great abundance of buffalo he would run right over the dung heap. If he had sighted about one thousand head, he merely took his whip and whipped off half of the pile. The people hallooed: "There are plenty of buffalo!" The scouts went to the tiyotipi, where some of the twenty akitcita lifted them from their horses and carried them to the rear of the tiyotipi. An old man came with a pipe, lit it, and presented it to one of the scouts, holding the pipe in both his hands. The old man whispered to the scout, "How many buffalo?" The scout might answer, "Three thousand." Then the old man would raise his hand, tap the ground, make an exclamation of joy, and go outside, where he shouted: "So many buffalo are reported! Saddle your horses!" They started for the herd. When they had got close, one man on each side (the tiyotipi headmen?) appointed two akitcita, making four in all. Thereafter, until the end of the actual hunt, all the officers previously mentioned had nothing more to say, and the supreme authority was vested in these four new akitcita. One half of the hunters went north, the other half south. When it was thought that the hunters were close enough to the game, someone put a shirt on a bow and four times raised it aloft and lowered it. Then an old man cried, "hō'he!" This was the signal for all to make a charge. If anyone tried to get ahead of the rest, the four akitcita whipped him back into line.

After the hunt, the twenty akitcita took the tongues, the portions on one side of the ribs, and the tenderloins of all buffalo to the tiyotipi, and had them cooked by four poor men chosen to perform this service during the hunt. Everybody came to the tiyotipi to eat. After the meal a herald announced: "Young men, none of you must hunt alone, or I shall 'soldier-kill' you! To-morrow we must not hunt but take a rest." If any men did

go out alone and came back with meat, the twenty akitcita reported them to the tiyotipi owners, who said, "Go and strike them!" Thereupon one of the twenty braves took the lead, and they went to the offender, slashing his lodge cover and chopping up his lodge poles. Each offender was thus punished. If no resistance was offered, the akitcita so reported to the tiyotipi, whose owners said, "Now pay them for what you have done." Then the twenty akitcita set up a new tipi for the men punished. If anyone, however, resisted the punishment he was killed.

Hepana named only two Wahpeton bands, both formerly inhabiting Minnesota. Each had a chief, and under each chief there were two akitcita chosen by the whole people. In case of any dispute in camp the akitcita were expected to settle it peaceably, though the chief himself might help. The akitcita were selected for life. When a chief died, he was usually succeeded by his oldest son. At the time of a buffalo hunt two special akitcita, who had nothing to do with the other officers so called, were appointed to lead and to give the necessary signals. The two akitcita occupy each one tiyotipi. After the hunt one of them went to collect the tongues and brought them to the tiyotipi. Old men gathered there and ate up the tongues.

If an akitcita had killed a man for disobedience during the hunt, then the relatives of both slayer and slain assembled in a large tipi to which horses were brought. Some men present were armed to prevent a disturbance. Then, if any cousin or brother of the slayer said, "Brother, I wish to die with you," he was tied to his relative. Then the akitcita shook hands with the relatives of the slain hunter, kissed them, and an exchange of horses took place.

The words spoken by the relative of the akitcita become intelligible from another account by Tawatcihe-homini, according to whom the akitcita was liable to pain of death under the following conditions. The parents of the slain man furnish a horse never ridden before, which has its mane and tail docked and has a rope round its neck. The slayer or one of his relatives is placed on the horse, and the parents say to him, "If this horse saves your life, it shall be yours." Then the other akitcita hold up a bar to the height of about four feet, while the relatives of the dead man whip the horse. If the rider falls off, they kill him. If he is not dismounted until after the leap over the bar, the aggrieved relatives shake his hand, kiss him, and let him have the horse, while they themselves receive property from the rider's associate akitcita. Thus peace was established in the camp.

From another account by Hepana I gather that the procedure just described was in no way peculiar to the case of a disobedient hunter killed by an akitcita, but was resorted to whenever a tribesman had been killed and a peaceable settlement was desired by those not directly involved. Once a

man on terms of intimacy with a married woman was shot by the offended husband as he came out of the tipi. The chiefs of several bands then camped together announced that the matter should be settled amicably. The Teton constructed an enclosure, which the relatives of the dead man entered. The murderer came, naked save for a clout, and was made to straddle a horse that had its tail and mane docked. He was not permitted any hold. The horse was brought towards the enclosure, and when it had got very close the relatives of the slain man shot under the horse, making it jump. However, the rider remained on horseback. Had he fallen off, he would have been killed immediately. He was taken to the enclosure, and his former enemies shook hands with him.

CONCLUSION.

Before discussing the material presented in the foregoing pages it is well to note that the Santee, Sisseton, and Wahpeton all had one society that falls outside the scope of the present paper, being manifestly unrelated to the military and age societies of the Plains area, viz. the Medicine dance (*wakaⁿ' watci'pi*). This has been repeatedly, though never extensively, described by observers of the Eastern Dakota.¹ The organization differs from that of any of the performances here dealt with in requiring a definite initiation, which involves a shooting ceremony resembling that found among the Omaha, Winnebago, and several Central Algonkin tribes. In the Medicine dance, membership, being dependent on an adoption, was a perfectly definite thing; but nothing proved more difficult than to determine whether the other dances were performed by definite societies or varied in their personnel from performance to performance.

This question is relatively simple for those dances paralleled in the dream cults of the Oglala, to wit, the heyoka, the Elk, the Two-Women, and the (Santee) Buffalo dances.² In each of the three last-mentioned performances all those and only those, took part who had had visions of the same type, though in the Buffalo dance the sons of such visionaries and temporary substitutes were occasionally admitted. In the heyoka it appears that not all the participants need have received a heyoka revelation, nevertheless the core of the performing body was constituted by those who had, and it is

¹ See, e. g., Lockwood, 189; Riggs, (a), 227-229; Dorsey, (a), 440.

² Doubtless there were others of the same type among the Eastern Dakota. Thus, Miss Fletcher, (c), has described the Four Winds ceremony of the Santee, performed by those who had seen the raven or the small black stone symbolical of the Four Winds.

quite clear that a heyoka was expected to act in a certain way even apart from the ceremonial heyoka performance.

The aforementioned dances, therefore, were associated with definite groups of men and women. Nevertheless, with the exception of the Santee Buffalo dancers, whose number is fixed at forty-four, these groups were, as a rule, so small that they can hardly be designated as "societies." In this trait they resemble the cults of the Oglala, which rarely had more than three or four votaries.¹ A more serious reason against regarding these dances as the property of societies is that there is not sufficient evidence for an *organization* of the participants. There is indeed an indication of organization at the heyoka feast, but precisely on that occasion the performers were composed partly of non-visionaries. So far as men were permanently connected with the heyoka activity, they seem to have been unorganized, that is to say, each man acted according to his heyoka character without special regard to any other heyoka.

The organization of the heyoka *feast* by a head man who had received a special supernatural communication links it with a considerable number of other performances sketched in the preceding sections. The Bear, Horse, and Round dancers, the Raw-fish Eaters, Dog-liver Eaters, Fire-Walkers, and performers of the Mocking dance were all organized by a single individual as the result of a vision; and, as in the heyoka, the visionary was compelled, on pain of death, to do as bidden by his visitant. If I understand the matter correctly, each of the dances just enumerated was the property of a single visionary, who would request others to join him in the performance essential to his own safety. That is to say, I believe that at different times different individuals would organize and perform the same dances which, accordingly, had nothing to do with any society.

From a wider point of view, both the dances performed by men at the initiative of a single visionary and the dances performed by a group of visionaries sharing the same revelation are related to the activities of single men acting out their visions. Red-beads says that some tribesmen dreamed of being grizzlies. These would develop tusks, and other people offered them pups which the dreamers devoured like grizzlies; then their tusks would disappear again. A man, according to Little-fish, who had had a vision impersonated a grizzly and had a boy follow him to play the part of a cub. If the visionary had not acted in accordance with the directions received in his vision, the belief was that he would die. The bear-impersonator had a hole dug for his den and the people set up four sticks at some distance from it and from one another. He would advance as far as the fourth stick

¹ See this volume, p. 88.

three times and then return to his hole, but the fourth time he went farther and then the people began to shoot at him and actually killed the cub. The principle at the bottom of this performance was probably that the gift of invulnerability could be conferred by a revelation, but apparently it was not altogether without dangerous consequences, as is also indicated by the following narrative. A man once put a buffalo robe about himself and marked it in one spot where he wished people to shoot him. Little-fish saw this man's second performance. Another man was lying in wait as if he were about to chase buffalo. The actor walked round, then stood up straight, and was shot. My informant saw the dirt fly from the marked spot where he was shot. He fell sideways and one of the spectators remarked, "He is falling down, the other time he did not fall down." However, the performer rose and went home. There a place was cleared for him and he sat down, taking some dirt in his mouth and putting some on his wound. He tried to cough up the bullet, but could not do it, and died. A man once dreamed that he should cook for dogs. Accordingly, he would cook a dog-shaped mass of pemmican painted all over. Then he would tell the owners of the dogs to tie grass to the dogs' necks and feet. When they came toward him, he began to sing; and as soon as his song was done, the dogs jumped at the meat.

In the cases just cited the visionary's activity closely resembles certain practices treated under the heading of dances in the imitation of certain animals, in the exhibition of miraculous invulnerability, and above all, in the feeling that a vision must be obeyed. It may be justifiable to look upon the dances as merely the result of specialized visions, visions that accidentally call, in some cases, for auxiliary actors and visions that are accidentally shared by others. This would, of course, express only the subjective attitude of the visionary; objectively considered, the fact that several people tend to have the same vision or that a vision calls for a dance in company with others could not be considered accidental.

Of the remaining dances some, like the Shuffling dance and the *kaiyona*, were of a purely social character. Others, like the Elk Ear dance, are too little known to admit of classification. The Kit-fox, *napecni*, Badger, Owl-Feather, *miwatani* (Sisseton) Buffalo and Raven-Owners' dances have obvious points of resemblance with the dances of the military or age societies of other Plains tribes and are therefore best grouped together, though a comparative treatment of their traits will be deferred until the close of this volume. The essential point to be determined now is in how far these dances were practised by definite societies or by groups of ever shifting constituency.

My Santee informant repeatedly declared that he belonged permanently only to the Medicine Dance, but had joined in some of the other dances for

single performances in the capacity of a singer. Nevertheless, he also made the statement that while a person might thus join in the performance of a dance for a short period he could not be permanently affiliated with several dances at the same time. The clearest evidence for definite military societies among the Santee lies in the mutual exclusiveness of the napecni and Kit-fox dancers, which is corroborated by data from the other Eastern Dakota groups. For if individuals were not identified with a dance beyond a single performance of it, there would be no point to the remark that the Kit-fox dancers might not join in the napecni dance (p. 106).

With regard to the Sisseton, Little-fish says that in the days of his youth there were only two societies, the napecni and the Kit-fox. It was a matter of choice, which one a man would enter. Thus, my informant was a napecni, while a brother of his was a Kit-fox. At a large tribal gathering the napecni would perform their dance on one day, and the Kit-foxes theirs on the next. A man would not leave one society to enter the other, and there was no feeling of rivalry between them. However, Little-fish later did enter the Owl Headdress dance when that was organized after the discontinuance of the napecni. When that was abandoned, three years later, Little-fish joined the Buffalo dance, which in turn was discontinued after a year. Little-fish's evidence, then, points to but two societies of definite and mutually exclusive membership, to begin with. One of them passed out of existence and was superseded by other associations of dancers, each of which in turn superseded another at irregular intervals.

Red-beads (Sisseton) states that at any one period there was only a single dance in the whole camp. Thus, at eleven years of age he was a napecni, later he entered the Elk Ear dance and remained in it for nine years. After that had been abandoned he became a matano when that dance originated, and took part in its performance for four years, when it was abandoned. He went to only one Kit-fox dance because he would not have his hair roached and he did not enter the Buffalo dance because no one had made the appropriate headdress for him. The succession of dances is somewhat suggestive of that given by Little-fish, but the fact that only one dance was performed during any one period puts a different construction on the matter. Evidently, anyone that wished to dance at all was obliged to enter the particular dance of the period, but to what extent all tribesmen actually did participate, and how regularly, is not clear. Red-beads' statements show that he himself did not join in all dances that were organized in his time. The impression he gave me was that the personnel of the performances might vary from one performance to another of the same dance.

My two Wahpeton informants, on the other hand, give accounts indicating rather definite organizations. Hepana says that a napecni could not

join the Kit-fox dancers, but that a man was at liberty to change his dance affiliations and that instances of this occurred. Both he and Tawatchi-homini agree that there were a number of dances coexisting at one time. Tawatchi-homini confirms Hepana's statement with reference to the napecni and tokana, and specifically adds that a matano also is barred from joining any of the other dances. On the other hand, Tawatchi-homini's experiences also corroborate the Sisseton informant's statements as to the successive appearance of different dances in camp. At fourteen, Tawatchi joined the kaiyona, which was stopped by the agent after two years, when he joined the matano. He danced the matano for seven years, then it was stopped by the government, and he joined the Grass dance. Had there been no governmental interference, he would have remained in the matano all his life.

Red-beads' statement as to the existence of but a single dance at one time would hardly permit us to regard the dancers as forming a society, but it is so decidedly contradicted by other informants that it may be safely assumed to rest on a misunderstanding. We are then justified in ascribing to the Eastern Dakota at least two military societies, the napecni and the tokana. It seems to me probable that the Badger, Owl Feather, mawatani, Elk Ear, and Raven-Owner's dances were also practised each by a definite body. On the basis of available data I should therefore classify the dances of the Eastern Dakota as follows:—

1. Medicine Dance with formal adoption.
2. Dances by military societies not requiring initiation fee or formal adoption.
3. Dances by associations of individuals sharing the same vision.
4. Dances by individuals at the initiative of a single visionary.
5. Social dances.

The Sun dance, according to Wahpeton and Sisseton informants, might be grouped with dances of the second or third class, for its performance was obligatory on one who had dreamt of it and Tawatchi-homini told me that all the twenty-two main participants in one Sun dance had had visions ordering them to perform the dance.

In one respect the military societies of the Eastern Dakota differ very markedly from those of the Oglala. While among the latter a number of these organizations were usually called upon to act as akitcita on the hunt or in moving camp, the akitcita function among the Sisseton, Wahpeton, and Santee, as described in the preceding chapter, was quite distinct from the activities of the dance organizations. There is a single reference in one Wahpeton account (p. 135) to the Kit-foxes being appointed to render a special subordinate service, but even in this case the members were not

designated as akitsita and do not seem to have exercised the more characteristic akitsita rights.

On another point the evidence is unfortunately too scanty to permit a definite conclusion. In some tribes the military societies are far more than associations for dancing or for the promotion of a martial spirit, and practically constitute clubs with frequent and informal gatherings. I am under the impression that this purely social phase of the military societies was not very well developed among the Eastern Dakota.

MILITARY SOCIETIES OF THE CROW INDIANS.

By ROBERT H. LOWIE.

INTRODUCTION.

In 1907 I was able to secure only a few salient facts concerning the military societies of the Crow, but in 1910 they formed the principal subject of investigation during nearly three months' work at Lodge Grass and Pryor, Montana. The following summer I succeeded in obtaining some supplementary data, both at Lodge Grass and in the Big Horn district. My method was to inquire of every informant what societies he had belonged to in the course of his life and to ask for a description of them. I discovered very soon that nearly all my authorities had been members of either the Lumpwood or the Fox society and that the other Crow organizations had either very few or no living representatives. Accordingly, so far as the latter are concerned, I often had to content myself with second-hand information. On the other hand, about the Foxes and Lumpwoods I gathered together a considerable mass of material until it was impossible to get additional points from new informants. Even with regard to the other organizations on which information was meager, I fear that it is no longer possible to add anything of moment to the results here presented.

As will be clear to readers of the first chapter, the present paper does not exhaust the subject of Crow societies and dances, but deals only with organizations related to the military and age-societies of other tribes. This limitation may seem inconsistent with the plan of other papers in this series. The reason for it lies in the fact that, while in some other tribes it is difficult to separate the military from other organizations, among the Crow they stand out as a clearly defined group. The chapters on the Hot Dance and Clowns have been included for purposes of comparison with other tribes.

My interpreters were the same to whom acknowledgment has already been made in the introduction to my *Social Life of the Crow Indians*, but the work on military societies was conducted more particularly with the assistance of James Carpenter, Robert Yellowtail, and Henry Russell.

A slight change in orthography should be noted. In the present paper "h" and "d" are not nasalized; "m" and "n", weakly nasalized; "m" and "n", fully nasalized.

ROBERT H. LOWIE.

March, 1913.

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MILITARY SOCIETIES.

THE CROW SYSTEM.

For convenience' sake the societies that form the subject of this paper may be collectively referred to as "military societies." The earliest reference to them dates back to 1804, when Lewis and Clark discovered a Dakota society of men pledged to foolhardy conduct and learned that this was organized in imitation of the societies of the Crow.¹ Probably about two decades later Beckwourth noted the existence of the rival Dog and Fox societies.² In 1833 Maximilian enumerated eight Crow organizations—the Bulls, Prairie-Foxes, Ravens, Half-Shaved Heads, Lumpwoods, Stone Hammers, Little Dogs, and Big Dogs.³ When I first visited the Crow in 1907, I learned of only four societies of this type,—Foxes, Lumpwoods, Big Dogs, and Muddy Hands. These are likewise the only ones described by Mr. Curtis in his recent work, though he refers in addition, without giving names, to boys' organizations modeled on those of the older men.⁴ Persistent inquiry among practically all old Crow informants enabled me, however, to obtain, not only all the names of Maximilian's list, but also two or three additional ones.

From even the imperfect glimpse afforded by a comparison of the sources just mentioned, which is in some measure supplemented by the information recorded in the following pages, one principle may be regarded as safely established. We must view the Crow system of military societies as undergoing considerable changes in the course of the nineteenth century, and the changes on the whole do not appear to be closely connected with the influence of civilization. In other words, there is no reason to suppose that changes of a similar nature have not taken place ever since societies of this type existed among the Crow.

Roughly sketched, the development of conditions seems to have been the following. In 1833 there were eight societies, as noted by Maximilian. Of these, at least two, the Foxes and (Big?) Dogs had a few years before stood to each other in a position of mutual rivalry. Some of the societies

¹ Lewis and Clark, I, 130.

² Bonner, 183, 188.

³ Maximilian's native terms show that his Prairie-Foxes are identical with my Foxes, his Ravens with my Crow Owners, while his untranslated "Pädachischi" obviously stands for *marazi'ce*, Lumpwood. Maximilian, I, 401.

⁴ Curtis, IV, 13-27.

began to decrease in membership and later practically passed out of existence, leaving the Big Dogs, Foxes, Lumpwoods, and Muddy Hands. Probably between 1840 and 1870, the Foxes and Lumpwoods rose to ascendancy as the two great rival clubs *par excellence*, and attracted some of the membership of obsolescent organizations. At different times new societies originated, generally in imitation of the Hidatsa. As the Hidatsa were more frequently encountered by the River Crow than by the more southern bands of the tribe, the former sometimes had organizations not yet shared by the Many Lodges and Kicked-in-their-bellies. This recent Hidatsa influence must of course be carefully distinguished from the possible influence of the early association of the Crow and Hidatsa, which will be treated at the close of this series of papers. Some of the newly introduced societies were possibly never adopted by the two southern bands, and in every case accidental causes may have led to a transformation or re-modeling of the adopted features.

Elsewhere I have pointed out that when a society is borrowed by a tribe it tends to assume a different aspect because it is re-moulded in accordance with the established system of the borrowing tribe.¹

The history of the Crazy Dog society among the Crow shows how accidental causes bring about differences even within the same tribe. According to all accounts, the River Crow got this society from the Hidatsa, probably in the early seventies, when the influence of the Foxes and Lumpwoods was waning. About the same time the Hidatsa introduced the Hot dance. In the Many Lodge camp all those who did not join the Hot dance became Crazy Dogs, and at once there was duplicated the rivalry that had formerly obtained between Foxes and Lumpwoods in the very specific form to be described below (see p. 169). Thus, the Crazy Dog society of the Many Lodges became quite different in this particular from the Crazy Dog society of the River Crow simply because the southern Crow did, and the northern Crow did not, model the new societies according to the Lumpwood-Fox pattern. However, before long practically all the Crazy Dogs became Hot dancers. The Hot dance is performed to-day by four distinct clubs, which have been described elsewhere. How the Hot Dancers were split up in this way, is not quite clear to me. Characteristically enough, the old spirit of rivalry still persists, at least at Lodge Grass, between two of the clubs, — the Big-Ear-Holes and the Night Hot dancers.²

The changes that are thus known to have taken place within a limited period are a warning against direct psychological interpretations without

¹ Lowie, (b), 70.

² Lowie, (a), 243.

regard to historical considerations. In a former paper,¹ on the basis of the information first obtained, I believed that the Crow, like the Cheyenne, had only four warrior societies. I called attention to the fact that the Kiowa also had four coördinate organizations of this type, and that in the Arapaho and Gros Ventre series a quartet of societies stands out as the well-defined and probably oldest part of these systems. My covert suggestion was that the number of these societies had been affected by the ceremonial importance of the number four. It is, of course, quite possible that this idea may at one time or another have had some influence. For example, Gray-bull tells me that of the four Hot dance clubs, three were introduced from the outside and a fourth added by the Crow on their own initiative, in which case the mystic properties of the number four may conceivably have had some influence. However, it is clear that it had no fundamental significance in the development of the Crow system when we remember that what happened among the Crow is a gradual reduction in the number of societies to the Big Dogs, Muddy Hands, Foxes and Lumpwoods, with the two last-named coming to overshadow the rest. The way in which particular societies lapsed into non-existence, became allied with or merged in others, and adopted special features from other societies, will be dealt with in the descriptive sections of this paper. It is clear that most of these happenings were not due to any inherent law underlying the development of human societies. That special conditions effected certain differences in the development of the Crazy Dog society, for example, is intelligible enough, but neither the character nor the localization of the differences could have been foretold on abstract psychological or sociological grounds.

If any general principle is illustrated by the history of Crow societies, it is the one already referred to, — the great formative power of a once established pattern. In practically all the societies we find the same method of electing officers and parading through camp; the scheme of officers was, roughly speaking, common to nearly all the societies; and police duties of the same kind are known to have been assumed at different times by the Foxes, Lumpwoods, Crazy Dogs, Muddy Hands, and Muddy Mouths,² and may have been exercised by several of the rest. Such uniformity is intelligible only on the "pattern theory."

The societies here dealt with have been provisionally designated as "military." They were that in some measure, but the term covers only a part of their activity. It is true that military duties devolved on some officers in each of the better-known societies, that martial regalia were

¹ Lowie, (c), 89.

² Lowie, (a), 229.

employed, and that the idea of martial glory was very prominent. Nevertheless, we must remember, as does Professor Kroeber in discussing a corresponding Arapaho feature, that war loomed so large in the consciousness of the Plains Indian that it could not help coloring his every activity. There is neither evidence that war parties were ever composed of members of a single society nor that war parties, by becoming more than merely temporary associations, developed into military societies, as I once suggested and as seems to have actually happened among the Dakota.¹

While the evidence is against regarding the societies under discussion as of exclusively or fundamentally military character, there is practically none at all to indicate any religious or esoteric features. In other tribes the origin of military societies is explained in fairly elaborate myths generally recounting a supernatural revelation, and the corresponding dances are at least in part of the nature of religious performances. Among the Crow the origin accounts are meagre and trivial, and the dances seem to have been performed solely for amusement.

The absence of the religious factor in the dances of the military societies appears most clearly when they are compared with certain other, genuinely ceremonial performances of the Crow. Thus, the planting and harvesting of the sacred Tobacco plant, which devolves on members of a number of Tobacco societies, is a religious duty accompanied by ritualistic observances. The same applies to a Medicine Pipe dance of the Pawnee *hako* type, and to an obsolete Horse dance formerly practised by the River Crow. In the Bear Song dance all those individuals who had in their bodies such animals as bears, eagles, horses, and the like, would come together and display the supernatural presence within them, which was made to protrude part of its body from the performer's mouth. This ceremony resembled the dream cult performances of the Dakota inasmuch as all who had had a similar religious experience joined in a demonstration of their mystic relationships.

The military societies are then certainly not religious bodies and are only in part military. It is further clear that they were not organized on the basis of clan membership and that their connection with police duties was incidental. If I understand the conditions correctly, the military societies of the Crow were at bottom clubs resembling those which now take part in the Hot dance,—associations held together by a strong bond of comradeship, the members helping one another as the occasion arose and meeting frequently for purely social purposes. This conception is supported by the fact that at least some of the Big-Ear-Holes and Night-

¹ Lowie, (c), 93-95. Wissler, this Volume, 64, 67.

Hot-Dancers of today regard themselves as the modern representatives of the Lumpwoods and Foxes respectively. It is more strongly corroborated by the mode of entrance into the clubs and the military societies. Here, however, my data are at variance with those of Maximilian, and the contradictory evidence must be discussed in detail.

Some writers have interpreted Maximilian's statements to mean that the Crow had age-societies. Maximilian nowhere expressly states that they had, but he does attribute to the Crow the same method of entering the military societies as that discovered by him among the Mandan and Hidatsa. That is to say, according to him, membership was purchased, and the buyers in part payment surrendered their wives to the sellers. The following concrete data collected by myself shed light both on the supposed age-grade character of the Crow societies and on the alleged method of entrance by purchase.

Bear-gets-up had four Lumpwood brothers who were killed by the Dakota when he was a little boy. The Lumpwoods gave him presents to make him take the place of his brothers, and he joined at the age of 23 or 24. Later, when the Hidatsa introduced the Crazy Dog society, Bear-gets-up joined it without giving up his membership in the Lumpwood society. When his Hidatsa comrade died, Bear-gets-up left the Crazy Dogs. Lone-tree's uncle, a Crazy Dog, froze to death; the Crazy Dogs met and gave property to Lone-tree, then about twenty years old, in order to make him join. He consented, and never joined any other organization. Arm-round-the-neck and an anonymous informant had Lumpwood brothers who were killed, and were accordingly taken in by the Lumpwoods to fill the vacancy. For a corresponding reason Shot-in-the-arm and Sitting-elk were made to join the Fox society. One-horn had been offered presents by the Foxes as an inducement to join their society, but when a Fox brother of his had been killed, One-horn joined without accepting any gifts. When One-horn was 26 years old, one of his brothers, a Fox, was killed in battle. Sharp-horn originally entered the Fox society, because one of his brothers, a member, had been killed. When another brother who was a Lumpwood had been killed, he joined the Lumpwoods. Bear-ghost's father had been a Muddy Hand; upon his death Bear-ghost took his place. The history of Child-in-the-mouth's affiliations is especially instructive. As a boy he joined the Foxes, of which organization several of his brothers were members. When another brother, who belonged to the Muddy Hand society, had been killed, Child-in-the-mouth became a Muddy Hand. Later still, one of his Fox brothers was killed, and he accordingly re-joined the Foxes. Bull-chief had an uncle belonging to the Big Dog society and accordingly also joined. Later one of his maternal uncles who was a Fox

was killed, and then the Foxes gave Bull-chief presents, thus making him join their number. Shot-in-the-hand was also taken into the Fox society to fill a slain uncle's place, and never changed his affiliations. Gros-Ventre-horse at first was a Lumpwood from choice, but when a Fox brother of his had been killed, the Foxes gave him presents and he became a Fox. Old-dog, when a young man, was taken in by the Foxes, but later a Lumpwood was killed who resembled him so closely that the other Lumpwoods wished to have my informant take his place and accordingly made him join by presenting him with gifts. He always remained a Lumpwood. All of Black-bull's brothers were Foxes. Several of them died and one was killed, so the Foxes asked Black-bull to join, which he did remaining with them all his life. Fire-weasel was at first a Fox. When he was about thirty years old, the Dakota stole all his horses. His fellow-Foxes refused to help him, but the Big Dogs offered him horses and property, and thus made him join their society, to which he always remained faithful. Old-alligator first joined the Big Dogs to take a dead brother's place, later another brother who was a Lumpwood was killed, so the Lumpwoods took in my informant. Bear-crane joined the Lumpwoods because he liked the way they hallooed and sang.

In connection with the foregoing enumeration the following abstract statements by natives should be taken into account.

If a member of a society had been killed by the enemy, his fellow-members offered presents to a brother or other close relative of the slain man in order to make him fill the vacancy. This was done even if the brother was already a member of some other organization. If the brother of the slain man was but an infant, his parents themselves might say, "When this child grows up, we will have him join the Fox society." No matter how young he was, the boy was then considered a Fox. If the parents made no such declaration, the Foxes (or other societies) nevertheless kept the boy in mind, and when they considered him old enough, they went to his lodge in a body and said, "We wish you to replace your relative, So-and-so, who was a member and was killed." This seems to have been by far the most common way of joining a military organization. More rarely, a man who liked the songs and dances of a society or had brothers who were members simply joined without any formality or any payment from or to members. Sometimes, Bell-rock informed me, a society would give presents to a man to make him join even without his brother's being killed. Their motive in such a case was to get among them a man of great bravery who might take away the rival society's songs (see p. 174).

To sum up briefly. Entrance into the Lumpwood, Fox, Muddy Hand, Big Dog, and Crazy Dog societies was not based on purchase, but on the

contrary was most frequently accompanied with gifts from the society to the new member, who was generally invited to fill a vacancy caused by the death of one of his relatives. The payment of an initiation fee was strongly denied to have taken place under any circumstances so far as the military societies are concerned. Such a fee is exacted, on the other hand, by the Tobacco societies. Even here, however, the novice does not replace an older member, but is simply added to the membership. The notion of a collective purchase of membership by a group replacing another group is apparently quite foreign to the Crow. It is also clear that membership had nothing to do with age. Under normal conditions a man remained with a society once entered for the rest of his life; he changed his affiliations only if aggrieved at some action of his fellow-members, or if induced to join another society for special reasons.

The evidence just presented may be challenged on two grounds. On the one hand, we do not know definitely, whether the same rules held for the long obsolete societies on which information had to be obtained from non-members, such as the Little Dog and Crow Owner organizations. Secondly, it is conceivable that all the military societies on which information was obtained changed their rules for admission during the interval between Maximilian's visit and the period recollected by my informants.

So far as the first objection is concerned, the indications are that the military societies in question did not differ fundamentally from those which survived them. Maximilian himself groups them all together in one class. It would be conceivable that in such organizations as the Bulls and the Muddy Mouths, which were probably or certainly derived from the Hidatsa, the Hidatsa mode of purchase should assert itself, but there is no positive evidence to that effect.

The second objection seems quite untenable. Several of my oldest informants in 1910 were about 90 years of age. Accordingly, they must have had accurate knowledge of what the military societies of 1840 were like. Moreover, the Hidatsa, with whom intimate relations were maintained throughout the nineteenth century, preserved their system of purchase and age-grades so long that all elderly Hidatsa informants are still able to expound its principles. In view of this fact it appears to me in the highest degree improbable that within a few years after Maximilian's visit the system of entrance described by him should have been supplanted by a quite different system based largely on the substitution of a relative for a deceased member, and should have wholly disappeared, so that not a single Crow recollects anything about purchase or the surrender of wives as an entrance requirement.

When we consider that Maximilian's stay among the Crow was very

brief and that many of the Crow societies coincide in name with those of the Hidatsa and Mandan, we can readily understand how he came to conceive of the Crow organizations in terms of the Hidatsa-Mandan system which he had an opportunity to study with greater care. We may then safely disregard his evidence and view the military societies of the Crow as social clubs that did not require a formal adoption by purchase.

Although, as already noted, Maximilian does not expressly describe the Crow organizations as age-societies, it is quite possible that arguing by analogy he had come to regard them as such. Indeed, statements in the following pages might be used to support such a view. For I was told that the Big Dogs were mostly old men; that the Bulls were all elderly or old (though there is some contradictory evidence); that the Crow Owners were all elderly men; that the Muddy Mouths were middle-aged; and there is no doubt that the Hammer society was composed exclusively of boys.

In order to settle this question I must revert to definitions developed in a previous paper.¹ For the purposes of discussion in the papers of this series I understand by "age-class" a group composed of *all* the male or female members of approximately the same age. An "age-society" is one of a progressive series of organizations, admission into each of which is partly or wholly dependent on age. According to these definitions, the Hammer society was an age-class because it embraced practically all the young boys of the tribe. The other Crow organizations with apparent claims to the title of age-societies were neither age-classes nor age-societies in the period of which we have any knowledge. They were not age-classes because none of them united *all* the old or middle-aged Crow Indians. They did not unite all the old or middle-aged people because, as explained above, men normally remained in the Fox, Lumpwood and some other societies all their lives. The absence of *tribal* age-classes becomes further clear from the fact that some of these last-named societies were subdivided into groups of young, middle-aged, and old men (see pp. 156, 164). As there is no evidence of any relative grading of the Big Dog, Bull, Crow Owner and Muddy Mouth societies, either with reference to one another or to the Lumpwoods, Foxes, etc., it is equally clear that they cannot be regarded as age-societies, that is to say, they are not from this point of view comparable with the Hidatsa and Mandan series.

The statements as to the age of the Big Dogs, Muddy Mouths, Crow Owners, and Bulls become intelligible when we remember that the members of a society may all be of about the same age because of certain qualifications involving *incidentally* the age factor. Thus, among the Assiniboine

¹ Lowie, (c), pp. 78 et. seq.

the demand that members of certain organizations should be well-to-do excluded most young men, although the explicit principle of association was not that of age. Secondly, if some of the Crow societies were adopted from the Hidatsa, as is practically certain in several cases, it would not be unnatural for the new Crow society to resemble its Hidatsa prototype as to the age of its members. Thus, the Crow Owners represented the oldest Hidatsa group in Maximilian's day and are said to have been at least elderly men among the Crow. The interesting problem that presents itself in this connection is whether there would not be at least a tendency for the age-factor to disappear in a borrowed society because of its assimilation to the Crow scheme. This probably did occur in the Big Dog society. Though the members originally may all have been old men in imitation of the Hidatsa Dog society, vacancies were filled, within the memory of my informants, in the customary Crow style, which obviously led to the admission of younger men. A thoroughgoing assimilation to the tribal pattern must inevitably have resulted in the elimination of the age factor.

A full treatment of relevant problems, however, involves the discussion of the evidence from neighboring tribes and must therefore be reserved for the final paper of this series.

FOXES AND LUMPWOODS.

As explained above (p. 148), the Foxes and Lumpwoods had become the most important military societies in the decades immediately preceding the breakdown of the old tribal life. Accordingly, there were far more Indians who could give first-hand information about the Foxes and Lumpwoods than about other organizations, and the traits of Crow military societies will become clearer by beginning with a description of these two. They are treated in the same chapter because of their curious mutual relations. A good account of their activities has been published by Mr. Curtis.¹

The membership of the Foxes was estimated by Bell-rock at one hundred, while the Lumpwoods are said to have been far more numerous.

Foxes. The various accounts for the origin of the Fox society (Ixuxke) are all very meager. Child-in-the-mouth says that the society was organized by a man from the south. Sleeping one night in the course of a journey, he saw many foxes come towards him, lie down, and sing Fox songs. When he first organized the society, the members were all young men, but later

¹ Curtis, *iv*, 14-20, 31-34.

older people also joined. Another narrative accounts for the origin of both the Fox and Lumpwood organizations. A Crow once went on a buffalo hunt. He killed a great many head. On his way home he camped and had a revelation. He saw four sticks of pine wood wrapped with otterskin. Two of them were hooked, and two were straight and decorated with eagle feathers at the end. On returning the visionary cut his hair short, so as to leave a central ridge, and plastered the shorn part of his head with white clay. He also took bear guts, tanned them, painted them with red stripes, and put them on his head. He organized both the Foxes and the Lumpwoods, but the latter cut their hair short only in front. According to one informant, a young man while out fasting heard a coyote song, and on his return took his comrades to a large tipi, where he taught them his song. They liked it, and as there was no admission fee other men joined and the Fox society developed. Still another statement is to the effect that the Foxes were so called because one old man, in accordance with a revelation he had received, was wont to hold up a fox skin while dancing the Fox dance.¹

An occasional remark made by some informants, that the Foxes used belts of kit-fox skins, or fox-skin capes with the tail hanging down the back, or tied strips of such skins to their braids or other parts of the hair, is the only intimation of a badge for the rank and file of the society. The most frequent statement was that there was absolutely no distinction in dress between the Foxes and the Lumpwoods. The fox-skin cape is said to have been made by cutting the skin into halves and uniting these so as to leave a slit for the head. According to one statement, the Foxes painted one side of the face red and the other yellow, while they put black and yellow paint on their bodies. The Lumpwoods, according to the same informant, used pink paint.

In dancing the Foxes formed a circle and moved to the left, each member making a low jump with both feet.

The Fox society was divided into a number of minor groups. Three such divisions were given by Bell-rock: the Foxes (*ṭexuxke*), Little Foxes (*ṭexuxkíete*), and the Bad Ones (*bā'kawíε*). These groups were in some measure age-classes. The youngest members, boys of about 18 or 20, were called *bā'kawí'ε* because they played about and joked in a noisy manner. The Little Foxes were about 30 years of age. The Foxes proper were quiet, good-humored men of mature age. When Bell-rock joined the Foxes, he became at first a *bā'kawí'ε*, later he passed automatically into the groups

¹ Gray-hud once said that all the societies were originated by the mythical Old Man Coyote.

of older members. It is important to note that in point of dress, emblems, songs, and eligibility to office, there was no difference between the members of these different age-groups within the Fox society. From several accounts it appears that the *bā'kawī'ε* had a special function. If the wife of a Lumpwood refused to go with a Fox at the time of the annual wife-stealing (see p. 169) on the ground that she had never been his mistress, the Fox was obliged to prove his former relationship with her. If he succeeded in doing so, the *bā'kawī'ε* abducted her by force. Sitting-elk gives but two age-groups: the *bā'kawī'ε* and the Big Hats (*ik-úp'isā'te*). When the former felt that they were old enough, they simply transferred themselves into the other division. The *bā'kawī'ε* all sat together in one part of the society's lodge, joined by two of the older men selected by them. They were young and still childish. Whenever they attended a feast, they acted like children, taking meat before it was cooked, and playing about in the lodge. The two older men were supposed to think for them. As soon as a song was sung, all the *bā'kawī'ε* immediately rose and danced. They continually joked. The older members did not at all resent their actions, but liked to see the boys enjoying themselves. Child-in-the-mouth gives the same divisions as Sitting-elk, but adds a number of additional groups of more recent origin: the Fat Foxes (*íexuxk'irápe*), the Foxes without Sweethearts (*íexuxke bí'ε híré'te*), and the Many Hearts (*íexuxke dā'sahō*). This informant was at first a *bā'kawī'ε*, then a Big Hat, and still later a *bí'ε híré'te*. Fire-weasel gives a similar list, but omits the Many Hearts and includes Bell-rock's Little Foxes and Foxes. From this oldest informant's statements, however, it appears that these additional divisions were not age-classes, but simply groups of intimate friends designated collectively by nicknames. Thus, if, say, from five to ten comrades had never stolen any Lumpwood women, they were called "Foxes without Sweethearts." Similarly, a group conspicuous by virtue of their corpulence would be called "Fat Foxes." Black-bull said that the "Big Hats" mentioned by some were also not a definite subdivision but merely a group so nicknamed because its members were the first to wear the large black hats sold by the traders. He recognizes but two real subdivisions, the *bā'kawī'ε* and the Foxes proper, of which he at first joined the former, later passing into the second group.

The officers of the Fox society, as of all other military societies, were officers only in the sense of having special duties on the battlefield which involved great personal risk. Accordingly, they enjoyed a certain prestige and in some cases special privileges at feasts. They were said to be *ce''k-uk*, "doomed to die."¹

¹ Literally, "they cause to die," from *cā*, "dead," and *kuk*, "they make."

Their general attitude is reflected by the following song, though it is not certain that this was peculiar to the officers of the Fox society as distinguished from other members:—

íexuxkekātū'we, bacbí'ewak, cē'wak.

You Foxes, I want to die, thus I say.

The officers of the Foxes included two leaders (*basé*); two men bearing hooked staffs (*marack-úpe*) wrapped with otterskin; two men bearing straight staffs (*maratátse*) similarly wrapped; two rear or "last" men (*hā'ake* or *hā'kace*); and one or two *akdū'cire*. The last named, who were said by some informants to have been present in every society, were expected to be bravest of all. As a compensation for the risks they incurred, they were permitted to select what food they wished at a feast and to eat it before any of the other members had begun eating. Some informants gave a somewhat different list of officers. For example, Bear-gets-up enumerated only five: two with hooked staffs, two with straight staffs, and one man in the rear. Other variations appear in the accounts quoted below. However, the list of eight officers mentioned above, with supplementary *akdū'cire*, was given more frequently than others and impresses me as representing the normal state of affairs.

All officers in all the societies were elected in the spring, and their term of office ended with the first snowfall. Sometimes, however, a man was re-elected the following spring.

The four staff-bearing officers, when in battle, were expected to plant their staffs in the ground, and to stay by their standards at the risk of their lives. If, however, some friend plucked out the staff, an officer was permitted to flee, though he might never tear out the stick himself. Gray-bull says that the hooked-staff bearers were allowed to run a short distance before making a stand, while the straight-staff men might not run at all. It was also more disgraceful for the latter to shirk their duty than for the hooked-staff men. Others deny any difference in duty or prestige between these two kinds of officers. An officer who failed to live up to the rule against fleeing from the enemy was held in contempt and said to be *i'mexwek*, in the condition of a menstruating woman.

The hooked-staff generally consisted of two parts: a straight shaft of pine wood stripped of the bark and an arch formed by a red willow stick which was lashed to the pine. The shaft terminated in a point; there was no spear head of stone or iron at this lower end. A considerable part of the shaft was wrapped with otterskin, and from the end of the arch, as well as from each of two or three points on the staff, a pair of little otterskin strips hung down (Fig. 1e). The shaft of the straight-stick was also of

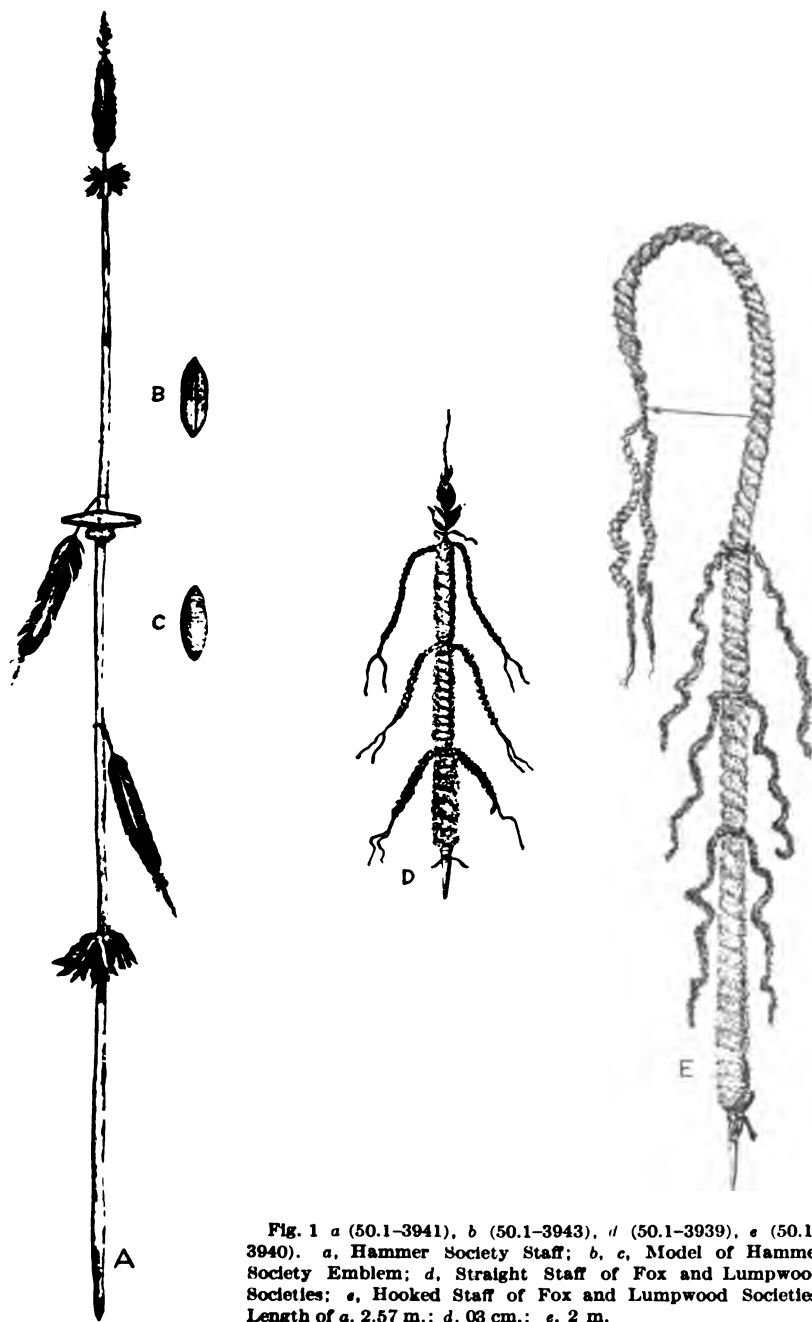


Fig. 1 *a* (50.1-3941), *b* (50.1-3943), *d* (50.1-3939), *e* (50.1-3940). *a*, Hammer Society Staff; *b*, *c*, Model of Hammer Society Emblem; *d*, Straight Staff of Fox and Lumpwood Societies; *e*, Hooked Staff of Fox and Lumpwood Societies. Length of *a*, 2.57 m.; *d*, 0.03 cm.; *e*, 2 m.

pine and similarly decorated, but was in addition topped by an erect eagle feather (Fig. 1d). The Crow did not prize the stick itself, but set a high value on the otterskin. Usually the new officer's parents paid a horse for an otterskin. Muskrat bought one for an elk-tooth dress when her son was made an officer. Accordingly, while all former officers I visited had discarded the staffs once borne in battle by them, several individuals still kept the otterskin wrapping and were able to make the models here shown with the skins once used on real standards. Child-in-the-mouth says that the hooked, as well as the straight, sticks symbolized trees that are too heavy to be lifted.

The method of electing officers and customs incident to other occasions are illustrated by the following accounts.

Black-bull was elected a leader for five different seasons. In the spring, according to his statements, the old men notified all the Foxes to assemble in a certain tipi. When all had arrived, the old men went outside and discussed who might make a good officer. One of them then took a pipe, and entered the lodge. Standing in the center, he looked round for two men who might be chosen for leaders. He offered the pipe to one of them, who either accepted and smoked it in token of his willingness to take the position, or refused it on account of the risks assumed. At the time when Black-bull was chosen, several men had declined the honor. Black-bull had already taken part in three battles and had fought well, so the pipe was offered to him, and he accepted it. When the second leader also had been chosen, two additional officers were selected in the same fashion: one to bear the hooked-staff, and another the straight-staff. Next, a third pair was selected for bearing standards identical with those just mentioned. Finally were chosen the rear men, who, like the leaders, were without badges of office. After the election, four willow sticks were brought from the brush; two of them were bent down at the top and given to the men selected as hooked-stick bearers, while the remaining two were given to the straight-staff bearers. The bark was peeled from these willows and then wrapped round the wands in imitation of the otterskin wrapping that was to be permanently attached to them; from three points strips of bark were suspended so as to hang down freely. The leaders then assumed their places, abreast of each other; behind them stood the first pair of staff-bearers followed by the rank and file of the society, including the drummers; next came the second pair of staff-bearers; and the two *hā'ake* constituted the rear. In this order the Foxes marched through camp, singing their songs. The parents of the young men chosen as standard bearers now cast about for otterskins, for it was necessary that before the end of the parade each of the four officers in question should be provided with one

entire otterskin to wrap about his pole. When the four skins had been secured, the members divided into four parties of equal number, each of which followed one staff-bearer to his lodge. There they helped cut up the otterskins into strips and wrap them round the poles. A man who had carried the stick in former years took it and recounted what exploits he had performed while holding office. He concluded his speech as follows, addressing the new officer: "I should like you to do the same that I did and to strike the enemy. We know you are a brave man. We wish you to fight for your people." According to Gray-bull, the stick might be made by the new officer himself. The knife used by the man cutting the otterskin was painted black to symbolize the coup struck by him. The trimmer of the skin kept the knife and also the awl used in stitching the strips of otter. After singing for a while, they all went home. Then, some time after this, someone occasionally asked the Foxes to come out and dance in the open air.¹ The Foxes went out with their drums and formed an unclosed ring. The four staff-bearers would turn their backs to the other members during such dances; they were the only ones privileged to act in this way. From this time on the officers were expected to be continually on the lookout for enemies. If the enemies pursued the Crow, the officers dismounted to make a stand against them. They were also eager to strike the first coup against the enemy. When Black-bull was a leader he succeeded in striking the first blow, thus taking away the Lumpwoods' songs (see p. 174).

Sitting-elk says that at a general meeting of the society, in the spring, four old men remained outside the lodge and chose the officers for the next season. They came in, and offered a pipe to one man after another. A member declining the pipe would say (according to One-horn): "I am afraid I am not strong enough." If all refused to smoke, the electors went outside and again discussed the members. When they reëntered, someone was obliged to accept the pipe and thus become one of the leaders. Four provisional badges of office had been leaned against the lodge; they were peeled willow sticks to which bark had been tied at three distinct points. Normally, the two leaders had no badges. But sometimes a man refused to accept office on the ground that he had already served as a leader during the past season. In this case, the electors might take one of the provisional straight-sticks and give it to the first leader, presenting the second leader with a hooked-stick. Thus, the number of officers was reduced, there being only one additional staff-bearer of either kind. The *hā'ake* were then chosen. The members would refuse for a long time to become officers

¹ Bull-chief stated that all the societies danced four times between each spring and the first snowfall.

of this class, because of the great dangers to which they were exposed. Sometimes the electors would stealthily touch their lips with the mouthpiece of the pipe, thus compelling them to smoke and become *hā'ake*. When the pipe offered by the electors to potential officers, no matter of what kind, had been repeatedly refused by all the members of the society, strenuous measures were resorted to. Thus, at Gray-bull's election to the hooked-staff office, the pipe had circled round several times without being accepted by anyone. Finally Gray-bull's comrade seized him by his hair-bang, pulled him up, and made his lips touch the mouthpiece.

Child-in-the-mouth gave the following account of the Fox society, which is translated from a Crow text: —

When I was a boy I used to shoot at a target of green grass wrapped with sinew. Once, while I was doing this, a man came to me, and said, "You, too, I will make a Fox." He caught me, he led me into a lodge. It was the season when the grass is sprouting. They were giving out hooked-sticks; they gave them to four¹ young men. These bought otterskins and wrapped them round the sticks. When this was all over, they wished to dance. First they elected two leaders, then two men with hooked-sticks, then two more with hooked-sticks, then two *hā'ake*. The people stood in a ring, and inside they danced. What they had done against the enemy, they acted out, and they told about it. They beat a drum, so that all could hear it. These two leaders were supposed to strike the first blow when the people met the enemy; they must not be afraid. People took note of whether they were killed or not. If they were not afraid and struck the enemy, people liked it very much. If all the other members fled, the owners of the hooked-sticks dismounted. They planted their poles in the ground, and must not run. If they did not run and did not get killed, people liked them. If they did not run and got killed, all of us Foxes grieved very much. If the people were pursued by the enemy, the *hā'ake* must turn about and chase the enemy. They were supposed to kill enemies. If they should get killed, it was the same way, we cried and grieved. If one was slain and the other came out alive, we mourned the one slain, we liked the one living. If these *hā'ake* killed an enemy, we liked it very much.

When a Fox had been killed, whether he was an officer or a private, the people got there and stretched out his body. They dressed him in all his clothes, and painted his face. Crying, we moved towards him. We sang. Some cried all the way, half of us sang. The drum was beaten while we walked and sang. We wished to cry. We got together. They distributed pointed arrows. Then they did whatever they pleased. Some ran the arrows into their knees, others into their upper arms, some jabbed their foreheads. All the friends, who saw him killed grieved. Any of them might cut themselves with knives. All the dead man's relatives also hurt themselves. Some gashed their faces. Afterwards his comrades threw back the cover of his face, and looked at his face. They cried bitterly, then they sat down. These friends hung all his clothes upon lodge poles. They stepped back,

¹ This is contrary to all other statements, according to which there were only two officers with hooked-sticks and two with straight-sticks.

crying. They sat down. Then the clothes were distributed. All his property was distributed. Then they went home. His relatives loaded his horses. Then they went to the burial site. Whether it was on a tree, or in the rocks, or on a hilltop, they laid him there. His relatives remained there, crying. If they killed any member of the tribe that killed the young man, they were quits. They painted the face black, and tied the scalp to a pole. One held it. They danced, moving towards the camp. They danced hard. They were glad. Then their mourning was over.

Lumpwoods. The origin of the society and of its name (*maraxi'ce*)¹ is variously accounted for. According to Hunts-to-die, the Indians of long ago divided into two parties for a kicking-game. The two sides got angry at each other and began to steal each other's wives. One division, the later Lumpwoods, made an emblem composed of a knobbed club about 4 feet long, whence their name. Pretty-enemy said that the Lumpwoods were originally called Half-shaved Heads, but that on one war expedition a member carrying a knobbed club struck the first coup, and accordingly the entire society changed its name in honor of his weapon. Bell-rock had heard his father say that the Lumpwoods originally had for their emblem a club carved at one end into a horse's head, with bells round the neck. Old-dog mentions a similar stick carved into a buffalo head, but adds that it was merely a single man's medicine, the owner praying to it when the people were hungry. It was, therefore, neither an officer's emblem nor the badge of the entire society.

The following version (Birds-all-over-the-ground) accounts merely for the origin of the staffs of the society, not for the knobbed stick referred to in its name. Long ago half of the Crow went south. They were met by the enemy and were massacred. A certain man, who had lost his parent in the fight, went about crying until he came to a moss-grown lake. Prairie-dogs were living about the lake. The Crow lay down by one hole. He heard someone hallooing inside and people talking loud. A man came out of the ground with four reeds, and went towards the lake. He came back with them. Many men came out of the ground. The first one to ascend selected four men and gave them the reeds. Then he took out red and yellow paint, and painted all the members' faces. They danced and sang. They also had a dewclaw rattle (see p. 177). This was the beginning of the Lumpwoods.

The last part of this tradition is possibly not authentic, as the dewclaw rattle is generally spoken of as a peculiarity of the Big Dog society.

So far as the knobbed club is concerned, there was certainly no such

¹ I follow Curtis in the use of the term "Lumpwood." *xi'ce* means "a lump," or "swollen."

emblem in recent times.¹ Two of the officers carried hooked-staffs and two others straight-staffs, which were quite similar to those employed by the corresponding officers of the Fox society and bore the same names. The two leaders (*basé*) and the two rear officers (*hā'ake*) had no badges. In an exceptional case, mentioned by Sharp-horn, no hooked-sticks were given out at the election of officers, because the members bearing these emblems had been killed during the preceding season and the sticks had been taken by the enemy. The following year, however, there were again two officers with hooked-sticks and two with the straight-sticks.

Bell-rock said that the Lumpwoods sometimes substituted spears wrapped with plain white buckskin for the otter-wrapped straight-staffs. The use of long switches glued to the back of the hair by the Lumpwoods was emphasized by several informants, but does not seem to have been at all distinctive. The same applies to several other articles of their personal decoration. Accordingly, it appears that there was no badge peculiar to *all* members of the society, while the regalia of the officers were identical with those of the Fox society.

The Lumpwood dance, however, differed from that of the Foxes. The members merely danced in their places, alternately moving the right arm as far back as possible and again bringing it to its normal position. Speaking of the Foxes and Lumpwoods, and apparently referring to both, Muskrat said that one man was equipped with a whip, with which he lashed the members to make them rise and dance.

Within the Lumpwood society there were minor divisions, some apparently based on age, corresponding to those existing in the Fox organization. Red-eye enumerated the Lumpwoods-without-Sweethearts (*maraxíce bí'e hirē'te*); the Tall Lumpwoods (*maraxíce hátskite*); and the Old Lumpwoods (*maraxíce ma+isā'te*). Bell-rock, who, however, had not been a Lumpwood, also gave three divisions: the *maraxíce*, the Half-shaved Heads (*itsū'sa tsiricū'tse*), and the Wholly-shorn Ones (*daxō'xū'a*). Hunts-to-die, a Lumpwood, substitutes the Little Rumps (*isísietè*) for the last division. He himself joined the Little Rumps because his brother belonged to that group, and he always remained with them. From this it appears that *these* groups resembled the nicknamed subdivisions of the Foxes rather than the Fox age-groups. Sitting-elk, a Fox, said that in the Lumpwood society a group of young members known as the Young Foxes took the place of the *bā'kawi'e* of his own organization. According to Bear-gets-up, all members of the Lumpwood society were called "Liver-Eaters"

¹ However, one of the officers in the corresponding Hidatsa society carried a stick carved at one end into a buffalo head. One Hidatsa informant said that the Lumpwood society existed prior to the separation of the Crow and Hidatsa.

(ak'aterū'uce), but later he said this name might have referred only to the older members. Gray-bull thought the younger Lumpwoods were called "Bad Faces" (isxawíɛmbicè) because they used too much heavy ground paint.

The method of appointing officers, to whom the term (cé'k-uk) is applied as in the case of the Fox officers (see p. 157), is illustrated by the following personal accounts.

Old-coyote was only fifteen years old when he joined this organization. His father was also a Lumpwood. One day, in the spring of the year when Old-coyote became a member, a crier notified all the Lumpwoods that a meeting was to take place in a certain large tipi. All assembled there, and Old-coyote took his seat in a corner. Four old men selected the officers, one of them carrying a pipe. First they chose the two leaders. Then they offered the pipe to my informant. He pleaded that he was too young and did not know whether he was brave enough to resist the temptation to flee, but they insisted. Three times he declined the pipe, but the fourth time they seized him by the hair and pulled him so that his mouth touched the stem, thus forcing him to smoke. In this way Old-coyote was made one of the straight-staff officers. He thought he should not come out alive if he encountered any enemies. Provisionally four willow sticks had been peeled, and bark was tied to them in imitation of the real emblems. Old-coyote's father cried out for some otterskin, and secured one, for which he paid one of his best horses. The society marched through camp, and the parents of the four staff-bearers prepared an abundance of food, for one fourth of the members followed each of these newly-elected officers to his lodge, where they were entertained while completing the otter-wrapped stick that was to take the place of the bark-wrapped substitute. A certain member who had successfully carried such an emblem in battle wrapped the otterskin round the staff, rose, and made some such address as the following: "I had such a stick in war and had good luck. I hope this man will do the same." Then he handed the wand to the new officer. As a compensation for his services on this occasion the former staff-bearer received four different kinds of property. That season Old-coyote struck a Sioux with his staff and captured his horse. Having come out of the engagement successfully, he gave four additional presents to the otterskin-wrapper, telling him at the same time what he had accomplished in battle.

Young-jack-rabbit gave the following account of his election as an officer. After the two handsomest men had been elected leaders, the two old men who acted as electors filled pipes and went about the lodge, offering them to the members.

All declined to smoke, then they came towards me. Some one asked them "Whom are you looking for?" They answered, "For Young-jack-rabbit." I was seated in the back and tried to hide. They brought the pipe to me, but I refused to accept it, saying I did not wish to take it. One of the pipe-offerers was my own elder brother. He seized me by the hair, hit me on the chest, and said, "You are brave, why don't you smoke the pipe?" He wished me to die, that is why he desired me to smoke the pipe.¹ He said, "You are of the right age to die, you are good-looking, and if you get killed your friends will cry. All your relatives will cut their hair, they will fast and mourn; your bravery will be recognized; and your friends will feel gratified." I took the pipe, and began to smoke. They asked me, whether I wished to have a straight or a hooked-staff. I decided in favor of the latter. My comrade also smoked the pipe. After the election of officers we all went outside. A hooked willow stick was presented to me. I went home with my friends. My brother had an otterskin there. A man who had at one time killed an enemy, while bearing a hooked-staff, cut the skin into strips, wrapped these about the stick, and did the necessary sewing. My mother gave me all my old clothes. I put on a blanket of beaded buffalo-calf skin fringed at the bottom and sides, and tied round the neck with a string. We all went outside, the leaders in front. An old man slapped me on the chest, saying, "Now you are a brave man. When the enemy pursue, you must get off and keep them back. If you are willing to do this, dance backwards when we have a dance." I dressed up in my best clothes. That day I thought I looked handsome. The old men sang songs in praise of me. A man named Pretty-white took my hooked-stick, made incense of *isé* root, and rubbed the smoke over the staff. This man had owned such a stick in his day, and he said aloud, "One day when we fought the Cheyenne I had a hooked-stick and went through the Cheyenne line without being shot. I wish my brother may do the same." Then he returned the staff to me.

When a Lumpwood was killed, the old members gave each of their fellow-members an arrow or two, and a butchering-knife. The corpse was laid outdoors, arrayed in the dead man's best clothes. Everyone knelt down and cried for some time. The closest friends of the slain warrior cut off the last joint of one finger. The others ran the arrows through their flesh in the way characteristic also of the Sun dance torture, and left them sticking there for some time during their lamentations. Some ran arrows through their arms and legs, others drew blood from their foreheads. If some of the younger men shrank from lacerating themselves, the officers cut them so as to draw blood. For a time the members danced towards the corpse. Finally they stopped and seated themselves. The parents of the dead man then gave presents to the members as a remuneration for their mourning; if some Lumpwood had drawn more blood from the head than the others, he received a more valuable gift.

The activities of the Lumpwoods were not exclusively military. After

¹ This did not indicate any personal animosity on the elder brother's part, but simply a desire to have Young-jack-rabbit distinguish himself.

the first snowfall, Bear-gets-up explained, the Lumpwoods would have frequent meetings. They would gather in one lodge of an evening and stay there for supper. The next evening they would come together in another lodge. If a Lumpwood was adopted into a Tobacco society or bought a medicine-pipe bundle, his fellow members assisted him in the purchase. The Lumpwoods of the River Crow and of the Many Lodges felt like brothers towards one another whenever they met. Thus, four Many Lodge Lumpwoods once hunted buffalo for Bear-gets-up's benefit.

The custom of *batbā'tuē* (literally, "joking with each other") was originally a characteristic of the Big Dogs. But at one time the Lumpwoods bought it from this society and have practised it since then. Hunts-to-die says that a Big Dog once initiated two old Lumpwoods into the custom, renouncing it in behalf of his own society. When the two Lumpwoods died, two other old members were chosen in their place. These were considered the head-jokers. When any member had been killed, these were expected to inflict more cuts upon themselves and to draw more blood than their fellow-members. Four head-jokers were still living in Pryor in 1910, namely, Hunts-to-die, Fox, Sharp-horn, and Red-eye. Fire-weasel said that the *batbā'tuē* had been given away by the Big Dogs before his time, the occasion being that of a Big Dog chief initiating a Lumpwood into the ownership of a medicine-pipe bundle. Nevertheless, he states that the Big Dogs reserved the right of joking occasionally, though no longer as regularly as before. Sitting-elk gives a somewhat different account of the transaction. At the time when the Big Dogs still practised *batbā'tuē* one Big Dog adopted a Lumpwood into the Tobacco society. Then all the Lumpwoods brought property for him and addressed him as "father." They asked him to let them have the *batbā'tuē* privilege and requested that the Big Dogs should renounce it. *Batbā'tuē* simply consisted in the privilege of members to jest about the recent loss of another member's relatives to the mourner's face. The mourner might not get angry, provided the jesters were fellow-Lumpwoods. According to Bear-gets-up, no jokes were made about the death of a wife's brother or of a sister's husband.

If a member had lost a half-witted brother, some other member, as soon as he had discovered the fact, would address the mourner, saying, "Your brother has died, you will not be able to get another like him." If the half-witted person had any peculiarities of action, the joker imitated them. The mourner was not permitted to get angry, but was expected to laugh at the jests. Recently, when the Indians were going to the Agency for a Fourth of July celebration, a half-witted boy named Eating-fish died. His brother, Yellow-face, said that he was having bad luck and turned back. Thereupon a Lumpwood asked another in Yellow-face's presence, "Why

is Yellow-face turning back?" The other replied, "He is going back to *eat fish*." On the Little Big Horn Charges-strong was driving Bear-wolf's (his brother's) corpse to the burial site. Bear-wolf had been a noted leader in war. Charges-strong was met by a Lumpwood who had already been informed of his fellow-member's loss. This Lumpwood said, "Stop, I wish to talk with you. How much will you take for your apples in this box?" Charges-strong laughed and made no reply. "Why do you not answer? What have you in this box?" "A man." "Who is this man?" "Bear-wolf." "Oh, I thought it was a box of apples." This joking may be kept up for as long a period as the members please. A similar story was told by Fire-weasel. A Lumpwood who had lost his mother was going to bury her on a hill. Accordingly, he packed the corpse on a horse's back, and followed behind, crying. Another Lumpwood met him, and called out to the leader of the horse, "Hē! Why don't you stop? That young one is after his mother, he wishes to talk with his mother." Sitting-elk narrates that the jester might say to the mourner, "Your sister (or mother, etc.) is dead." The mourner would reply, "I eat the flesh,"¹ i. e., "The flesh of the dead person is still fresh." The mourner could not get angry at the joker's speeches, on the contrary he liked to hear them.

Several instances were recounted by Bear-gets-up:—

At one time all the members of the Lumpwoods were motherless except Two-whistles and White-buffalo. These two generally made fun of the others for not having a mother. When we had moved to a new camp site, White-buffalo asked the first man he met whether he knew of any Lumpwood lodging with his mother. The man repeated the question to the first Lumpwood he met, and that evening one of the Lumpwoods told his fellow-members about White-buffalo's query. Then all waited for a chance to make fun of White-buffalo whenever his mother should die. One night she died, and White-buffalo came into the society's lodge looking for two men to help him bury her. Then I told him, "It is very good for you not to have any mother. You will never more say, 'i'g-a'.² I am very glad your mother is dead; you will be like myself, motherless." Thus I got even with him.

Another Lumpwood lost his wife. Two or three fellow-members helped him bury her. Then they sat down with him for a while, and one of them said, to the mourner, "You will not have a wife today, shall you?" Thus they joked at that very place, but the mourner did not mind it.

One time I went to the Agency for rations. A number of old men were seated there, smoking. I rode up and dismounted, not yet knowing that an uncle of mine had died thereabouts. Several Lumpwoods were among those present, and one of them said, "Your uncle has died." Another said, "Uncle-dead, get off here and take a smoke."

¹ *irū'cec bū'cik*.

² Vocative form for "mother."

Mutual Relations. Between the Fox and Lumpwood organizations there obtained a feeling of rivalry that was quite free from any personal hostility. This feeling was principally revealed in two ways: in war, and in the attempt to steal the wives of the other society's members (*bats'ū'era+u*).¹ It was also manifested in some games, in which the Foxes with their wives were pitted against the Lumpwoods and their wives. More recently the Night-hawks have played against the Big-Ear-Holes on such occasions.

Theoretically a Fox or Lumpwood was entitled to kidnap a woman only if he had been previously on terms of intimacy with her. If she had had nothing to do with her supposed lover, she would tell him he lied and refuse to go. But if she untruthfully denied her former relations, at the same time abusing her one-time lover, he and his comrades seized her by force. In practice it is obvious from various statements that men often alleged intimacy though it had never obtained and wrongfully abducted women by force. Whether a woman had any children, was of no account so far as her abduction was concerned. Once a Lumpwood stole a Fox woman with her infant. The child was put on a baby board and carried about by a Lumpwood, who danced with it. When it cried, this man ran to the mother, who then nursed it.

Least of all might a woman's husband offer resistance to the kidnapper or show any grief or resentment at her abduction. Such cases are indeed on record, but the husband invariably lost prestige, was derided in song, and was liable to have his blankets and property destroyed by the rival organization. Most disgraceful of all was it for a man to take back a woman as his wife after she had been kidnapped. Such a man was nicknamed a "holder of a crazy woman." He immediately lost caste. No matter how high his standing had been before, he was looked down upon for the rest of his life. Gray-bull said that after a man had had his wife stolen, the boys kept watch lest he should clandestinely attempt to visit or re-marry her. If he was caught in the act, he was tied up, and dog or other excrements were rubbed all over him. Besides, the rival society also exercised the privilege of cutting up the blankets of every member in the offender's organization. Accordingly, when the offence became known, the offender's fellow-members ran away with their blankets, but were pursued by the rival society.

The following instances illustrate the Crow point of view. On one occasion the Foxes came to the lodge of a Lumpwood named Small-legs for the purpose of stealing his wife. Small-legs was a prominent man in his organization; he was usually first to challenge the rival society by halloo-

¹ *bats*, "each other"; *ū'ē*, "wife"; *ara'+u*, "taking away."

ing in the spring, and had himself captured two women from the Foxes. He was living with his elder brother. When a Fox seized Small-legs' wife, this elder brother pulled out a knife to prevent his sister-in-law's abduction. However, he was held back by his own relatives, who reproved him, saying, "In cases like this one does not act in such a manner. They will surely make a song about you; you should not have done this." The woman was accordingly taken away, but after some time, when her captor had turned her away, Small-legs re-married her. This greatly incensed his brother, who thus addressed him: "You have disgraced both me and yourself. Go away, I don't wish you to live here any longer." The Foxes made up the following song to commemorate the occasion:

hū'rī'etkata, bī'E i'wetarik. irū'ukacēc. i'ik-e racē'k,
 Small-bones, woman you cry like, always insisting on it. His elder brother
 i'ik-e ē'sak.
 wished to kill, his elder brother disowns him.

On another occasion the following song was made about a husband who had gone out of the camp crying over the loss of his wife:—

"i'itsic, bārāskawī'arī'ewāwik., i'wewā'wik. karā'wa'tsē'wik.
 Pole-crotch, I shall make him grieve, I shall make I shall cause him
 him cry. to run.

Once, Red-eye told me, a Lumpwood stole a Fox's wife. By way of revenge the husband cut the legs of a fine horse belonging to the Lumpwood. The Lumpwoods then made up this song:—

"i'ēxuxkakātū'we, cī'ritset pā'ek-ok. kawihirek kō'tdak."
 "You Foxes, the horse's legs are cut. Wrong you have done."

On another occasion the Lumpwoods stole another Fox woman. The abductor owned a fine buckskin horse. Some Fox, the Lumpwoods did not know who, killed this horse. The Lumpwoods composed this song:—

"i'ēxuxkakātū'we, axū'atsic ē're ducāra!"
 "You Foxes, buckskin's filth eat!" (imperative)

A Lumpwood who had taken back a kidnapped wife was derided in these terms:—

"maraxícekātū'we, dā'kakērètbā'wik, dū'o awāxbē'wik."
 "You dear Lumpwoods, I'll make their children parentless, your wives I
 shall marry."

For a similar offense Straight-arm was thus ridiculed:—

"ā're-tatsēwe ū'E kurutsīm. kandākure kō'otem, dū'E hū'kawe."
 "Straight-arm his takes back. Keep her it is well, your let her
 wife wife come."

There was only one way a woman could normally evade abduction by a former lover,—by throwing herself on his generosity. Sometimes a woman said to the man who called for her, "Yes, I was once your sweetheart, but I beg you to let me alone." In such a case she was generally not taken away. Sharp-horn said he was going to steal a woman once, but her parents begged him not to take her and so he desisted.

If a man expected his wife to be kidnapped, he generally stayed away from his lodge lest he should suffer the agony of having her taken before his eyes, which was considered an especially grievous affliction. Should he, however, be in the lodge at the time her kidnapper called, the ideal mode of conduct for him was to assume an air of bravado and order his wife to go with her former lover.

The details of an abduction probably varied with different cases. According to Bear-gets-up, a man would first send a messenger to his former sweetheart and have her appoint a certain place and time when she was to be taken. Muskrat said that after the selection of officers the girls were eager to find out whether their sweethearts had got hooked or straight-sticks. The two societies had a public parade and dance. The drummers went into the middle of the circle formed by the members, while the standard-bearers pointed their staff at the onlookers as if to shoot them. Then some of the Lumpwood women would tell their Fox lovers, and *vice versa*, to call for them. When the dance was over, a Fox would peep into a Lumpwood's Lodge, and say to the woman, "I am coming for you now." Then the girl would leave her husband, and follow her lover.

According to all accounts, the members of the two societies would cry at each other, "Hu, hu!" as a challenge indicating that they were about to begin the stealing of the other side's wives. Then those who had mistresses in the rival society's lodges would try to kidnap them. It would have been considered disgraceful for a man to steal the wife of a fellow-member. After Charges-camp had joined the Lumpwoods, another Lumpwood's wife asked him to become a Fox in order that he might steal her, but he refused to do so.

At the time Gray-bull received his crooked lance from the Foxes, he had a pretty wife. A Lumpwood came for her, and though she clung to Gray-bull, he bade her go with his rival. "If you have ever been married, you know how this felt," said the informant to the present writer. After his wife's departure Gray-bull was disconsolate. He did not sleep for four nights, for he was constantly thinking of his loss. On the fourth day he came to, painted and dressed up, and went to the dance ground. He began to look for Lumpwood women he might steal. One of the Lumpwoods had two wives, but one of them had been concealed. The other

woman readily consented to follow Gray-bull, and took her daughter with her. Gray-bull's relatives gave her an elk-tooth dress and painted both the woman and the girl. The Lumpwood husband was so deeply aggrieved that he became a Crazy-Dog-that-wishes-to-die (see p. 193); he stayed in his lodge singing the death chant. One night he came to Gray-bull's lodge, shaking his rattle, and stuck his hand inside the tent. Gray-bull was terrified because of the ferocity of the Crazy Dogs and said, "I will send back your wife to you." He kept his promise, but as soon as the woman returned her husband tore off his Crazy Dog sashes and fled towards the mountains. Ever after he was looked upon with contempt. The woman took away with her one of Gray-bull's best horses, as well as the dress, which was decorated with 500 elk teeth.

When a woman had been stolen, the abducting society would cry out:—"One of the Lumpwood (or Fox) girls has married one of us Foxes (or Lumpwoods) of her own accord!" They took her to a lodge belonging to their society, where they continued drumming, singing, and dancing most of the night. She was the only woman present on this occasion. Her lover's relatives treated her for the time being as if she were an ordinary bride, bringing her an elk-tooth dress and other garments. Early the next morning an old member went through camp, shouting, "We are going to have a good time today, get your horses and prepare for today's big dance!" Then the stolen woman dressed up in her new clothes, for she was now to be exhibited publicly by her captors. All the members painted as though for a war expedition, and the woman's face was painted with red stripes. She was made to sit behind a member who had earned the title of *àkbāpī'cēre*, that is to say, one who had once saved another Crow from a pursuing enemy by taking him up on horseback behind himself. If any other Fox or Lumpwood rode with the woman, the members of the rival society rode up and threw him down from the horse, at the same time deriding him. It was further necessary that the feat should have been accomplished on the war-path, not in defending the Crow camp against an enemy, for in the latter case the danger was accounted less great. Moreover, the horse on which the woman rode must necessarily be one that had been picketed by the enemy and stolen by cutting the rope. If the horse had been stolen in any other way, the riders were thrown off, the bridles torn, and the horse was turned loose. While the rest of the party seems to have paraded in the regular line of two abreast, with leaders and rear officers in their proper places, the *àkbāpī'cēre* and his companion remained outside of the line. Thus all proceeded to the center of the camp, where the society formed a circle and danced, the woman and her escort remaining on the outside. This was continued until evening. The rival society would look on during

this public performance in order to show that they were indifferent about the loss of one of their women. Finally the members of the kidnapping organization returned to their lodge, and the woman was placed in the custody of her lover, who generally dismissed her after a short period.

The following narrative by Strikes-at-night (Bull-weasel's mother), a River Crow, is interesting because it presents the facts of the *bat-s'ū'grā* + *u* custom from a woman's point of view.

My husband was a great warrior. He was a Fox. The Lumpwoods and the Foxes were stealing each other's wives one season while my husband was on the war-path. Before I had married, another man had courted me with gifts of beef and horses, but I married Bull-weasel's father. Now this suitor came with other Lumpwoods to get me. I was afraid they were going to take me by force, so I sneaked away to the hills, where a woman was mourning her dead son. Another woman came with me for the same reason; she was the mourner's sister-in-law. It was she who planned the way to escape. "My sister-in-law," she said, "goes out every morning to fast; let us go with her." We all got mourning blankets and early every day we went out together up the hills, where no one could find us. We were not so far but that we could hear the Lumpwoods hallooing and see them searching for women to steal. When the "showing-off" ceremony was done, we saw the abductor take the stolen woman to his home. We fasted and watched up there all day. We had no water. In the course of the day the mourner's relatives came to bring her food and water. Then we two others hid, begging her not to tell about us. When the relatives had gone, we all feasted on what they had brought. At night we returned to camp with the mourner. Mourners then slept in very small tents, deprived of all decoration. We slept in such tents and sneaked out with the mourner early the next day.

My husband returned with Big-ox's war party, and I saw him looking for me. The people told him I had fled in order not to be taken away. He never came near me because he did not wish to be present when I should be kidnapped. One night I stealthily approached him. He told me that if the Lumpwoods came for me while he was present he would let me go, but if I hid it would be well. I thought that if the camp were moved during the period of wife-kidnapping I should have no way of escape. They really did move. My husband painted me all up, and I rode his horse. Now they planned to catch me, but my husband's sister warned me and bade me go with her, saying that then they would not take me. The Lumpwoods were in the rear of the line of march, riding abreast and making a show of six Fox women they had captured. I was riding with my sister-in-law when the Lumpwoods approached. My sister-in-law would not let me run away, but they were coming fast and I got scared and broke away. Some tents had already been pitched by the Crow in the van, and I ran into the lodge of a woman whose husband was a Fox. She helped me unsaddle my horse, turned him loose, and covered me up with *parfeches*. There I lay. I heard the Lumpwoods outside. They had taken the wife of a man who had been living with her peacefully for several years. He got furious and was going to kill her with an arrow as she was being shown off. He let fly and barely missed her. The Lumpwoods all scattered. They took revenge on the Foxes by cutting up their robes into strips and pounding their horses' feet.

Towards evening we heard a shot. We saw a man running back and forth, rais-

ing a blanket and throwing it off several times to indicate how many Crow had been killed. He did this three times, then we could not count any more. We thought the Many Lodges had been wiped out. We learned that they had had war parties out in two directions and that all the warriors had been killed. The woman who had been shot at by her husband had lost two brothers. Our whole camp mourned.

Thus the wife-kidnapping ceased, and I escaped.

Muskrat, another woman, says she was safe from molestation because her husband was a Fox while all her brothers were Lumpwoods. She does not approve of the custom of wife-kidnapping. Her husband kidnapped no less than nine wives of the Lumpwoods, but all of them afterwards left him or were sent away. Muskrat herself had trouble only with the eighth of these women, who once jerked off a blanket from her and her husband. Muskrat told her she was crazy and took the blanket back.

Certain songs used in the kidnapping of wives are said to have been dreamt. One year, just before the commencement of the wife-stealing, a Fox dreamt this song:—

“baki'ē barácte kōm, bā'wik. barácte kōm. barē'wik.”

“My sweetheart is the one I love, I will meet him. I love him. I shall go.”

The words of the following song are also put into a woman's mouth:—

“batsímecik, dir'atsk-atdā're. datsínedtk.

“I am married, you think. You are as if not married.

íexuxke ítum, baki'wake.”

The Foxes are good-looking, I have them for sweethearts.”

After all the wives amenable to capture had been stolen, the Foxes and Lumpwoods went on the warpath. The societies now tried to score against each other by striking the first coup against the enemy. That is to say, each tried to get ahead of the rival society; it did not matter to them whether the Big Dogs or Muddy Hands took precedence of both. This rivalry made the members fearless. Ordinarily it would be considered an affront if the Foxes sang Lumpwood songs or *vice versa*. But if a Fox struck an enemy before any of the Lumpwoods, the Foxes were privileged to “take away the Lumpwood songs,” that is, to adapt words composed for the occasion to the Lumpwood tunes. In practice the stolen songs were only used two or three times. Muskrat said that the words of the stolen songs were changed in mockery of the vanquished rivals and that the hooked and straight staffs of the latter were also taken by the coup-striking organization. The latter part of this statement, however, remains unconfirmed. The members of the society outdone in the manner described might not use their songs until they had struck the first coup in another engagement.

The following incident, narrated by Sharp-horn, illustrates the spirit

of rivalry that obtained between the two societies when fighting against the enemy. At one time the enemy occupied a high butte surrounded by flat country. They dug holes, and were prepared to fight the Crow. A Fox hooked-staff officer went up some distance, but then lay down with his standard. A brave member of the Lumpwood rank and file asked, "Has any one struck the enemy yet?" "No, it is pretty difficult." Then the Lumpwood snatched away the Fox officer's pole, went up the hill, and struck an enemy with it. He left the standard over a hole on the butte, ran back, reached his people in safety, and challenged the Foxes to recover their emblem. None of them dared go for it. When the party came back from the war, the Lumpwoods took away the Foxes' songs. In such a case, the Foxes were obliged to borrow the songs of other societies. Red-eye gave me the following song composed by Lumpwoods in derision of the Foxes when a hooked-staff officer ran away from the enemy:—

"íExuxkaka tū'we, dakáre batsā'tsk. batsē't cē'wí'ɛruk."

"You Foxes, you ran away fast. A man must die anyway."

Young-jack-rabbit says that on one occasion he charged the enemy and struck the first coup. Accordingly, he was going to take away the Foxes' songs, but his younger brother was a Fox and claimed the first coup for himself. Young-jack-rabbit's associates protested, saying that the Fox had not earned first honors, but seeing it was his brother Jack-rabbit yielded the point.

Two Lumpwood hooked-staff men were killed in two successive years, and in the third year one of their straight-stick officers was killed. The Lumpwoods then mocked the Foxes for their cowardice, because they did not lose any of their officers (Gray-bull).

With the first snowfall the spirit of rivalry apparently disappeared, and the two societies lived together in perfect amity until the next spring.

BIG DOGS.

I was able to find but a single man who had been a member of the Big Dog (micg-isā^{ts}te) organization, viz., Fire-weasel of Pryor, supposed to be 93 years of age (in 1910).

According to Fire-weasel, as well as others, this society originated with the Hidatsa. An Hidatsa was traveling towards another tribe when he saw a dog on the trail before him. Going over a hill, he heard some songs and discovered that it was the dog that was singing them. The dog was very old; its songs were those of the subsequent Big Dog organization.

Thus began the society, which was joined by most of the Hidatsa and Crow chiefs. Every member carried a stick enclosed in a cover of tanned buckskin, from which there hung down deer-hoofs or dewclaws serving as rattles. In recent times tin cones took the place of the dewclaws. This emblem is called *māxaxōrē'*. It proved impossible to secure a specimen that had actually been used by the Big Dogs, but a rattle fashioned on the same pattern, which had been used by one of the Tobacco organizations and was, accordingly, of a much more sacred character was purchased at Lodge Grass. This *māxaxōrē'* (Fig. 2) is distinctly shorter than the form used by the Big Dogs and is far more elaborately decorated, with plumes, strings of beads, and ermine skin; the small bags below the ends of the stick enclose tobacco seeds. The Big Dog rattle was about two feet long and had attached to it little hawk bells in addition to the dewclaws.

As a rule the members were old, there were a few young ones. The latter were chosen in place of relatives who had been Big Dogs and had died in battle.

Every spring the members gathered in a large lodge. The chiefs remained outside debating about the choice of officers. They filled a pipe, entered the tent, and offered the pipe to various young men, who either declined the offer by refusing to smoke, or accepted, together with the pipe, the honors and dangers of office. First the old men selected two leaders (*basé*), then two rear men (*hā'ake*); next two sash wearers (*íextsewicè*); another pair of sash-wearers; and finally the two men wearing bearskin belts (*naxpitsé ihē'rūpte*). The belt men hesitated for a long time before taking the pipe, for they were expected to be bravest of all and were fairly certain to be killed. They must walk straight up to the enemy regardless of danger and were never expected to retreat. At any feast of the society the belt wearers ate before the Big Dogs, for if any one preceded them he would be killed even before these two officers. It was only after the *naxpitsé ihē'rūpte*¹ had eaten their fill that the other members began to eat. This seems to indicate that they correspond to the *akdū'cire* of other organizations (see p. 158). During dances the belt wearers carried quirts. At the end of the performance they went round and touched each member with their whips, whereupon all were permitted to take their seats. Beargets-up said that some men would continue to dance as a sign of bravery after being touched by the whip. Then the whippers would lash them more vigorously. Fire-weasel himself served as a sash-wearer. The sashes (*íextue*; singular, *íextse*) were of red, blue, black, or green flannel, and seem to have been quite similar to those of the Muddy Hands (see p. 184).

¹ *naxpitsé*, bear; *ihē'rūpte*, waist; *ihē'rūpte*, round the waist, belt.



Fig. 2 (50.1-3890). Dewclaw Rattle. Length, 28 cm.

After the election of officers the Big Dogs marched through the camp. They divided into four groups, each of which went to the home of one of the sash-wearers, where food had been prepared for them. Here the sashes were completed for their wearers and were then suspended from a pole outside the lodge. Later, they were put on by their owners, and all the men within marched outside to meet the three other groups. Then all joined in a dance, started by the belt men seizing a sash-wearer's emblem and pulling it forward.

When the Big Dogs wished to have a dance they called out to all members to dress and paint up and to assemble in a certain tipi. The member who owned the finest lodge yielded it to the society for that occasion. Beyond the dewclaw rattles and the officers' emblems no special regalia seem to have been obligatory. All dressed in their best clothes, some wearing scalp-shirts and buckskin leggings fringed with scalps. Those who had frequently struck the enemy daubed yellow paint on their shirts and leggings, and striped their arms and legs with red paint. Some Big Dogs wore war-bonnets, while others had owl feathers tied in a bunch to the back of the head. Round the neck all wore a whistle, which might be blown at will during the dance. The moccasins were sometimes trimmed at the top with skunk skins. The dance itself, like that of the Foxes, consisted of a leaping motion, but differed in that the leap was forward and that the performers separated so as to dance individually instead of lining up in a row or ring. Moreover the bodies were leaned forward more than in the Fox dance. During the singing of the last song, the Big Dogs jumped up more vigorously than in the preceding dances. Sometimes the Big Dogs assembled in the night and went through the camp, singing. Any woman that so desired might follow and join in the songs. When they came to a chief's lodge, they formed a circle outside and sang a song. Then the chief would say, "Come in, and sing inside the lodge." When they had entered, their host would order food to be cooked, and entertained them. Sharp-horn furnished the additional information that, before setting out on their nocturnal procession, the members took a rawhide, ran holes along the edge, and passed a rope through them. Then they stood up in a circle, beating the hide with their dewclaw rattles. Thereupon they went through the camp, halting at different lodges. The tent-owner came out and handed them a pipe or presented them with food. The songs on this occasion do not seem to have differed from those ordinarily sung by the Big Dogs, that is, they were not apparently chants eulogizing the prospective host.

A Big Dog who had been killed was brought to the camp and dressed up in good clothes. A bed was arranged for him outdoors. Each member sang and danced, moving towards the corpse. When at the foot of the bed,

each performer knelt down and cried, whereupon he drew back some distance. Then all sat down on the ground. The parents of the slain man gathered together leggings, shirts, and other property, and distributed them among the Big Dogs as a compensation for their mourning ceremony. If the slain man had been a sash-wearer, any member could take up his stick¹ and sash and run about with them in front of the other Big Dogs. After the dead man's burial these regalia were given to another member. During the mourning celebration the following words were sung:

hí'rák'á'ta, batsírexbùék, barē'wik'.

Comrade, I dismount, I am going towards you.

The Big Dogs took turns with the other military societies in policing the tribe during the communal hunts. This service lasted for one season. If any one person scared the game away the Big Dogs went after him and whipped him. Everyone was afraid of them. The following Big Dog song, said to have been sung when the people were moving towards the game, is probably associated with these police functions:

Micékatū' barē'k' . hirén baráxūk . xatsí'sa . barē'k'.

Towards the buffalo I am going. These are singing. Don't move. I am going.

On two subsequent occasions Fire-weasel in part modified the information first given by him. He reduced the number of officers to nine, viz. two leaders, four sash-wearers, two rear officers, and one quirt-bearer. The last of these was said to have worn a belt of bearskin, to have been the bravest member, rescuing those whose lives were endangered in battle, and he was identified by my informant himself as the Big Dogs' *akdū'cire*. At a dance he would rise, seize one of the sash-wearer's sashes, and begin to dance, leading the sash-wearer behind him. Then the other members also danced. When the songs had ceased, all stood still, those who had whips behind them, and the remaining members clapped their mouths with their hands. Then the quirt-bearer touched each man with his whip and thus made them sit down. During a public parade he stayed among the dancers. While the others were dancing, he was permitted to sit wherever he pleased, and in general he might act as he pleased. When the members met on a table he always sat near the door, this seat being reserved for him. In the distribution of food, the belt-wearer preceded all others, being followed by the leaders, the sash-wearers, rear officers, and finally by the rank and file. Of the sash-wearers, two wore only one sash, the others two sashes apiece. When marching, one officer with a single sash had for his

¹ It is not clear to me what is referred to by this term.

mate an officer with two sashes. Originally, the sashes were made of raw-hide, later red cloth with black stripes was used.

The Big Dogs had no subdivisions into age-groups corresponding to those of the Foxes, Lumpwoods, and Muddy Hands.

Anyone joining must first get a dewclaw rattle. He might ask a former member for *his*; no payment was made for it. It was also permissible to make a rattle for one's self. If a member was killed by the enemy, his friends kept his rattle. His body was laid outdoors and dressed up. The Big Dogs first paraded through camp, singing, then they approached the corpse. The slain man's parents or wife led his horse, whose mane and tail had been docked, towards the paraders. Whoever mounted the horse on this occasion pledged himself to act like the dead man and to be so brave as to be killed. Sometimes one or two men got on the horse and rode round the other members, shouting. All the members took arrows, and stuck them into their legs or heads. For this each one received gifts from the parents. The members then went to bury the dead man for his parents. They either put the corpse on a burial stage, or deposited it in the rocks.

In the tribal hunt the Big Dogs sometimes acted as police. If any individual made a premature move so as to scare the game, the Big Dogs gathered together and went after him. They addressed him as if talking to a dog, saying, "Stop, go back!" The offender then halted. Next they asked him gently, "Why are you moving away?" If the man gave a gentle reply and obeyed orders, everything was well, but if he answered in angry tones the Big Dogs whipped him, sometimes so hard that he could not move. In advancing upon offenders, the officers of the society took the lead.

Information in part supplementary, in part contradictory, to that derived from Fire-weasel was supplied by Gray-bull, who, while not a former Big Dog, proved an excellent authority on most matters connected with the ancient life of his people. According to Gray-bull, all Big Dogs wore the owl feather headdress and carried the dewclaw rattle, the latter taking the place of the drum used by other organizations. The list of officers and their order of marching as given by Gray-bull is somewhat different from Fire-weasel's. The two leaders were followed by a single pair of sash-wearers, after whom came the rank and file. Behind these marched a single belt-wearer who was accompanied by an officer of different character called *akbiretsirixi'e* (urger) or *is'ratsekakè* (quirt-owner). Next came two *akdū'cire*, and finally the two rear officers.

The leaders were expected to take the initiative in any emergency. If the enemy were protected in pits, it was the duty of the leaders to make a charge against them. On the other hand, if the Crow were fleeing from the enemy, these officers were under no obligation to dismount and make a

stand, though they voluntarily might do so, and frequently did. The *iztsewicé* wore each two sashes of red flannel crossing in front. If the Crow were fleeing from the enemy, the sash-wearers were permitted to run with the other men. But just as soon as they heard a fellow-tribesman utter a cry for help, they were obliged to turn back and rush to the rescue at the risk of their lives. They either surrendered their horses to the endangered comrades or took them up behind themselves, or turned their horses loose and fought in defense of their friends. The *naxpitsé ihē'rupte* wore a belt of bearskin with the legs and claws left on. If the Crow were victorious, no special duties devolved on him. But if the Crow were being pursued, it was his duty immediately to descend from his horse and attempt to arrest the progress of the pursuers. If he ran with the rank and file, someone was sure to cry, "Get off!" Then he must dismount and stand. Should he have persisted in fleeing in spite of this admonition and succeeded in making his escape, he was thenceforth treated as a coward and outcast, regardless of his former reputation. The belt-wearer painted his body with mud and bunched up his hair in imitation of a bear's ears. This officer almost always lost his life in battle. When the society performed its dance, the belt-wearer remained seated, thus indicating that he would not run away in an engagement. As soon as his mate, the *akbtretsirixi'e*, saw him seated, he rushed towards him and whipped him in order to make him rise. In battle, if the quirt saw his comrade defying the enemy, he would either quirt him, thus absolving him from the duty of making such a stand, or he must himself stand beside him and aid him against the enemy. The *akdū'cire* were expected to die, no matter what happened. To return alive was to become the laughing-stock of their fellow-tribesmen. Gray-bull recalled a number of *akdū'cire* who had been killed in battle, but not a single one that had acted in a cowardly manner. Naturally enough, more of them were killed than of any other officers. Owing to their exposure to exceptional dangers, the *akdū'cire* were privileged to eat before any of the other Big Dogs at meetings of the society. They might taste a little of each of the kinds of food provided for the occasion, and ate as much as they wished of the kind preferred. When they had eaten enough, they spread out their blankets on the ground and sat down. Only then were the remaining members permitted to distribute the provisions. The rear officers were expected to stay behind the other Crow when these were pursued by the enemy, and to keep back the pursuers.

Gray-bull stated that a boy could be taken into the Big Dog society as soon as one of his relatives who had been a member of the organization died or was killed. If the brother of the slain member was still an infant, the Big Dogs waited until he was old enough to understand what was

going on. The mode of filling vacancies was similar to that of the Night-hawks today. At the election of officers an old Big Dog lighted a pipe, pointed its mouthpiece at one of the young men and said, "Take a smoke! I wish you to become a leader." If the young man consented, he smoked from the pipe in silence. Often it was difficult to induce a man to accept. If a man declined office, he would say, "I am a coward, I am afraid to die." The members knew that if they put the pipe to their lips they were not expected to live until the next year. Sometimes the pipe-bearer went through the entire circle without finding a willing candidate. Then some of the young men would get excited and take the pipe.

One-horn said that the leaders were chosen for their "strong hearts," that is to say, they were expected to be cool in times of excitement. The sashes were of red flannel, but terminated in a white tip. Though the sash-wearers were expected to be brave they were permitted to move about, while the officers with bearskin belts must not move from their position in battle. The leaders wore no badge, only their personal medicine objects. The term of office for all officers lasted from early spring until the first snow-fall. Except in special cases of reelection, new men were selected for the following year. The society could hold meetings at any time, but did so more particularly when a Tobacco ceremony or Sun dance was performed in the tribe.

In 1907 I was informed that the Big Dogs at one time united with the Lumpwoods against the Foxes and Muddy Hands for the purpose of stealing their opponents' wives, but that the Big Dogs reconsidered the matter and thereafter never took any part in such proceedings. An Indian from Reno further told me that the ten officers of the Big Dogs were expected to strike the first blow in battle, so as to take precedence of the Foxes. As all my informants in 1910 limited the feeling of rivalry to the Fox and Lumpwood organizations (see p. 169), I should consider the information previously obtained as erroneous, were it not for the testimony of Beckwourth as to conditions in the twenties of the last century:

A feud now broke out, which had been long brewing, between two different parties in our village, one of which worshiped foxes, and the other worshiped dogs. The warriors of the latter party were called Dog Soldiers, of which I was the leader; the other party was led by Red Eyes. The quarrel originated about the prowess of the respective parties, and was fostered by Red Eyes, on the part of the rival company, and by Yellow Belly . . . , a man in my company.¹

According to several informants, a custom of the Lumpwood society known as *batbā'tue* was originally a peculiarity of the Big Dog organization (see p. 167).

¹ Bonner, 183.

Sometimes the Big Dogs would go up on a knoll to sing and dance there and would make their sweethearts fetch water for them. In the spring or summer, when many buffalo hides had been tanned, the young unmarried women would call the Big Dogs (or some other society) to some big tipi. There each man would have a woman partner to sing with. When all had sung, each couple by themselves, they distributed food and feasted. They sang Big Dog songs. If any couple wished to sleep in the lodge overnight they were permitted to do so.

MUDDY HANDS.

The Muddy Hands (*ictse cipi'ε*) did not dance very frequently, according to Gray-bull's recollection, as a rule only at the time of the Tobacco ceremonies. In this respect it differed notably from the Fox and Lumpwood societies. It resembled these, however, in assuming police functions from time to time; in fact owing to the fearlessness of His-horse-is-white, one of the members, they acted as police for several successive seasons. One-horn, Gray-bull, and Old-dog placed the number of sash-wearers at two; however, none of them had been a member. One-horn said that the sash-wearers wore each two sashes of red flannel, which were so long as to trail along the ground when their owners were afoot and to touch the ground when they were mounted. (Fig. 3b). During a dance, Old-dog said, the sash-wearers were led round by their trains.

The most valuable account of this society was derived from Bear-ghost, one of a very small number of one-time members I was able to find. He did not know any tradition concerning the origin of the organization. There were three age-classes within the Muddy Hand society: the *cí'paktsicè* (They-put-guts-round-their-heads-for-hats); the *ictse cipi'ε* proper; and the *ē'capì'ε*¹ (They-have-sacks-round-their-necks). These groups represented the boys, middle-aged men, and old men respectively. A man entering from another society joined the division corresponding to his age. The officers of the Muddy Hands were two leaders, four sash-wearers, two rear officers, and two *akdū'cire*. The leaders were expected to perform brave deeds at the commencement of an action while the rear officers were to be the last men to flee. The *akdū'cire* were supposed to be the bravest members and must not run away at all. If any Crow fell from his horse, they were expected to help him escape. On account of their obligations they were permitted to eat before all other members of the society. The

¹ From *ε'ce*, sack; and *d'pe*, neck.

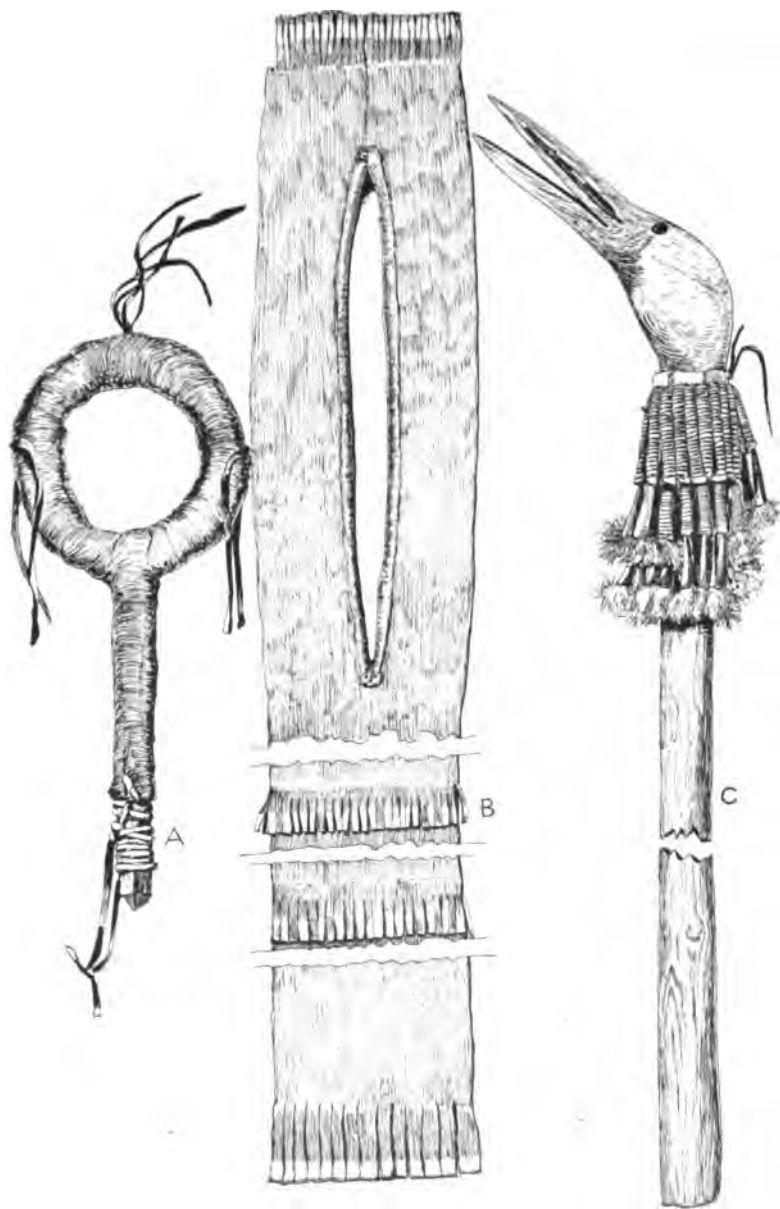


Fig. 3 a (50.1-3889), b (50.1-4019), c (50-6827). a Crazy Dog Rattle; b Muddy Hand Sash; c Hot Dance Stick. Length of a, 26 cm.; b, 3.78 m.; c, 61 cm.

sash-wearers were not limited to any particular form of bravery. In the spring all the members gathered in one lodge. Four old men stayed outdoors and decided upon whom the choice for officers should fall. On entering, they offered the pipe to the candidates selected in exactly the same fashion that was in vogue in the other military associations. Then some members went to the woods and brought back bark peeled from willow trees. By uniting several strips of bark it was possible to make a kind of bark sash with a loop and trailer. These bark sashes were passed over the heads of the sash-wearers-elect. Then the Muddy Hands went outdoors, singing and dancing through the camp, whereupon the society divided into four sections, each going with one of the sash-wearers. Within each new officer's lodge there was a big piece of cloth, the size of a blanket. A man who had distinguished himself as a sash-wearer rose and told of his deeds while an officer. Then he cut up the cloth into appropriate strips about 5 inches wide, and sewed them together to make the sash sufficiently long. Finally he made a slit and put the sash over its owner's head. Then all went out to dance outdoors for the purpose of showing the people the men who had been elected officers.

If an officer ran away instead of assisting his fellow-tribesmen, other people made fun of him and called him a coward; he could only redeem his honor by being brave in the next battle. On the other hand, an officer who fought bravely and got away in safety was held in esteem and was likely to become a chief if he kept up his good conduct in subsequent engagements. The sash-wearers had no sticks with which to fasten their emblems to the ground. The term of office was a single season, that is, from early spring till the first snowfall.

A curious custom was peculiar to the Muddy Hands. They never put out a fire, either on the prairie or in the camp, though others might do so for them. The fire symbolized the enemy. In exceptional cases a very brave man might dismount to extinguish a fire, but this signified a pledge of special bravery, namely, never to flee from an enemy in battle. The existence of this custom was also known to non-members, such as Sitting-elk and Sharp-horn.

At a time which Bear-ghost sets at about forty, Fire-weasel at about forty-five years ago (1910), the Foxes came to the Muddy Hands with a pipe, offered them smoke, and begged them to join their organization. The Muddy Hands consented, and thus terminated their existence as a distinct society. In consequence of the union Bear-ghost lost his wife as she was promptly stolen by a Lumpwood. Sharp-horn relates that the circumstances connected with the union of the two societies were the following. One season the Lumpwoods stole many more women from the Foxes

than the Foxes were able to capture from them. The Foxes accordingly called on the Muddy Hands with a pipe, asking them to join their organization and unite in a reprisal against the Lumpwoods.¹ The Muddy Hands consented, but even at that the re-enforced Foxes could not steal many Lumpwood women, for the Muddy Hand contingent failed to capture any women whatsoever. The Lumpwoods made up a song mocking their rivals:—

batsē'm ō'pi'kū'ec; bē'rerū'sak baré dusā'rawa!

To these men they gave smoke; they may eat (Lumpwood) dung, their men-tulae eat!

Child-in-his-mouth confirmed most of Bear-ghost's statements. He added that the sash-wearers had caps made from dried bear guts painted red; the guts of bears were taken because these animals are so strong and fierce.

Charges-camp mentioned a detail not given by other informants. At Muddy Hand performances two men dressed up in their war suits, wearing their medicines on the head and carrying their weapons. A pole was stuck in the ground and a buffalo robe, hair side out, was tied to it. This pole represented the enemy. The two men rode up against the pole and struck it with their coup sticks, or enacted such other deeds as they had performed in war. The same informant said that the Muddy Hands were mostly old people and were all expected to be brave as old people cannot run fast.

HAMMER SOCIETY.

There can be no doubt that this boys' organization is identical with Maximilian's Stone Casse-Tête society. It derived its name *bū'ptsake*, "Hammer Owners," from a diamond-shaped or pointedly elliptical object called "*bū'ptsa*," which was perforated so that it could be stuck on a long staff. Several models which I had made were all of wood, and Gray-bull declared that the Crow never used any other material, but *bū'ptsa* also means "a stone hammer" and the model of an emblem of the corresponding Hidatsa society is of stone. On seeing the Crow models Mr. Harlan I. Smith was struck with the resemblance of the *bū'ptsa* to the problematical

¹ I find a note that, according to Fire-weasel's wife, the Lumpwoods stole some of the Muddy Hands' wives and that therefore the Muddy Hands, about fifty in number at the time joined the Foxes. However, the weight of authority is in favor of the statement in the text. Still another account by Black-bull has it that the Big Dogs were acting as police one season. The Muddy Hands wished to go in a certain direction, contrary to the Big Dogs' orders. The two societies fought each other with clubs. Then the Muddy Hands joined the Foxes, and were then strong enough to go where they pleased.

objects known to American archaeologists as bannerstones. The staff illustrated in Fig. 1a, is painted with white clay. Its *bū'ptsa* is decorated with yellow and red paint, the former being represented by diagonal, the latter by vertical shading. An unperforated *bū'ptsa* of ovoid shape is shown in two positions in Fig. 1, b and c, the diagonal lines again representing yellow, while blue is indicated in the upper view by vertical and in the lower by horizontal lines.

Pretty-enemy says that long ago the little boys, while playing, got some milkweed balls and pierced them with sticks. When they grew up, they founded a society and put bark, instead of the milkweed balls, on their sticks.

Charges-camp states that long ago a very old man, having lost his son, went out on the prairie to mourn. He had a vision of many boys, four of whom carried the wands emblematic of the society; there was one leader and one rear officer, both older than the rest, who corresponded to the leader and rear officer of the other military organizations. These boys were engaged in a sham battle. On the old man's return to camp, he organized the boys according to the vision received.

The following account deals with the annual meeting of the society.

In the spring the boys used to assemble and depart from the camp, each carrying with him a piece of dried meat. They built a fire and feasted by themselves, then they decided to meet on the morrow for the purpose of distributing the officers' staffs. The next morning they gathered in a certain lodge. Four willow poles were cut and laid outside against the tipi. The two oldest boys went outdoors to discuss the officers to be selected. They reëntered with a pipe, and chose successively the leaders, rear officers, four staff-bearers (*bū'ptsa* proper), and four *akdū'cire*. The manner of election was identical with that of the other societies. In leaving the lodge, each man was asked to which staff-bearer's home he wished to go. The society was thus subdivided into four groups, the members of which followed the *bū'ptsa* to their lodges. Here the sticks were finished and decorated, whereupon there was dancing, singing, and feasting. The four groups then re-united outdoors for a common dance, which continued until dark. Then the society went to the lodge of each of the four staff-bearers, formed a circle outside, and began to drum and sing. The father of the officer came out, and handed a pipe to the young braves, or invited them inside for a feast. The *akdū'cire* were expected not to be afraid of buffalo, wolves, mountain-lions, or any other kind of animal. They were to take their sticks and count coup on these animals as though they were enemies. The *bū'ptsa* were about sixteen or seventeen years old. It is clear that they sometimes took part in actual battle, in fact Gray-bull says they were more reckless than other warriors.

Fire-weasel said that practically all the young boys joined the *bū'ptsake*: two older boys were there to instruct the others and to make the four wands for the officers, who were supposed to be especially brave in the sham battles fought by the members. When the boys grew older, they entered one of the other societies. According to Gray-bull, the number carrying *bū'ptsake* was two, but from other statements this seems doubtful.

Child-in-the-mouth said that the paint used on the body was yellow, red, and blue, corresponding to the decoration of the *bū'ptsake*. There were seasons when the boys met real enemies and struck coups with their emblems. The following is a specimen song:—

batsē' tsiri'kā tuEC, bā'wik.

The men are afraid of the enemy, I am going to meet [the enemy].

Older men also joined sometimes and went on war parties. Gray-bull remembers an occasion on which a *bū'ptsake* slain by the enemy was mourned by his fellow members. His body was laid on the ground, propped up against a buffalo skin backrest. His emblem was planted near the corpse. Picked members of the society gave vent to their lamentations, and sang songs. During this performance a young man named Rides-the-spotted-horse approached the scene merely as a spectator. He was always lucky in battle, though well-known for his dauntlessness. The slain man's father stopped Rides-the-spotted-horse's horse, put his hand on his head in token of pleading, and offered gifts to the rider. Then he thus addressed him: "You know how I have been treated by the Sioux, I depend on you to repay them." For a while the young man made no reply. At last he said, "You have appointed me to die. I will die just in order to revenge the death of your boy." Then they plucked out the dead officer's emblem, and gave it to Rides-the-spotted-horse. All those present cheered. The old man cried again. Then he picked out Gray-bull, pressed his head, gave him a shield, and prayed for vengeance. After some consideration, Gray-bull also expressed his willingness to jeopardize his life for the sake of retaliation. Though quite sincere in his determination to die, however, he came out alive and struck a coup. Rides-the-spotted-horse ran into the thickest part of the Sioux ranks, struck a coup, and got back in safety, though his horse was killed under him. One of the other *bū'ptsake* officers was killed. Apparently the mourning father wished Gray-bull to risk his life again, and offered him all kinds of property, but Gray-bull's brothers watched him closely and would not allow him to make another dash.

If some member did not attend a meeting, the *bū'ptsake* all went to his lodge and stood there until the delinquent's father pacified them with a gift of food and the offer of a pipe to smoke.

BULL SOCIETY.

The native name of this society was generally heard *tsi'rukapè*, not *tsi'rupakè* (from *tsi'rupe*, "bull," and *aké*, "owner"), as might be expected by analogy with *bū'ptsake* and *pē'ratsakè*, and as it was actually heard in several cases. Probably metathesis has taken place.

This society was, according to most informants, derived from the Hidatsa; only Gray-bull is of opinion that it originated with the Dakota. The bulk of the evidence supports the view that the members were elderly, or at least of mature years. Bell-rock sets their age at about 50, Gray-bull at 65. Nevertheless, the Bulls are said to have acted as police¹ (Gray-bull) and to have taken part in military activity. They always bore themselves well in battle until a certain engagement north of Pryor, when they were driven down a low cliff, whence they were called "Bulls-chased-over-the-cliff." The mockery thus incurred put a stop to the society. This seems to have taken place about forty years ago.

According to Gray-bull the mode of electing officers did not differ from that of the other societies. The members met in the spring, a pipe was pointed at different men, and these might either accept or decline the proffered honor. Those who kept quiet while others tried to put masks on their heads became the mask wearers (see below).

Varying opinions are expressed as to the number of officers. According to Child-in-the-mouth, there were two leaders and two rear officers as in other societies, and two men wearing buffalo heads as masks; the last-named impersonated blind bulls, which were supposed to be very fierce. Charges-camp sets the number of mask wearers at from one to four, Sharp-horn at four, while Gray-bull and Bull-chief say there were two. There is general agreement, however, that those wearing the masks were the fool-hardy members "made to die." Bull-chief's text (p. 214) seems to identify them with the leaders, but Gray-bull insists that the two leaders were distinct and had no special regalia. Lone-tree mentions but one leader and one rear officer. Sitting-elk alone speaks of two whippers wearing bear-skin belts. When the singing began at a performance of the society, all members were expected to rise and dance. If any one failed to do so, the belt wearers whipped him. When the musicians abruptly ceased to sing, the dancers were obliged to remain standing until the belt wearers touched them with their whips. Bear-gets-up recognizes two kinds of officers: two mask wearers and two officers who merely wore skin caps topped with horns.

¹ Bear-gets-up doubts this.

From some statements it would appear that all the rank and file wore such caps; according to others, they all wore red flannel aprons with little bells and had sleighbells on their belts or below the knee. Their bodies were blackened with charcoal.

The performance of the Bulls was very popular. The following account is based in the main on Gray-bull's narrative, which was supplemented by other informants.

About sunset the Bulls would have a herald proclaim that all members should gather in one lodge and paint up. A drum was beaten to make them hurry. They placed a large kettle with mud in the center of the lodge, and the Bulls painted their faces and bodies with it to represent the mud on buffalo in a wallow. They decorated their legs with anklets of buffalo skin with the hair, and put on other finery. The mask wearers plastered the hair and horns of their masks with white clay. When ready, the musicians beat their drums, and the Bulls began to parade, the leaders in front, followed by the rank and file, while about six (sometimes as many as ten) drummers brought up the rear. One man would carry water in a large vessel. Those who had dismounted in battle had the privilege of wearing buffalo tails, which were made to stand up erect. They snorted at the other dancers and made them retreat. The mask wearers imitated wild bulls, snorting and charging the crowd. The water-carrier held out his vessel for the performers. Some of these played shy, stuck out their tails, and ran away, snorting and prancing. Those who wished to die came up, looked at the water, bellowed like bulls, drank, lapping up the water, and shook it off like bulls. The women, some of whom helped in the singing, clacked their tongues in praise of these braves, who walked off pawing the ground. Pounded-meat once drank from the kettle and refused to go away. Others came to drink, but he kicked at them and beat them off, until one of the officers hooked him, whereupon at last he trotted off. After the dance he mounted his horse and said, "Whenever you are afraid of going against the enemy or vacillate, I will go straight toward them. If you retreat, I will dismount and fight afoot."

Sitting-elk said the water was carried by a virtuous woman selected for the purpose. Charges-camp also stated that it was a woman that brought the water. According to all informants, the act of drinking symbolized the drinker's pledge not to flee from the enemy.

During the dance the Bulls carried shields, guns, and lances. Some wore war-bonnets. Those members who had executed some notable deed recounted it and went through a mock performance of it. Thus, a man who struck a coup would count coup on one of the spectators. Those who had been wounded in battle approached the audience and went through the mo-

tion of being shot. Many of the dancers discharged their guns. Fire-weasel said that, although not a member, he once participated in a Bull dance to the extent of recounting some of his exploits. One-horn went so far as to state that any one was free to join the Bulls, even though he was already a member of the Fox or Lumpwood society. However, from the statements quoted above I conclude that this probably refers only to participation in the public performance of the Bulls and does not mean that the Bulls did not form a definite organization.

All the dancers pretended to be bulls. Some tried to frighten the women and children. Boys looking on would sharpen sticks and prod the Bulls with them, who would jump and snort like real bulls. Sometimes they would jump up with both feet, sometimes with each foot alternately.

CRAZY DOGS.

In order to distinguish this society from the Crazy-Dogs-Wishing-to-Die (p. 191), the members are sometimes called "Long Crazy Dogs," *młcə-é warā'axe hátskite*. According to the almost unanimous testimony of my informants, the society was derived by the River Crow from the Hidatsa about thirty-five years ago. Bell-rock thought it was of Dakota origin, but Fire-weasel explained that while the Dakota had taught it to the Hidatsa, the latter were the ones to introduce it among the Crow. While several informants said that it was confined to the River Crow, it is clear that the Many Lodges adopted and re-modeled it (see p. 148), as shown in the following narrative by Gray-bull.

All the Many Lodge men who did not join the Hot dancers went to Plenty-coups' Lodge and formed the Crazy Dog society. I also joined. The custom of wife-stealing had been abandoned by the Foxes and Lumpwoods. We met in the spring and made a long sash with a slit for each of two officers. Punching a hole in baking-powder cans and putting beads inside, we made rattles of them. The dance was similar to the Hot dance. At the close of a song, all raised their rattles and shook them, the eagle feathers on them producing a fine effect. During the dance those wishing to give help in battle to the two officers "doomed to die," seized the trains of their sashes. After the dance we all assembled in the evening and circled round the camp, where we were sometimes invited to partake of a feast indoors.

One night we were parading in this way, and the Hot dancers were doing the same. The cry of challenge was sounded, "Hu, hu, hu!" The next day the wife-stealing was to begin. Plenty-coups said, "We'll strike the first blow, I'll capture some women directly." He talked the matter over, and we proceeded on horseback, riding double. Plenty-coups got off at Bear-claw's lodge, where he peeped in and saw Bear-claw's wife alone. He said, "Come on, I want to marry you." She took her blanket and went out. Plenty-coups had her ride behind his comrade.

The Crazy Dogs cheered: "Here is one coming already!" They began to sing and rejoice so much that the tipi began to shake. The captive was considered Plenty-coups' wife, and Plenty-coups' sisters brought an elk-tooth dress for her. The men said "It is all over, let us go out and dance." The woman's face was painted yellow, with red stripes across to represent Plenty-coups' coups. On account of my war record I was asked to ride on horseback, while the rest remained afoot. They told me to do as I pleased and take my partner behind me if I wished. I put on my ermine-skin shirt, had my partner sit behind me, and took the lead. Granulated-eyelids had once dismounted in a battle against the Sioux, and another man had taken him behind him. Now Granulated-eyelids was chosen to take the kidnapped woman on his horse.¹ He rode not in the line of march, but alongside in order to be conspicuous. I also had the privilege of riding about out of line, while the spectators gave vent to shouts of praise. One of the Crazy Dogs' wives was captured by the Hot dancers while looking on at the performance. The Crazy Dogs would not go home then, because they did not wish to have their wives stolen before their eyes. The Hot dancers could be heard rejoicing. The Crazy Dogs then appointed ten men, among them me and Strong-heart, to steal more women. I went to a lodge and ordered my friend to peep in. He saw a young woman sewing there. We both entered and sat down by the door. I called her, speaking for my partner, and said, "My partner wants you." She said, "He is my lover, but I will just shake hands with you without going." She begged not to be taken, but her lover insisted. Then she consented, put down her sewing, took her blanket, and said, "You are obstinate about it, let us go." One of our party of four then gave a signal to the other Crazy Dogs, also calling her husband and crying, "We have got her, she is going to marry us!" All the Crazy Dogs then beat drums and shook the lodge poles for joy. They made the woman sit in the rear of the lodge, and Strong-heart's sister gave her finery and an elk-tooth dress.

The Hot dancers were about to show off their captive. The Crazy Dogs said, "Let us look at it for a while, before dark we shall capture four or five of their women." The Hot dancers were dressed as they are nowadays; they had a big dance until dark. We forgot all about the many Hot dancers' wives we were going to capture. Only Strong-heart abducted one woman, but her mother came later and took her away again. That night one of our wives was stolen. We kidnapped three women altogether that season and paraded with two of them.

On another occasion I peeped into a lodge while a woman was cooking for her husband, who gave me a friendly greeting. She said to me and my companion, "You are ghosts,² I will not go with you." I got angry, walked in, and said, "Your husband is no person, come with me!" She ran behind her husband. I seized her, so did my companion, and we dragged her to the door. Her husband held on to her waist calling for aid, and was dragged along with his wife. I seized her husband and bade him desist. The woman's brother said to us, "You are ghosts, she wants her own husband." He seized a butchering-knife and said, "Some of you shall die for this." Then we let go and fled, but the woman's husband was considered weak-hearted.

¹ I suspect that this passage was slightly misinterpreted and that it was Granulated-eyelids who had saved another Crow from the enemy by taking him on his horse. See p. 172.

² This is a grave insult. See Lowie, (a), 245.

Gray-bull says that among the River Crow the Crazy Dogs never indulged in wife-stealing, and this is confirmed by Lone-tree, a member of that society and local division.

There is some difference of opinion as to the number of officers. This may be due to a difference between the local bands. Lone-tree said there were a single leader, a single rear officer, and about 25 ordinary members. The leader was expected to advance against the enemy and never to retreat, while the rear officer would dismount to make a stand if the enemy were pursuing the Crow. The leader wore a cap of buckskin with furbished deer horns, and trimmed with weasel skins in the back. The rear officer wore a sash of red flannel, decorated with beadwork. The election of these officers took place in the spring, and their term was a single season. They were chosen as in the other societies, some man filling a pipe and offering it in turn to various members until someone accepted.

Old-dog says there were sometimes two and sometimes four sash-wearers. Another informant speaks of two leaders, four sash-wearers, and two rear officers, to which Sitting-elk adds two men who whipped members into dancing and two *akdū'cire*. Bear-gets-up says there were four sash-wearers and four men wearing the horned caps; in addition a leader was chosen to direct the dancing. All the members, according to him, had skin rattles of either the spherical or the ring-shaped type. (Fig. 3a.)

The Crazy Dogs frequently acted as police, and according to Old-dog were especially strict in that capacity. Prairie-Gros-Ventre said the members were all young. They used dark-red and light-red paint, as well as white clay. Those with war records wore weasel-skin shirts, otherwise all were dressed alike.

CRAZY-DOGS-WISHING-TO-DIE.

Ordinarily these Crazy Dogs are not distinguished in name from the Crazy Dog *society*; when the context alone would fail to prevent mistakes they are referred to as *micg-e warā'axe akcē'wì'uk* (Crazy Dogs who wish to die). As so many of the military societies, not only of the Crow but also of other Plains tribes, had one or more officers pledged to conduct themselves with special bravery, it might naturally be supposed that the Crazy Dogs now to be discussed were simply officers of the society treated above. However, practically all informants denied any connection between the death-seeking Crazy Dogs (who cannot be said to have formed any organization) and the Crazy Dog society, and this view is corroborated by the recent introduction of the Crazy Dog society (see p. 191) while the

custom of seeking death as a Crazy Dog individually seems to be relatively old. Nevertheless, the rattles and sashes employed seem to have been similar in both cases, and Child-in-the-mouth also considers the songs identical.

When a man for some reason became tired of life, he announced himself a Crazy Dog. This implied that he must thenceforth "talk crosswise" (*iri'wat bakarē'*), that is, express the opposite of his real intentions and do the opposite of what he was bidden. His most essential duty, however, was to rush into danger and deliberately seek death. This obligation, curiously enough, was limited to one season. If at the end of this period he had by chance escaped death, the Crazy Dog was absolved from his pledge, unless he voluntarily renewed it for another season. Thus, One-horn's father-in-law was dissatisfied with the way rations were issued by the Government and became a Crazy Dog; the first year he failed to get hurt, but he did not wish to live any longer, again assumed the insignia and manners of a Crazy Dog for the following season, and was killed. Naturally, while the number of Crazy Dogs varied from year to year, it was never very great. During some seasons there was no one that was especially eager to court death; on the other hand, One-horn remembers as many as five Crazy Dogs at one time. The usual number seems to have been two. Hunts-to-die, however, made the statement that long ago there were as many as ten Crazy Dogs who went to war; one of them was killed, accordingly the rest also succeeded in being slain.¹

The most renowned of all the Crazy Dogs was *Īsacpŭtdāk*c (Young-cottontail-rabbit), who was killed within the memory of men still living. His story is known throughout the tribe, and all the incidents in the following narrative² by *Itsū'ptete* were repeatedly confirmed by other old informants.

At the old Agency (on the Yellowstone) they were issuing goods. It was there that I first came to know a Crazy Dog. When the people were seated, before the distribution of goods, a youth came riding on horseback, holding his blanket by his stomach. He used his quirt for a rattle. He came into the circle and began to sing. "What is this?" "This is a youth who has been shot in the knee. His knee is sore. He would like to be like other young men and wishes to die, that is why he acts like this." Then for a long time we did not see him. One evening he came out, looking powerful. All of us were eager to see him. He made a rattle of baking-powder cans;³ inside he put beads. It rattled mightily. There was a fine chain on his horse's bridle. His horse could not be seen, he had so much to carry. The youth came, with his gun in his belt. He had a wrist-band of silver-fox skin.

¹ Compare the description in Curtis, iv, 13-14.

² Recorded in the original. See p. 215.

³ Other informants say that *Īsacpŭtdāk*c used a rawhide rattle.

He wore a switch and had little braids in front. He had a very fine necklace and shell earrings. His horse was a bald-faced bay that pawed the ground vigorously. We looked at him; the whole camp liked him. He went through the camp singing and swinging his rattle. We did not know he talked crosswise. One man said to him, "Don't dance!" He got off in front of a lodge. His drummer held a drum like this one, and began to sing. The Crazy Dog danced. "I will test myself, I wish to die; I wish to know whether it will be well." He shot down at his foot.¹ "Well, I think it will be so," he said. The women liked him very much. He danced every evening. When the Crow moved camp, he sang. When they camped again, he went through the camp singing. The old women cheered him lustily. He always sang at night. When they went on a hunt, the people regarded him as a dog. When they went to kill buffalo, the Crazy Dog went along hallooing. As these dogs act when they see a cow, so he acted in sight of the buffalo. They killed many buffalo and butchered them. The youth packed his horse. When the people camped, he went through the camp singing. On the next day they moved, and camped in a coulée. One of the young men was thrown off his horse, which ran away. He rode back to the old camp site to catch the runaway, and found a party of Sioux. There were a few young Crows with him. They drove the Sioux into the bed of a creek; there were breastworks there. The Crazy Dog got there; he wished to die. He went to the edge of the breastworks and shot down at the Sioux, then they killed him. It began to rain violently. The Crazy Dog was lying in the rain water until daylight. The next day we got there, and found him lying in the water. The people wrapped him up and set him on horseback. They conducted him to camp, crying all the way. All the camp mourned grievously. They erected a four-pole scaffold to lay him on, and they planted a lodge pole, to which they tied the Crazy Dog's sash: We moved without him. This is how he was killed. His drum, looking like this one, was hung on the scaffold.

Hunts-to-die knew of another Crazy Dog, who lived in his grandfather's time. He was the handsomest Indian ever seen, and was called Good-crazy-dog; his real name was He-strikes-the-enemy-with-his-brother. At one time the Sioux attacked a Crow band, killing all, including some of Good-crazy-dog's relatives. Good-crazy-dog said, "I am going to die, I will be a Crazy Dog." He bought red flannel for the sashes,² making one for each side. He made a rattle out of a buffalo paunch, and tied eagle feathers to one end of it; inside he put beads and little stones. He wore a fine war-bonnet on his head and tied skunkskin ornaments to his moccasins. His necklace was of *bapā'ce* shells, and his earrings of sea-shells. In the back he wore a switch and in front little braids of hair. He rode a fine spotted horse with docked tail; for its trappings he sewed together red and green flannel. When he rode through camp, he began to sing and the old women cheered him. He was killed in battle.

Spotted-rabbit told the following story about a namesake of his who had also been a Crazy Dog.

¹ Cf. Curtiss, iv, 14.

² Sometimes one of the sashes was blue, and the other red.

When Spotted-fish died, he left fifty head of horses to be distributed among his clansmen and fifty to his stepson, Spotted-rabbit. This happened in the autumn. Spotted-rabbit told the people he would catch up with his father in a short while. Accordingly, early in the spring, he became a Crazy Dog. He wished to die before his fifty head of horses were gone, for no one tended them as his father had done. Both his father's and his own clansmen tried to dissuade him, but he paid no attention to them. He bartered several of his horses for red flannel and a war-bonnet, made himself a rattle, and went singing through the camp. People saw he was going to die and felt sorry for him. The Crow moved along the Missouri toward North Dakota. Some mornings they would find him lying with married women who came to sleep with him. One day, after going through the camp singing, he dismounted and sat down. His mother had some little rawhide bags filled with ripe plums. She handed them to him saying, "An old lady brought this for you. You had better eat and give some to your brother." He untied the bags, pulled out a few plums, looked at them, and said, "I began to be a Crazy Dog early in the spring and did not think I should live so long. Yet here I am today eating plums." He was eating some of the plums, and so was his brother, when the people said, "Some one is coming over there, they look like Dakota." Spotted-rabbit gave his brother a rope and bade him fetch his horse. His brother ran and got the bob-tail pinto always ridden by Spotted-rabbit. Their mother bade a girl get a horse for her, which she did. Spotted-rabbit mounted and rode through camp, singing, followed by his mother. The Crow went toward the hills where the Dakota were. They espied a humpbacked Dakota Crazy Dog and stopped, but Spotted-rabbit went straight on toward the Dakota, who was waiting for him. The Dakota shot Spotted-rabbit in the breast, and killed him. Then Double-face leaped on the Dakota and took away his gun, and another Crow killed him. Spotted-rabbit's mother was there. She had her son's body thrown on a horse and led him back. She told them that he had become a Crazy Dog on account of his father's death. She told them to prepare his body so it would not be spoiled and that she would bury him with his father near the site of Ft. Smith. So they prepared a travois, and all moved toward that direction. But they found plenty of buffalo and told the mother they needed the food and would hunt while there was a good chance and lay the corpse in a tree crotch until the next year. So they laid him on a big tree by the river. The next year they wished to bury his body, but they found that beavers had cut the tree and nothing could be found of Spotted-rabbit but a looking-glass deposited with his corpse.¹

HALF-SHAVED HEADS.

Pretty-enemy, a woman, said that long ago the Foxes would punish a woman who re-married after her husband's death by taking away all her property. On one occasion the second husband got angry, and organized an opposition party named the Half-Shaved Heads (*itsū'sa tsiricū'tse*). This name referred to the shaving of the head with the exception of a central

¹ When my informant had been a successful war leader, he was named for the Crazy Dog Spotted-rabbit.

ridge. The Half-Shaved Heads wished to stop the maltreatment of women by the Foxes. They made crooked willow sticks wrapped with willow bark, for they had no otterskin then. This took place before the acquisition of horses. A Half-Shaved Head stole the wife of one of the Foxes; thus there started a feeling of rivalry in the matter of wife-stealing, for the Half-Shaved Heads were the predecessors of the Lumpwoods, which name they afterwards assumed (see p. 164). In early times the stolen woman was made to straddle a stick instead of a horse, and a dance was performed by way of celebration. The two rival parties decided that thereafter they were not going to abuse women as the Foxes had done, but would steal each other's wives. Big-snake and Old-dog also identified the Half-Shaved Heads with the Lumpwoods. Another informant considered the Half-Shaved Heads as an originally quite distinct society; but in fighting against the enemy the Lumpwoods noticed their bravery and asked the Half-Shaved Heads to unite with them, which they did. Previous to this union the Half-Shaved Heads had carried coup sticks instead of the straight and hooked-staffs of the Lumpwoods.

Bull-chief said this society existed before he was born. The members did not really shave their hair. When dancing they would circle round in one direction, while their two leaders moved about inside the circle in opposite directions to show that they were not afraid of the enemy. They, or some other officers, carried hooked-staffs wrapped with otterskin.

MUDDY MOUTHS AND LITTLE DOGS.

Several informants, such as Lone-tree and Fire-weasel, simply identify the Muddy Mouths (í'í cipíε) with the Little Dogs (micg-íete). Child-in-the-mouth said the Muddy Mouths were subdivided into three groups corresponding to formerly distinct societies: the Muddy Mouths proper; the Little Dogs; and the Crow Owners (see p. 199). Maximilian, it should be noted, mentions the Little Dogs, but not the Muddy Mouths, as a Crow society. This confirms the view advanced by Sitting-elk and others that the Little Dog society antedated the Muddy Mouths among the Crow, and that the Little Dogs of the River Crow band learned the Muddy Mouth dance of the Hidatsa, afterwards assuming that name. According to Old-dog, the Muddy Mouth dance was confined to the River Crow.

When Sitting-elk was old enough to ride on horseback, the River Crow band, to which he belonged, visited the Hidatsa. They camped in a circle, and towards sundown the Hidatsa chief notified his people that they were going to have a dance in the Crow camp. The Hidatsa came, singing and

beating drums. Some had painted their body black, others their arms, still others the face between nose and chin. They carried warclubs, guns and spears with them. They began to dance. Two men bore round rattles, similar to those employed in the Tobacco dance, with feathers attached to the top. Each of these officers occupied a position at one extremity of the line of dancers. When the singing had ceased, all stood still. The rattlers then began to shake their rattles and walked forward so as to cross each other's paths, singing at the same time. The singers then resumed their chant. When the rattlers wished to put an end to the performance, they simply stood still, without crossing paths. Thus the dance was closed, and the Hidatsa went home. That night the Crow discussed the dance they had witnessed and expressed their desire to own it. Before they departed from the Hidatsa, their hosts accordingly gave them the dance. There were no officers besides the rattlers, nor were any members pledged to special bravery. There were no young men in the society, most of the Muddy Mouths were chiefs or people of distinction. A Lumpwood could not at the same time be a Muddy Mouth. Sitting-elk did not know whether there was an adoption ceremony when a man entered.

Sharp-horn also denies that there were any officers expected to die in battle, saying the organization existed solely for dancing. On the other hand, Child-in-the-mouth says that all members were expected to be brave. Black-bull and Child-in-the-mouth agree that the Muddy Mouths were mostly middle-aged men. Black-Bull says that in dancing the society divided into two equal groups, the members of which stood abreast, facing each other. The two chiefs of the society stood between the two subdivisions with their rattles, and began to sing. Then they danced, passing each other. Just as they did so, every one shouted, and the members also began to dance. Black-bull thought this was an old Crow society; it passed out of existence before the Muddy Hands joined the Foxes,—a little over forty years ago, all the members having died or lost their lives in war.

Child-in-the-mouth saw but one performance of the Muddy Mouth dance, which, oddly enough, he says resembles the Hot dance (p. 200). There was one officer wearing a bearskin belt and carrying a quirt; when the dance was over the performers remained standing until touched with the quirt. There was no special costume for the members; they did not wear very good clothes,—generally donning nothing but red breechcloths. Some carried tomahawks as a token that they had used them to strike enemies, others had warclubs with skunkskin grips. The distinctive paint consisted either of mashed charcoal mixed with ashes or of black mud. It was either daubed over their mouths or put in streaks across the eyes. The Muddy Mouths, like other societies, sometimes acted as the tribal police.

Before one of their dances every tribesman tied up his dogs, for if any dogs pursued them while dancing the Muddy Mouths struck them down or shot them. The fact that the Muddy Mouths sometimes policed the camp was confirmed by another informant.

Nothing is said in the preceding notes relating to the Little Dog society before its adoption of the Muddy Mouth dance. Bear-gets-up, however, said that the Little Dogs had either two or four officers wearing long sashes of red flannel, and two others who carried a board of the length of a man's arm, notched on one side and trimmed with crow feathers. He did not know whether these officers were "doomed to die" and whether they were elected in spring meetings such as were characteristic of most other Crow societies.

The last stage in the history of the Little Dog-Muddy Mouth organization was referred to by Lone-tree. When the members had become few in number, they joined the Crazy Dogs. As the Crazy Dogs were primarily a River Crow society, this confirms the view that the Muddy Mouth dance was peculiar to the northern division of the tribe.

CROW OWNERS.

Sitting-elk said that all the members of this society had died off even before the Little Dogs. When a boy he witnessed one of the Crow Owners' (pě'ratsakè) dances. The performers had their bodies painted red and wore stuffed crows round the neck, the tails of the bird being spread out on the wearer's shoulder. The men were all elderly but not very old men.

Fire-weasel, though older than Sitting-elk, said that the Crow Owners had disappeared long before his time. His wife had heard from her grandmother that a Crow Owner carried a long pole with a single eagle feather on the top, while to the center there was fastened a string of crow feathers perforated for stringing at the butt-end and trimmed at the top. Some members had poles with feathers from top to bottom, others carried crow-feather fans decorated with quillwork. Whether any of these were officers, my informant was unable to tell.

Bull-all-the-time gave the following as a Crow Owner's song:

awáxbiwací'k-ata, diawáxbawíek, bō'wik.

Camp-mates, I want to marry you, I shall come.

The same informant said that the Crow Owners had a herald, officers "doomed to die" who wore sashes, and others who prepared food for the society.

Child-in-the-mouth stated that the Crow Owner society, like the Little Dog, Muddy Mouth, Bull, and Crazy Dog societies, as well as the Hot dance, was derived from the Hidatsa.

HOT DANCE.

It has already been stated that the Hot dance (bā'tawé disúé) was introduced by the Hidatsa about thirty-five years ago and is practised today by four clubs,—the Night Hot dancers, Big-Ear-Holes, Last dancers, and Sioux dancers. At first there was also a group of Day Hot dancers, but it was discontinued and later the two last-named clubs appeared. The dance does not correspond to the Hot dance of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara described by Maximilian, but is identical with the Omaha or Grass dance of other tribes.¹ Dr. Wissler² has pointed out that the Oglala perform this



Fig. 4. Hot Dance House Frame.

dance in a log structure bearing some resemblance to an earth lodge. This type of dance lodge, with modern additions, also prevails among the Crow (Figs. 4 and 5), which confirms what we know of the history of the diffusion of this ceremony among the Plains tribes.

Old-coyote, a Crow from Pryor, gave some information as to the introduction of the Hot dance. When he was a young man, the Crow visited the Hidatsa. One Crow had learned the songs of the Hidatsa Hot dance and sang them. His tribesmen liked the songs very much, and during the

¹ It is, of course, possible that the songs were derived from the old Hot dance.

² Wissler, this volume, 51.

winter they performed the dance without having the appropriate paraphernalia, but following the instructions of the one Crow singer. In the spring they got together in a lodge one day and drew a picture of the "crows," drums, drumsticks, and of the chief and men dancing toward the kettle. This picture they sent to the Hidatsa in care of several men, bidding them visit the Crow. The messengers returned, saying that the Hidatsa would come in the fall with all the regalia. In the fall the Crow moved from Clark's Fork, and a Hidatsa came to herald the arrival of his tribe. The Crow rode to meet them between Clark's Fork and Pryor. The Hidatsa were camped near Red Lodge Creek. The next morning the Hidatsa agreed to give all the regalia to the Crow. The officers selected



Fig. 5. Hot Dance House at Lodge Grass.

the Crow Indians to whom they wished to give their paraphernalia. The Crow decided to give their visitors in return about 600 horses and some other property in addition.

A Reno informant derived the dance from the vision of a young man who was fasting for four days by a lake. At last a crane came toward him, made a crane-head stick and a belt of coyote skin, turned into a human being, danced, and instructed the visionary. The young man brought back the crane-head stick and it has since been used in the Hot dance. During the feast two young men dance up to the kettle containing dog meat (see p. 203) and dip in their crane-head sticks to symbolize eating. One of these sticks is illustrated in Fig. 3c. As the Hot dance is undoubtedly of Hidatsa

origin, the Reno informant must have meant either that his visionary was an Hidatsa or that he was a Crow who merely added some special features to the dance.

From Scolds-the-bear I obtained the following account of a Hot dance performance as practised at the period of its introduction.

When the members wished to have a Hot dance, one man beat a drum three or four times in succession, while the others merely sang. Then the first drummer would rise and say, "Let us have a dance tomorrow." The two dance chiefs, who always sat in the center of the rear, called for the crier and bade him select two men for the office of killing and cooking two dogs for the next day's dance. They also requested the crier to call ten officers to cook food for all the people. Ten others were named who were not regular officers. These were to form a ring of cloth goods and to lend what property they could for the festive occasion. The crier made this announcement: "I am going to announce the dance four times to-morrow. If any one enters after me, I shall make him prepare the dog the next time" (as a punishment).

The next morning the crier rose at daybreak and called for the ten officers to put up cloth and prepare the lodge. They did and planted a long lodge pole with a flag in the center. The second time the crier shouted: "Take a bath and comb your hair!" The third proclamation was: "Paint yourselves and put on your best clothes!" The fourth time the crier said: "Go to the ring where the dance is to take place." After the last announcement the crier waited outside for a fairly long time, then he entered the site. The drum used was held sacred and at first only two special officers were allowed to touch it. One of these held as an emblem a drumstick decorated with feathers and ribbons. The crier had the privilege of punishing the ordinary members, but not the two drum men. After the two drummers had hit the drum four times, the singers sat in a circle round the drum and were then permitted to hit it. The drum was made by the Indians; its head was of deer hide or horse hide. The dancers came in and suspended the dance regalia from the lodge poles: two whips, eight "crows", and two buffalo horn headdresses topped with eagle feathers and decorated in front with weasel skins.

The first song sung was a signal for the officers to take down the suspended regalia. They danced round the pole three times and then took down the regalia. After the dance they gave presents to any one they pleased. The second song was for the chiefs, who followed the example of the other officers. The third song was for the crier alone. The fourth song was for the drummer, the fifth for the drumstick-owner. Each of these got up and danced. Four women had been appointed to sit near the drum

and help in the singing. A song was sung for them, but the women merely gave away presents without dancing. The next song was for all the officers, who rose, danced, and gave away presents. The chiefs next bade the crier announce that the rank and file might dance. Two whippers now took positions at opposite ends of the dance ground and struck anyone with their whips that did not dance. If, however, they made anyone bleed, they gave him a horse.

The dog-killers put the kettle with the dog meat near the entrance. The crow-wearers sat down, one of them in front of the others. The first song was sung four times. During the singing of the first four songs the crow-wearers merely swayed their bodies. At the fourth song they rose, danced backwards, and finally approached their crows with out-stretched hands. When near them, they made an upward motion. They danced four times to the same song, and then girded on the crows. They danced to the side where the dog was lying. Three times they danced toward the dog, the fourth time they passed by it, the last man picking up the kettle, lifting it, and circling it round four times before laying it down. The man who sat in front of the crow-wearers held a plate. Another man, called the "dancer-toward-the-meat," danced and put the meat into the plate. The meat-dancer and the plate-holder took each one of the dog heads and put them in two different places. Each of these men was considered the head man of one of the two quartets of crow-wearers. These two selected four renowned warriors each. These warriors were not supposed to eat, but merely sat there. Then the food-distributors first served the selected men and officers, and then the other people. In distributing food they started from the drums. Everyone received his share, but no one ate. One officer, the "feeder," had a sharp-pointed stick trimmed with bead-work, from the end of the handle of which eagle tail-feathers were hanging down. The plate-holder, after completing his work, returned to his seat with the plate and was the first to eat. Then followed the "feeder," who swayed his body three times in accompaniment to his song, and rose to dance at the fourth intonation of it. Towards the end he suddenly ceased to dance with the cessation of the drumming and pointed his stick towards the north. As soon as the drumming was resumed he began to dance again as before. When the drumming ceased again, he pointed his stick westward. The third time he danced toward the north, and at the end he went toward the center and pointed the stick toward the east. Thus he moved round in a circle, covering one quadrant of it during each song. He came straight to the dog and made a motion over it with his stick. He broke off a morsel of the dog meat, impaled it on the stick, pointed it at the four quarters and gave it to the plate-holder to eat. Next he broke off another

morsel and gave it to another dancer. Then he took other morsels and gave them to the two chiefs. He served each of the officers in the same manner. If any of the men had had sexual intercourse the previous night, he would not take into his mouth the morsel offered. The feeder would take such a man into the middle of the ring, where the people clapped hands and jeered at him. Formerly, such men would not even wear the "crows," but merely carried them in their hands. The plate-holder rose and walked up to one of the eight selectmen. He said, "I have put these men here because they are renowned for doing such and such a deed. That is why I have given them dog food to eat. Now you may all eat." Then all the members began to eat.

After the feast the eight renowned men had the dogs' skull bones laid down and danced toward them, at the same time imitating exactly the part they played in battle. Then they all stood in a row, and each in turn recounted his deeds. When the chiefs wished to stop the dance, they expressed their thanks to the crowd, the people responded, and at this the dancing ceased. One of the crow-wearers had the prerogative of leading out of the dance ground. This man put a blanket near the door. Four times he danced toward it, the fourth time he passed out, picking up the blanket.

The chief dancers held their offices for about a year, though sometimes for a longer period. A meeting of all the officers would be called. Then someone would say, "Now we will give up our regalia, and do you others do likewise." The next time a dance was held the two crow-wearers were appointed to pick out new officers. The rank and file did not know anything about it beforehand. Then all the officers resigned their regalia and whatever else pertained to their offices.

Child-in-the-mouth gave a somewhat different list of officers from Scolds-the-bear's: two leaders; two men with big drums; four crane-stick bearers; eight crow-wearers; two criers; two pipe-fillers; one man for singing the last song; four women to help in the singing; two whippers; two men wearing war-bonnets; two men with long sticks trimmed with feathers from top to bottom; one man with a stick representing a fork wrapped with beads and with a scalp at one extremity; one flag man, whose flag is hoisted on a pole; and one man wearing a red-fox skin round the neck. The man with the forked stick dances first before the distribution of food and dips his stick into the bucket with dog meat, then the four brave men lick off his stick, whereupon he orders all the other members to eat. One of the eight crow-wearers who has been wounded in battle goes out ahead of the rest at the close of the dance. The crane-sticks were supposed to be carried in battle to strike enemies with.

Additional data were furnished by Gray-bull. Originally there were but four crow-wearers, but now there are eight (at least in Lodge Grass). The other officers were: two men wearing war-bonnets; one with a pointed ceremonial wand; one herald; one whipper; one pipe-bearer; one drummer; and one man with an American flag. The two head men (= bonnet-wearers?) decide when a dance is to be held and give away each a horse. When the society parade through camp anyone who feels inclined will give away the gelding he rides. Then they go into the dance lodge. It is compulsory for everyone to eat a little dog meat. After a certain time the door of the lodge is shut and no one may leave the dance ground except those who were at one time shot in battle. If these lead out, the rest may follow, otherwise a fine must be paid. In case of physical necessity the head men may give permission to a person to go out. Any officer may give away regalia at a dance, thus "adopting" the one to whom they are presented. The women singers may also "adopt" their successors by resigning in their favor. The one adopted pays gifts to the adopter, aggregating possibly \$100 in value.

I now add a few observations of my own. One late afternoon during Fourth of July week (1910) I saw a procession of men dressed up, who passed from lodge to lodge, planting a stick in front of each one. This was explained to be a requisition of food for the Hot dance feast. Gray-bull said the custom was called *tsi'rukape* (cf. p. 189) and was copied from the Sioux. It had nothing to do with the Bull society of the Crow. On another occasion all members of the four clubs were expected to participate in a Hot dance. After a summons four marshals were appointed, one representing each club, who were to punish the laggards. These were either obliged to pay a fine or were thrown into the creek. My own interpreter, who was working with me at the time, was among the guilty ones, but I pacified the officers by a small gift. One man, I heard afterwards, was actually thrown into the water. The most impressive thing in the Hot dance performance to an outsider is the extraordinary generosity with which property of all kinds is given away to the aged and poor of the tribe, as well as to visitors from other tribes. Women can be seen staggering away under loads of blankets presented to them and their husbands. Horses are ridden directly into the dance house and presented to old people. In 1910 I saw one man take off all his clothes but the gee-string and give them away in the presence of a large crowd. In former times this was also the occasion for "throwing away" wives.¹

As now performed, the Hot dance is sometimes made to alternate with

¹ See Lowie, (a), p. 223.

a squaw dance of quite recent introduction, the Owl dance (pō'pēte disúε). Gray-bull thinks it came from the Mandan and Arikara, but probably it was, as others assert, borrowed from the Cree. It is practically identical with the *kwā'pakin*, which the Lemhi Shoshone derived from the Cree about twelve years ago, except that partners do not pay each other for dancing. As seen in Sheridan, Wyoming, in 1907, the Owl dance was performed in the following way. At first the men and women sat on the ground. Several men in the center of the dance ground began to beat small hand-drums. Then a woman went about, whipping first the women and then the men by way of admonishing them to rise and dance. The women formed a circle and at first danced by themselves. Then some man would select one or two partners, placing his hand round her or their waists, while his partners clasped him in the same way. The general motion of the dancers was a clockwise glide, but a few dancers formed an arc of a smaller circle concentric with the larger one, and moved in a contra-clockwise direction, facing the dancers of the outer ring.

CLOWNS.

The clowns (*akbi'arusacariða*¹) are not permanently organized among the Crow and are not at all connected with the system of military societies. Nevertheless, I give the data obtained on the subject in this place in order to facilitate reference for comparative purposes.

The clowns' performance can nowadays be seen once a year, during the week of the Fourth of July celebrations; formerly it took place in the spring. While attending a Tobacco adoption ceremony at Lodge Grass on July 3rd, 1910, my attention was called to a disturbance outside. Two men were dashing through camp dressed as clowns and riding a horse appropriately caparisoned. They were followed by the younger men. I was told that the clowns did not go through the customary performance, because the spectators had identified them.

The man who takes the initiative in the arrangement of the performance bids his friends meet in the brush, bringing with them gunnysack, mud, and leaves. They make leggings of gunnysack and one-piece shirts with an opening for the head. Mud is used instead of body-paint. A mask is made out of cloth, slits being cut for the eyes and mouth, and is blackened with charcoal. There is only one face to this mask.² The nose is sometimes fashioned out of mud and stuck on, at other times it is simply marked with charcoal. When the clowns have disguised themselves so as to be quite irre recognizable they leave their hiding-place and approach the camp.

As soon as the people catch sight of them, they cry, "The *akbi'arusacariða* are coming!" The clowns walk as if they were lame and act as clumsily as possible, so that the spectators cannot refrain from laughing at them. The people crowd in on the performers to watch their antics. One of the clowns is dressed up as a woman, wearing a fine elk-tooth dress; he is obliged to walk, talk, and sit like a woman, and is stuffed so as to simulate pregnancy. Among the clowns there is a singer who has been provided with a torn drum, the worst that could be found. The songs may refer in jocular fashion to the rivalry of the Fox and Lumpwood societies, the following being a sample:

"*İexuxke itsi'ra xıce, itsi'ra xıce.*"

"Foxes' feet broken feet broken."³

¹ As nearly as I can analyze the word, it seems to mean "woman-impersonator."

² The Assiniboine clown masks are two-faced.

³ This is the translation given in my notes. Though the meaning is not quite clear to me, I should now suppose the translation to be "The Foxes' horses have swellings" (on their feet?).

The clowns attempt to make fun of any one they like, regardless of his distinction, because everyone is laughing at them. The spectators try to identify the actors and to inform one another who they are. Then the clowns act like monkeys. They talk to one another in whispers and bid one another dance so as to make the people laugh. In addressing the crowd they disguise their voices. As soon as they see the singer pick up his drum, they walk about, preparing to think up some antics. The singer takes up his drum as if to beat it, but merely rattles it, at the same time heaving a grunt. The impatient onlookers cry out, "Dance, we wish to see you dance!" The clowns have prepared willow bows and arrows, or worthless old firearms, with which to frighten the people while dancing. When starting out on their expedition, they have selected and abducted the ugliest horse, crooked-legged and swollen-kneed, that they could find. Ugly as it is, they have tried hard to enhance its unattractiveness by turning down its ears and tying them with willows, plastering its face with mud or masking it, and putting gunnysack leggings on its legs. Slits are made in the mask for the eyes. The owner of the horse does not know it has been stolen until he sees it in the public performance, where it appears ridden by the "woman," who sits behind another clown. This rider with his arrow or gun motions to the spectators, signaling to them not to press too close but to keep their distance. Usually the people heed these admonitions, which are seconded by the "woman." When the drum is finally beaten, the clowns scatter, each dancing as ludicrously as possible. After a while the drummer gets excited and throws his drum away on one side and his drumstick in the opposite direction. He then begins to dance all alone without any music. When his companions see him acting in this fashion they likewise recommence to dance without drum or chant. Finally all the performers stop except one clown who refuses to cease dancing and thus attracts the attention of the spectators, who cry out, "There's one dancing still!" The other clowns turn around. Then the horseman bids his companion dismount and dance, but "she" refuses and clings to her partner, who becomes enraged and pushes her head, whereupon she gets down and begins to dance. Her companion now makes preparations to dismount, but purposely falls off and pretends to be badly hurt. After a while he dances with his weapons, then he proceeds to get on horseback again, but intentionally overleaps so as to fall, and again acts as if seriously injured.

Some wags in the audience are in the habit of asking questions and making such remarks as, "These fellows must have come from a great distance." The clowns answer by means of signs that they have come from very far indeed and are tired out as a result of their journey; some-

**Fig. 6. Clown in Full Costume**

times they say they have come from the sky. Then some one may ask, "How many nights did it take you to get here?" By way of reply the clown begins to count up to hundreds and hundreds, and would never stop were it not for the drummer, who seizes him by the back, saying, "You are mad, you do not know where we have slept." Then he throws him down. The clown pretends to fall headlong, but stops after a while, and begins to



Fig. 7. Boy in Clown's Disguise.

laugh. In fact he pretends to die laughing and kicks his feet up in the air.

When all the clowns are tired, they decide to leave. The horseman then attempts to clear the way for them, but the spectators shout, "Dance some more!" At first he refuses, but they cry, "For the love of your wife behind you, dance!" Then he bids the drummer sing again, and the dance

recommences. After a while they make an effort to get away, the rider driving away the audience, but there is such a crowd that they can only go about 50 yards. Here they are obliged to halt and repeat the performance. About every 50 yards they are obliged to dance again. They go the full length of the camp until they reach their starting-place, but it takes them a long time. Little boys, as well as older ones, crowd about, trying to identify the performers and pelting them with dung. While the outsiders are being held off by the horseman, the clowns make a run for the thickest part of the brush in order to prevent recognition, doff their costumes, dress in their usual clothes, scatter in all directions, and at last slink back into camp.¹

For the account just quoted I am indebted to *Prairie-Gros-Ventre*, who takes a prominent part in these proceedings. He purposely omitted as tending to discredit his people a feature, which in the olden days figured very conspicuously. This deficiency was supplied by *Crane-bear*: *Equiti magnum ex salicis cortice et luto membrum virile effictum esse, illum cum "muliere" cum ex equo desiluisset in terram prostrata apud vulgi risus coire simulasse; mentulae fictae longitudinem intervallum inter carpum et cubitum aequasse.*

Fig. 6 shows *Prairie-Gros-Ventre* posing in a clown's costume after painting his body with mud. He is wearing a canvas mask and is holding up a mock shield. In July 1911 a group of young boys dressed up as clowns one afternoon and rode to the dance house, where a performance of the Hot dance was going on. They dismounted, entered, and, to the amusement of the spectators, began to dance. In Fig. 7 one of these clowns is shown as he appeared just outside the dance house.

¹ I am not sure to what extent all the details of the performance described above are still observed.

TEXTS.

I.

kambíawukusā't miri'tsè ícirucdùt, maraxíce íexuxke acē' rū'pet
In the spring willows when they can peel, the Lumpwoods the Foxes tents two
frutsik·èk. àcg·ewúen maráxxici'ruk. miri'tsèc cōpgā'cēt dāpáxek
they would fill. Inside the tent they would sing. These willows four they cut

arū'iruk. kōn dū'cirùek, dū'pet ū'pē' cik·úpiek, dū'pēt maratátse
and would bring. Then they peeled, two ends they would crook, two straight

díeruk. karakō'wí'ot isā'ke ícō'pum biríen awā'tek, í'ptse āwō'ríek.
they would make. When they had done, old men four at the door sat, a pipe
they would fill.

isā'kce amaé' tsirè'te tsitsí'riruk. ō'pec kararáxiōt, isā'kce ar'ítse
Young man foolhardy they would hunt. Tobacco when they lit, young man brave

ā'rí'ek. ō'pí'tse wí'ot, "sā'pe?" hēt. "basé' k·ō'k," hūt. "ē,"
they would take to. To make smoke when they wished, "What?" he said. "The lead-
er this is," they said. "Yes,"

hak. ō'pec ícít, kurutē'k. ihēt a+í't. "ē," hak. ku' ícít'k.
he would say. The tobacco when he had smoked, they took it back. Another he
took it to. "Yes," he said. He would also smoke.

hēt kan nū'pta basé kō'+iruk. kan nū'pta dí'ut maratátse
Then two leaders they were. Two when they had made, straight sticks

ku'kán ārá'wíiruk. akbarakurē' cí'et akbāō'pí'tse ku cí'ek. isā'kce
then they would begin. The stick-bearer was separate, the one who made to smoke he
was separate. A young man

ō'pí'k·ūt dí'et, "cō'ke k·ō dē'ri?" hūt. "marack·úpe kō bakú,"
when they offered smoke and he did it. "Which will you have?" they said.
"Crooked stick that give me,"

hēk. hēt kū'ot, kurā'k-datsí'k. ihēt ō'pí'k·ut dí'et, "baré cō'ke
he said. Then when they had given, he hold it would. Another when they offered
and he did it, "Stick which

k·ō rē'ri?" hūt. dās batsā'tsit, maratátse k·ō karí'k. hēt
do you wish?" they said. His heart if it was strong, straight stick that
he asked for. Then

ku' kū'ōt, ku' kurā'k-datsí'k. hēt hirén dū'pēc ku'kō'tsēruk. hēt
to him they gave it, he would hold it. Then these two the same way did. Then

hirén barēc' dúmatek kōwí'ōt, bā'rū'sek. kōwí'ōt, asā'rek asā'+uc
these sticks they distributed when they had done, they ate. When they had done,
they went out, this lodge

biríekātē ō'kapi'iruōt batsā'tsik. marack·úperek maratátserék
right at the door circle they stood a large one. Crooked sticks and straight sticks

aké bats' áxpek ack·awatsū'duptekō' irū'iruk. hēt ichirexbā'kue
owners with each other on each side of the circle they would stand. Then their
relatives

māpúxte icbarúe ápariē kōm tsitsi'rek fectsi'rek, ārū'ek. hirém
an otter their sticks wrapping that was they hunted for, they bought, they
brought it. These

barē'c kuedaxtsi'ruk. hēt i+acē'reta dise'k; acē'c ari'kecdū'
sticks to them they tied it. Then with them through the camp they danced; the
lodge from which they came out

kākari'ek. karakō' irúek. hir'en maré-i'ck·ue akā'k i'+araxtsi'-
they would go back. Then they stood. Those (former) stick owners (?)¹ with
them honors

wice dútek, hirén hirā'-akēc áxpek ā'sā'+u kuedā'k. bā'rusū'k;
had take them, these who now had them with their lodges to they went.
They ate.

hin'é wapúxtem barē'kuc daxdúec, dúcipek batsúete daxkápiek.
This otter stick to they had tied, they untied, sweetgrass they smoked for incense.

hin'é wapúxtēc i'+ō'riuk. bítsim i'+atā'wíom ku'kō'tū'k.
This otter they incensed. A knife with which they were going to trim they did
the same.

batecúe i'tsik·ā'tbío ku'kō'tū'k. karakō'n i'k·uxatse' tsik·ā'tek,
Awí with which they were going to stitch they did the same. Then each sewed,

ak'atsíec kukū't, barē'c ápari'ek. acg·ewúen maráxūm, ak'-i'+-
the trimmer him they gave back, the stick he wrapped it round. Inside the lodge
they sang the one who with it

araxtsi'wicēc kurā'k tátsk·at i'rise'k. kō'wíek, ari'araxtsi'wice
had honors holds it, alone with it he dances. He has done, the one who had honor
with it

i'+itsiwā'k. hin'e' hirā'kēc i'watsiwakā'kuek, i'sacaraxtsi'wice'
with it recites. This who now had it he prays for him, soon honors have to make (him)

tsēwí'ek. dā kōwí'ot i'k·uxatse asā'rek, akbaráxbasē kuc dúōk.
he wishes. Then when they have done, each one goes out, the first singer to him
they go to.

hēt ō''kapíek, maráxek, maráxek kōwí'ek acē'reta basā'+iruk.
Then they form a circle, they sing, Singing. when they haved one, through the
camp they would run.

hiré basá+upí'k·uec basá+uk. dā karatsi' ō''kapíek disū't,
These first who were offered smoke lead. Then again they form a circle they dance,

mirexbā'ke ík·o watsā'tsik. hirén marack·úperek maratátserék
people look a great many. These crooked sticks straight sticks

akē'c mitác disū't. bí'e ditúe watsā'tsik. kōtā rari'ō acú'pe dí'ut,
owners in opposite directions they danced. Women cheered greatly. In the same
way they continued to do until they got to the end of the dance (?)

kō'wí'ek, ē'tcíreruk.

They had done, they would scatter.

¹ Probably this should be taken with the following syllables, as below: ak'i' + araxtsi'-wicēc, "those who had honors with them."

II.

tsí'ruk'apè araxúa 'tse kō iri'-awax bitsiwē'wik. ì'repasúe
 Bull-owners' society that you with I shall talk about. First they (?)

araxúa'tse kan dí'o-wasè batsí'rekapù'k isā'kce amá+isā'terek ama'-
 society when they made first they picked out young men the old ones the

íeterek ar'ítse karakō' dí'uk. dā'acō'rindek hawō'tsiēt dici-wí'ot,
 young ones the best thus they did. Sometimes at night when dance they wished,

ō'otsiec dici'iruk. birē' isí'ek kōn disū'k. mirexbā'ke ík·awí'ō
 that night they would dance. Fire large they made, there they danced. People
 to see wished

matsā'tsik. tsí'ruk'apè disúe ítsik'ícik. disúe hawátatatsikā'atek.
 very badly. Bull-owners' dance was funny. They danced not very often.

ít dicirú'sue kuká hin'é birēc ka-mirexbā'ke matsā'tsik. birē
 Before they would dance already (?) this at fire people many. Entrance

sá'tsēruk. hēt ka-maráxut bik·ukū'iruk birē'xe ditúe xíesa-ratsí'k.
 they would make. And when they sang we would hear drums sounding plainly very.

kukā'ken wirexbā'ke íwatsísaruk. hēt birē'xe ditúa dō'cxarawít
 Then people would be anxious. Then the drum sound as it came nearer and
 nearer

kanwí'watsísaruk. birē' arasā'cie dí'ut awákuut. hin'é bā'a'ká'acēc
 we would be anxious. Fire glare when they came within, we looked. This great
 crowd

mā+irírettā'riek ká'+iruk. dā hin'é birē' arasā'^aciēc dí'ot,
 very silent would remain. ? this fire where the light was when they had come,

ō'wopi irū'ok. hēt icbasā'+u dū'pte karahē're isā'kce ama+é'-
 a square (straight line) they stood. Then their leaders two among them young
 men the

tsirētḡā'ace. karakō' rū'pēt icbasē'ruk. basē' irū'pte xaxúe
 foolhardiest. Then these two were their leaders. Leaders two all over

ū'karitsí'ruk. icḡ·akéo kurē'eruk. bicē' ā'^acū'e í'sarek dúxtūt,
 were painted with white clay. Their lances they would hold. Buffalo heads and
 faces they stuffed,

irū'pte tsici'ruk. hin'é áxiōc awā'tut, hirén icbasā'+uc dū'pte
 both would wear them. These members when they were all seated, these their
 leaders both

kuk awā'tsisā'ruk. bicē' tsí'se icísa kúEn áxarū'ot tsí'sue tátakā'+-
 would not sit down. Buffalo tall their rump in the middle they stuck it the tails
 straight

iruk. hawē'se kuk bicē' ā'acū'ō tsisū'k. ismína'tùe kurā'+í'ruk,
 they would be. The rest buffalo horns they wore. Their shields they
 would hold.

is'ū'wutbarāxa+u ā'apa. tsī ham ō'xkape kō tsise'k. icg-akéo
their guns also. Sometimes some war-bonnets wore. Their lances

wíciruk. dā disū't cu'pā' irū'iruk. hin'é cu'pā' irū'oc, hère ham
they would have. When they danced, four times they stood up. This four times
while they stood, among them some

birë' kuc bā'+e'k-ukuts kī'iruk. ārá i'tsexō' birë' ā'xa kandi-
toward the fire would act war deeds. Until the fifth time the fire round they

cī'iruk, hēt kuk kan birë' ā'axe i'k-uxpa ā'kū'iruk. hēt táxekut-
would dance. And — fire round in a circle they kept going. And when they
shoot.

kan, kō'mnēti'iruk; bā'+ē'k-ukotskūerek, nū'pte kar'i'waxkōt'buk.
it never ceased; they acted as if in war, both ways we did.

andisúe tsi'ruk'apē bā'+i'ire hē'ren akbā'ē'k-ukotskē'ec itsiwē'eruk.
Where they danced the Bull-owners at any time, among them those who acted their
deeds they would tell about them.

kar'i'waxkōtū'k andisúe.
Thus they did where they danced.

III.

íExuxpec kō marū'usā'+u micg-é warā'axe kararē'wa'tse
At the Old Agency there they were distributing goods, Dog Crazy I knew

wasákōk. karawā'tue itbā'rumatsesā'+u, isā'kce itsi'rakinē'k.,
first. They were seated before the distribution, a young man was riding a horse,

isā'ace ērē'tiek, isā'ckī'ritse isi'puxē'k. karakō'n birē'rem hirā'
his blanket he held by his stomach, his quirt he made his rattle. Then into the
circle he came, now

micg-é warā'axe awákak. karakō'm maráxim awúeta rēm. "Sapé?"
Dog Crazy I saw. Then he sang inside (the circle) he went. "Who is it?"

hūm. isā'kce icū'ce xícēc, ū'wōk, bā'+ō'ritsik. cē'wíek, i'k-ōtsē'k.
they said. The youth's knee swollen, he had been shot, he was envious of others.¹
He wished to die, that is why he did it.

karakō'n awákurē'tk. dē'ra á'pam icbá'itsi'tsē'k. hū'm matsā'tsk.
Then for a while we did not see him. Then one evening his clothes he put on
He came powerful.

àck-ōtá wirexbā'ke awákawíawum matsā'tsk. karakō'n is'i'ipuxe
The whole camp the people we wanted to see him very much. Then his rattle

hirén i'warapō'xiucē kō ríek, awúe marukā'te kō ríek. xawúem
these baking-powder cans of those he made it. inside beads that he made it.
It rattled

¹ Because he could not go out afoot on war expeditions with other young men.

matsā'tsk. isā'cg·e íextsuwatè í'ta àratsirí'awicè, ítsi'g·ā'k isā'cg·e
very much. His horse's bridle ? fine chains had, he put it on. His horse

ba+ē'+i í+acísak. ictáxiē ihē'rep pēri'Ek hūk. is'í'puxe
what it has on on account of that, they cannot see it.¹ His gun in his belt ? he came.
His rattle

tsi'suxpe ctsirē'exe í'tsi'tsē'k. í'wirexbā'ke icíē ríEk, axíē nū'wire
end of the tail yellow (light) he put on (for a wrist band). He himself his wig made,
forehead little braids

ríEk. íexbúete ríEk. íexbúe bāre+axí're ítsi'g·ā'k. bapā'cem
he made. His earrings he made. His earrings shell he put on. Necklace

ā'píEk ítsi watsā'tsk. isā'cg·e hícim ísé tsíEk, awé tsik·ē'
he put round his neck handsome very. His horse red (bay) bald-faced, the ground
it pawed

watsā'tsk. awákūm, àck·ōtá icítsium. dē'ra acē'reta rem, maráxEk
mightily. We saw him, the whole camp liked him. Then through the camp he
went, singing

hū'm, is'í'puxe xatsíEk hū'k. baré arā'xtek iri'wat bakarā'k.
he came, his rattle swinging he came. We did not know he talked crosswise.

hūk. batsém hirén, "dicísatā'rí" hēm. acím biríen í'k·uxpí'k.
He came. Man this, "Do not dance!" he said. Lodge at the door he dismounted.

karakōn isā'kcem, ísakumém, karakō'n maráxik·, birē'xe hiríate
Then the young man, his drummer, then sang, a drum, like this

kurā'k, maráxik·. dicí'k. "bí'tsire ci'k·ā'tbik·. bacbí'ewak,
he held, he sang. He danced. "I will test myself. I want to die,

kō'otdaxù cō'otdek ē'wa'tsē'wik·." itsā'aken awásō'pík. "ít'sí'c
right whether or not I will know." At his foot down he shot. "It is well

dā'tsik·." hē'tseruk. bí'ē icítsium matsā'tsk. a'patatse dici'k·.
I think," he said, it is said. The women liked him very much. Every evening
he danced.

Apsā'ruke: rúatuk, maráxik·. xaxúE karíciūt, acē'reta maráxEk
The Crow moved, he sang. All camped, through camp, singing

dēk·. kā'rik·ā'te ditúE watsā'tsk. ō'otsiēt maráxtatsík·.
he went. The old women cheered him mightily. At night he always sang.

bā'akurē'wium, micg·éx kūm. íextlè ítsi'gāk, itsí'raKinè'k·. batsé
When they wished to hunt, they regarded him as a dog. His sashes he put on, he
rode a horse Men

xaxúe batsē'rā'+uk, bicē' dapē'wí+uk. arū'ute kō í'wakurē'wíuk.
all to hunt went, buffalo they wished to kill. Arrows that they wished to hunt with.

micg·é warā'axec k·ō'tpā'k, dēk. hirém micg·é bicē'tsirè ík·ak,
This Crazy Dog hallooed, he went. These dogs cattle when they see,

¹ His horse's trappings were so extensive as to cover it completely.

kuc basā'irūec, k-ōtsē'k. bicē' a'napī'uk, bā'hawáxuk. isā'ck-ue
toward them are went to run, thus did he. Buffalo many they killed. They butch-
ered. Their horses

átsipē+uk. acē' ici'um, maráxek acē'reta rēk. dé'ra tsirā'kcem
they packed. The people they pitched tents. Singing through camp he went. Then
next morning

dū'atum, arasá'tem kō riwaci'um. isā'kcem isā'cg-e xapi'Ek.
they moved, a couléé there we camped. A young man's horse was lost.

ari'Ectsi'k. anáce kuc dēk. anáce hē'rin acbā'+ihē' ík-ak.
He went back. The old campsite to it he went. Old campsite in enemy he saw.

karā'k. pacík. isā'cg-e karā'k. ā'ware'k acē' hik. "acbā'+ihē'
He ran away. He fell off. His horse ran off. A foot camp he came to. "The enemy

anáce k-ōrū'k," hē'tseruk. karakō'n kus'ū'watum. Apsā'ruke
old campsite are there," he said, they say. Then they (the Crow) charged them. Crow

isā'kce kōcdakā'tem batsi'+uk. batdapē'wī+uk. kurū'm
young men several fought, they wished to kill each other. They chased

ā'ck-ā'tem awúen minaxtū'k. micg-e' warā'axec karahí'k. cé'wī'Ec.
them into a gully (?) inside fortifications. This Crazy Dog got there. He wished to
die.

minaxtsé ā'kakā'te hí'Ek, awús'ōoxpim, karakō'n dapi'uk. kō'otā
Fortifications to the edge he got, he shot in there, then they killed him. Then

xarā'k í'k-ecik-ā'cik. micg-é warā'axe bimbúen mā'tsik. ō'otsiEc
it rained violently. The Crazy Dog in the water lay. In the night

k-ō'mātse ā'ā'cik. tsirā'kce bū'rabí'um. bimbúen mā'tsik.
there he lay till daylight. Next morning we came there. In the water he was
lying.

ápariè rī'uk. itsi're arū'ök. dútek itsi're, átsipèok. nakā'+uk.
Wrappings they made. A horse they brought. They took him, on the horse
they packed him. They led him.

í'warari'uk. acē' ari'+uk. acē' xaxúe í'wum matsā'tsk. marē'
They cried all the way. To the camp they brought him Camp entire cried very
much. Sticks

pátuk, kōn dū'usā'+uk. hū'ru cō'pium í'rim pátek, í'extse
they planted, there they laid him. Legs four (a scaffold) a lodge-pole they
stuck in, his sash

kùcdaxdū'k. awítc burū'Etūk, bā'+uk. karakō'n napi'uk.
they tied to it. Without him we moved, we went. That is how they killed him.

icbire'xe hirí'ate kori'ici'uk andū'usā'+u. karakō'wik.
His drum like this they hung where they buried him. This is the end.

SOCIETIES OF THE HIDATSA AND MANDAN INDIANS.

BY ROBERT H. LOWIE.

INTRODUCTION.

The following paper is based on field notes secured during two trips to Ft. Berthold Reservation, North Dakota. The earlier visit (part of August and all of September, 1910) was very largely devoted to the age-societies of the Hidatsa and Mandan, while the second stay (August, 1911) gave an opportunity for checking the information previously obtained. My main object was to gather data that would throw light on the *basis* of the Hidatsa and Mandan systems of age-societies, and so far as essentials are concerned I believe the facts still obtainable are presented in the following description. The Hidatsa data are naturally more satisfactory than those from the Mandan because of the greater number of trustworthy informants. Indeed, though according to the native matrilineal mode of reckoning there are still living a fair number of "Mandan" among the Ft. Berthold Indians, very few indeed are of pure Mandan blood and the younger generations have been greatly influenced by the Hidatsa. Thus, I was unable to get any young person who did not speak Hidatsa better than Mandan, and the Mandan texts were taken down with the aid of my Hidatsa interpreter. More particularly, none of my male Mandan informants had himself advanced beyond the lower societies of the Mandan series, while among the Hidatsa I was still able to gather first-hand information from Poor-wolf on the Black Mouth and Dog organizations.

One difficulty, connected with the mode of presentation adopted in this volume, must be touched upon. The organizations described in this series of papers naturally form but part of a larger whole with which they are organically connected. Without a knowledge of that whole, or at least of related cultural phases, complete understanding of the military societies seems out of the question. This applies, of course, to the Oglala and Crow no less than to the Hidatsa and Mandan, but the general culture of both of the former tribes is better known and of lesser complexity than that of the Village tribes of the Missouri. From an account of the Hidatsa and Mandan age-societies exclusively it might appear that the ceremonial surrender of wives to sellers of membership is peculiar to these organizations, but here we are in a position to see that what we have is simply the special application of a tribal principle of action (see p. 228). Similarly, the great importance of the father's clansfolk in the purchase of membership

results from the special social relations obtaining between an individual and his father's clan, which appear with equal clearness in the strictly religious and esoteric rites not dealt with in this paper (see p. 226). In other cases, the problems are more obscure. What are the relations to one another of the several Buffalo dances and ceremonies? Is the Goose society primarily connected with a tribal corn ceremony? How shall we interpret the activities of the male singers in the women's societies? Have the Arrikara exerted any influence on the development of the Mandan and Hidatsa societies? These are but some of the most obvious questions that arise, and to which at best only a partial answer is now possible. Fortunately considerable material on various phases of Mandan and Hidatsa culture has already been amassed by Rev. Wilson, the present writer, and others, and the prosecution of further researches in the field seems assured, so that many of the problems will doubtless be solved in the course of time.

It gives me pleasure to express my gratitude to Mr. C. A. Shultis and his family for their kind hospitality during both my visits. To Rev. Gilbert L. Wilson, my predecessor in this field by several years, I am indebted for permission to use his notes taken under the auspices of the Museum, as well as for many practical hints when we met on the Reservation. My principal interpreter was Edward Good-bird, a full-blood Hidatsa. He understands Mandan, though he does not speak it perfectly. He addressed the Mandan informants in his own tongue, and they answered in theirs. Poor-wolf's statements were interpreted by Joe Packineau.

ROBERT H. LOWIE.

April, 1913.

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HIDATSA MEN'S SOCIETIES.

THE HIDATSA SYSTEM.

Although the accounts of my Hidatsa informants differed on a number of points, I secured lists of societies agreeing fairly well with Maximilian's, as shown in the following comparative table. The identification of Maximilian's "Enemies" with the "Black Mouths" rests on the Prince's own identification of this Hidatsa society with the Mandan "Soldiers." So far as the discrepancies in my two series are concerned, it is necessary to note that Poor-wolf gave the societies in the order in which he had acquired membership,¹ while Butterfly enumerated them in what he considered theoretically the proper order.

Mr. Curtis gives a list of societies without regard to their relative rank. His series agrees with mine except that he mentions, in addition to the others, a *mida-itsi'kita*, "Wood-root," organization not referred to by any of my informants. The functions of this body are said to have resembled those of the Black Mouths inasmuch as both were police organizations.²

While the Hidatsa societies resembled the military organizations of the Crow in names, regalia, and certain distinctive activities, the Hidatsa system was radically different in that the societies, as indicated in the table, formed a graded series, membership (or rather ownership) of each society being secured through a simultaneous purchase by one group of age-mates from an older group.

The old men who had passed through all the societies and had no more dances to buy were called "Stinking Ears" (a'ku'xiri'tsi). Wolf-chief added the information that they were also called "Badger society" (awakā'-parū'wa+ī'ri), but on another occasion he declared that the Badger society was not an Hidatsa but a Mandan institution.

Buyers and sellers were regarded as standing to each other in the ceremonial relationship of "sons" and "fathers."³ The purchase was collective inasmuch as all members of the purchasing class contributed to the initial payment, and individual inasmuch as each purchaser, so far as

¹ The only society in his list of which he was not a member is the Kit-Fox organization.

² Curtis, iv, 182.

³ As the terms "father" and "son" recur again and again with this purely ceremonial meaning, they will hereafter be printed without quotation marks. When used for blood relationships, these terms will be accompanied by a qualifying adjective or phrase whenever misunderstandings might otherwise arise.

possible, selected one of the sellers — almost always a clan father¹ — for his ceremonial father, whom he was expected to present with special gifts and to entertain for a certain number of nights prior to the final acquisition of membership privileges.

The choice of a clan father in this connection is explained by the social importance of the relationship between an individual and his father's clansmen. In this respect the Hidatsa resembled the Crow.² Among the Hidatsa a clan father was always treated with reverence and frequently presented with gifts. Before a battle a man would ask his clan father to paint his face and put a medicine feather on his head. The clan father would give personal names to a clansman's son; more particularly would he bestow on a brave clan son the name of a distinguished warrior belonging to his (the father's) clan. Ceremonially, the father's clansfolk played an important part in the performances of the esoteric fraternities. An Hidatsa who wished to perform the Sun dance, or Wolf ceremony, required certain sacred articles, and these he would ask a clan father to provide. Before putting up a sweat lodge in the Woman-Above ceremony, Wolf-chief was asked to offer a pipe to a woman of his father's clan. Thus, the prominence of the father's clan relatives in the purchase of the age-societies is not surprising.

In Rev. Gilbert L. Wilson's notes there is a statement by Wolf-chief that:—

This chosen society relationship continued only for the ceremony of initiation while the son or daughter was taking the society-parent's place.

Thus, my father whom I chose in the Stone Hammers was Deer-head. He was a Midipadi, and one of my band's fathers. I chose him for my father in the transfer of place and rights in the Stone Hammers, especially in the transferring to me of my new-made stone. But these relations ceased the next day after the final night of the ceremony because Deer-head had then ceased to be a Stone Hammer. I still called Deer-head my father, but by this I now meant only my band father.

This statement confirms my own impressions, but I believe a man frequently selected the same clan father for his ceremonial father at successive purchases of societies. There are certainly indications that such was the case among the Mandan (see p. 304).

The fact that an own father's brother or clan brother was addressed as father by the Hidatsa somewhat obscures the attitude of a son to his father after the initiation, but in the strictly parallel case of the women's societies

¹ Member of his own father's clan.

² Lowie, (a), 201.

³ Rev. Wilson's term "band" corresponds to my "clan."

HIDATSA AGE SOCIETIES.

Maximilian (II, 217-19)	Poor-wolf	Butterfly
	1. Notched Stick (miraraxu'xi)	
1. Stone (Wi'wa Ohpage)	2. Stone Hammer (mi'i me+ū'paki)	1. Ditto
	3. Crazy Dogs (macu'ka warā'axe)	7. do.
2. Big Sabres (Wi'rrachischi)		3. Lumpwood (miraxi'ei)
3. Ravens (Haidero'hka-Ächke) ¹		
4. Little Prairie Foxes (Ehchock-Kaichke)	4. Kit-Foxes (i'exoxka i'ke')	2. do.
5. Little Dogs (Wasku'kka-Karishta)		4. Little Dogs (macu'ka kari'eta)
6. Old Dogs (Waschu'kke-Achke)	7. Dogs (macu'ka i'ké)	9. do.
7. Bow Lances (So'hta-Girakscho'hge)	5. Half-Shaved Heads (tsütakirakeū'ki)	5. do.
8. Enemies (m'ah-Ih'ah-Ächke)	6. Black Mouths, or Soldiers (i'i cipl'ε)	6. do.
9. Bulls (Kädap-Ächke)		10. Bulls (ki'rup i'ke')
10. Ravens (Pehriskäike)		8. Ravens (përitska i'ke')

the matter is perfectly clear, an own father's sister or clan sister being normally called not "mother," but "aunt." Says Wolf-chief (again quoted from Rev. Wilson's field notes):

¹ Hairy-coat mentioned a *hē'rerō'ka* society; without determining its place in the series, he mentioned it after the Stone Hammer, Fox, Lumpwood, Little Dog, and Crazy Dog societies, and directly before the Half-Shaved Heads. The native name was translated "Imitators of Crow Indians."

My sister, when she entered the Skunk Women's society chose Crow-woman for her "mother." Crow-woman was a Midipadi, and was therefore my sister's band aunt. During the ceremony of initiating my sister, Crow-woman was my sister's "mother." Yet the next day after the transfer had been completed, if Buffalo-bird-woman met Crow-woman in the village, she would address her not as "mother," but as "aunt."

There were seven Hidatsa clans and they were grouped in two larger divisions or phratries,— the Four-clans and the Three-clans. This grouping, according to Hairy-coat, influenced the initial procedure in the purchase of a society inasmuch as the prospective buyers always offered seven pipes to the group of sellers, the pipes representing the clans. If the members of one of the seven clans represented in the sellers' group refused to sell, the society could not be bought.

One of the features of the purchase which Maximilian emphasizes in his description of the Mandan system, but obviously considers of equal importance among the Hidatsa, is the ceremonial surrender of the purchasers' wives to the sellers. This was carried so far that if a young man chanced to be single, he would make a long journey to some friend in another village in order to borrow his wife for the purpose. The friend would then take his wife with him, accompany the buyer, and make the surrender in his stead. Sometimes three or more wives were offered to the same father.¹ My best Hidatsa authority, Hairy-coat, confirms these statements for his own tribe. A single man, according to him, would borrow a fellow-clansman's wife, as it was customary for members of one clan to help one another in the purchase of an organization by gifts of horses and what not. Hairy-coat also said on another occasion that the Stone Hammers, not being as yet married, would borrow the wives of their older "friends" (see below), but this view remains unconfirmed. From various statements I get the impression that while the buyers of an age-society were expected to offer their wives to the sellers, the latter, for fear of bad luck, rarely exercised the privilege thus granted them. This is concretely illustrated by an incident in the course of a Mandan purchase (see p. 304). One Hidatsa informant, however, thought that fathers did in most cases avail themselves of the offer except when the wife was a relative of his, in which case he would refuse to go outside with her and would pray for both his son and his son's wife in the lodge.

This surrender of wives in the purchase of age-societies seems to be merely a special application of an established custom. Lewis and Clark, as well as Maximilian, refer to this surrender as a feature in a tribal buffalo

¹ Maximilian, II, 143.

ceremony. According to Maximilian, a woman covered only by her robe would approach one of the most eminent tribesmen, stroke his arms from the shoulder downward, and thus invite him to accompany her to a secluded spot. He might avoid intercourse by presenting her with a gift, which, however, was rarely done.¹ Elsewhere Maximilian says that on other occasions individual Indians eager to obtain the blessing of another man before some undertaking would offer their wives in essentially the same manner.² Hairy-coat said that sometimes clan fathers were invited to a feast by their clan sons apart from any purchase, and the latter would then offer their wives to them. Clan fathers who had no special powers to pray as a result of a vision would not go with the women. If a father refused four times, his son would say, "I'll consider you an old enemy," thus making it necessary for the father to yield.

A surrender of wives is also described by Say in the following passage:

We were informed that on some particular occasion, a large enclosure was constructed in the village of the Minnetarees, which was covered with jerked meat, instead of skins. The distinguished warriors who were concerned in the ceremony about to take place, deputed some of their party to summon a certain number of the handsomest young married squaws of the village, who immediately repaired to the meat-covered lodge, with the consent of their husbands. The squaws were then disrobed in the midst of a considerable number of the bravest of the Minnetaree warriors; and after the conclusion of some ceremonies a brave entered, leading by the halter a very fine horse. He selected a squaw, whose beauty struck his fancy; and advancing to her, he laid the cord of the halter in her hand. She accepted the present, and immediately admitted him to her favour. Other warriors appeared in succession, leading horses, all of which were very readily disposed of in the same manner. This ceremony occurred during the day, and in the presence of the whole assembly.³

It is not quite certain whether every purchaser surrendered his wife to a seller, as would appear from Maximilian's data and the statements of one of my Mandan informants (p. 304), or whether, as other native accounts seem to indicate, this offer took place only when some special demand was made of the father, for example, that he present his son with part of his individual medicines.

In addition to the, at least potential, relationship of fathers and sons that normally obtained between adjoining age-groups, there was a relationship between each group and the group directly above their fathers that was not unlike the relationship of our college freshmen and juniors as united against sophomores and seniors. The members of the two groups were

¹ Lewis and Clark, I, 245; Maximilian, II, 266.

² Maximilian, *ibid.*, 181.

³ James, II, 60.

*maki'rukū*¹ E, "friends." The fact that the fathers desired to exact as high a purchasing price as possible resulted in a certain opposition between the interests of adjacent groups. One of the chief functions of a "friendly" group was to aid the buyers in the accumulation of property sufficient to satisfy the sellers. This relationship was mutual, and accordingly obtained not so much between the societies as such as between certain groups of individuals. That is to say, if we denote the societies by letters, society *A*, in buying society *B*, was aided by society *C*. The aided group — then in possession of society *B* — was not *ipso facto* on terms of "friendship" with society *D*, but remained in that relationship with the group of individuals that had assisted them and returned the favor when that group purchased society *D*.

The "friendship" described was not restricted to two groups. None of my informants had reached the highest grades, and it was accordingly impossible to investigate the relationship of classes beyond the first four by an objective statement of each one's relationship of "friendliness" at each stage. However, the native theory on the subject became clear from Hairy-coat's account. Beginning with himself, this informant enumerated ten representatives of successively older groups, viz. (1) Hairy-coat; (2) Kidney; (3) Red-hip; (4) Poor-wolf; (5) Red-kettle; (6) Four-bears; (7) Long-hair-man; (8) Cherry-necklace; (9) Stirrup; (10) Prairie-dog. The groups of *all* those whose names correspond to odd numbers were "friends" of one another; the same applies to the representatives of all even-numbered groups. Hairy-coat further illustrated the matter by arranging a series of five vertical sticks in a row and placing in an upper row, but in the interspaces of the lower set, five other sticks. Regardless of rows, sticks to the right of others then represented relatively higher groups; any stick thus represented the fathers of the next stick to the left, while the sticks in each row together represented all the groups linked by the bond of "friendship."

The members of the women's societies were apparently similarly united in two moieties, which were on "friendly" terms with the two moieties of men's societies; but it proved impossible to determine precisely on what principle certain groups of women became affiliated with certain groups of men.

Buffalo-bird-woman said that as a member of the Enemy Women society she was a "friend" of the female Stinking Ears and the Skunks and would help the former buy the Old Women Society (*kā'ru parū'wa+îri*).¹ Among the men's societies her "friends" were the Bulls, who in her

¹ According to others, this was a secret ceremonial organization not related to the age-societies at all.

day also owned the Half-Shaved society because they had never sold it; the Foxes, and the Black Mouths. On another occasion, however, she enumerated as her male "friends" the Foxes, Bulls, and Stinking Ears. Calf-woman said that the following women's and men's societies, respectively, were mated as "friends": Skunks and Stone Hammers; River Women and Lumpwoods; Buffalo Women and Black Mouths; Goose Women and Crazy Dogs; Cheyenne Women and Little Dogs; Enemy Women and Lumpwoods. Wolf-chief regarded the Stone Hammers, Lumpwoods, Crazy Dogs, Skunk Women and Goose Women as forming one moiety of "friends"; and the Foxes, Small Dogs, Black Mouths, Stinking Ears, and Enemy Women as forming the other. Contradictions in the lists of "friendly" societies are not surprising when we remember that the friendship was not between societies as such, but between certain groups, and that the relative positions of the societies doubtless differed somewhat at different periods (see p. 233). When Buffalo-bird-woman was a Skunk (was buying the Skunk membership?) she was helped by Son-of-star and his group, then Stone Hammers. Red-top at that time was a Lumpwood, and Small-ankle either a Dog or a Black Mouth, and these groups were also her "friends." Later, when Wolf-chief was old enough to buy a society, he and his group also became her "friends." It did not matter what society Small-ankle's, Red-top's, and Wolf-chief's groups bought respectively, Buffalo-bird-woman's group would always assist them.

When, at the sale of a society, one of the fathers received special gifts from his son, he might keep these presents, but it was considered proper to distribute part of them among his "friends." Societies were also wont to send delegations to their "friends'" feasts and dances. Thus, in Wolf-chief's day, the Enemy Women invited the Foxes to their feasts, and *vice versa*.

Sometimes a young man was invited to accompany his "friends" when they bought a higher organization. He would then have the right of participating in the purchase and accordingly in the rights of members of the purchased society. That is to say, he would then belong to a society much higher than that of his age-mates. This seems to have happened to Butterfly, though his statements on the subject are somewhat confused. If I understand him correctly, he was a Fox, but for some reason did not join his mates in the purchase of the Lumpwood society. At a later period he was asked by a "friend" to join in the purchase of the Black Mouth society, which, accordingly, he did. Thus, he bought the Black Mouth membership, selecting for his father a clan father, Plenty-antelope. Having never sold his Fox membership, he was thus at the same time a Fox and a Black Mouth. A perfectly clear statement of a corresponding case was made by Wolf-

chief. Wolf-chief was asked to join Yellow-coyote, a "friend," in the purchase of the Black Mouth membership. They selected Yellow-bear for their common father and feasted him for a number of nights. Finally, he called them, entertained them and presented them with clothes, two flat-boards and head-ornaments with eagle feathers. Yellow-coyote said to Wolf-chief: "You are young, but I asked for your help. I wish you to keep all these things." Wolf-chief was very glad and paid Yellow-bear a two-year-old colt; to his "friend" he gave one of two lances he had received. Wolf-chief considers himself a full-fledged Black Mouth as a result of this purchase. He feels that he should have the privilege to make Black Mouth regalia and to receive pay like other Black Mouths if any other group should attempt to purchase this society.

If the practice just described, of allowing younger "friends" to participate in a purchase, had been at all common, it would of course have obliterated the age character of the societies. Such cases, however, were apparently individual exceptions. Another anomaly, not connected with the "friendly" relationship, occurred in the Bull society, into which it was customary to admit a single very young boy (see p. 291). Apart from these two types of exceptional instances, the feeling of affiliation with one's age-mates in the buying of membership was very strong. Even when, for some reason, a man had not joined in the purchase of a society, there seems to have been a feeling that he ought to belong to that body, though he might not regard himself as fully entitled to membership. Thus, though for some obscure reason Poor-wolf had not participated in the collective purchase of the Stone Hammer society by his age group, he was nevertheless permitted to join them later, make an emblem for himself, and sell it together with his coevals. However, the notion that membership was based on purchase was not absent even in this case, for Poor-wolf spoke with great reluctance about this society, because he felt that both his son-in-law and my interpreter, having acquired membership in the approved way, had a superior right to tell about the Stone Hammers.

The mode of collective purchase of membership by and from age-groups inevitably made the societies age classes. But this objective fact may be interpreted in two different ways. We may assume either that the Hidatsa subjectively conceived all the societies to correspond to definite ages; or that the age of members of a society at a particular period of Hidatsa history was immaterial provided only that they were all age-mates who had collectively acquired membership. If the given correlation between a definite society with a definite age expressed the subjective native point of view, that correlation should of course be permanent. In order that it should be permanent, both the order of entering the societies and the length

of membership in each society should be fixed. Under these conditions, the minimum age of members of the n th society would be determined by the formula $m + a_1 + a_2 \dots a_{n-1}$, where m is the initial age, and a_1, a_2 , etc. represent the length of membership. If the period of membership were constant, the formula would be $m + a (n-1)$. On the other hand, it would not follow from the permanence of the correlation that the societies were at bottom definite age classes; for the subjective attitude of the natives might still be that the association was an incidental one.

Slight derangements of the order are *a priori* highly probable. If a new society were adopted from another tribe, the tendency would be to incorporate it in the series. On the other hand, some societies may be supposed to have passed out of existence through the death of most of the members. Thus, the rank of the societies and the age of the members would tend to vary somewhat in the course of time. It is probable that in a tribe settled in several villages there would be a certain amount of local variation even at the same time. Nevertheless, all such minor alterations would not necessarily affect the age of members when gauged in the rough way customary among Indian tribes. There are, however, facts indicating that more far-reaching changes took place. Poor-wolf, for example, never belonged to the Lumpwood, Kit-Fox or Little Dog societies, yet he was able to enter the Black Mouth and Dog organizations, which are unanimously admitted to have been of high rank in the series. When Hairy-coat's group had sold the Stone Hammer society, they wished to buy the Kit-Fox society, but the members refused to sell. The Kit-Foxes of that period also owned the Crazy Dog society, and accordingly Hairy-coat's group tried to buy *that* society, but again the older group declined to sell, always demanding additional payments. When their offer had been spurned three times, the prospective buyers went to the next older group and bought the Little Dog society from them, thus omitting both the Kit-Fox and the Crazy Dog grades. Indeed, previous to this purchase the sole survivor of the Ravens — Maximilian's oldest society — had offered to sell his membership to Hairy-coat's group, though Hairy-coat was only about 17 at the time.

These instances, and especially the one last mentioned, already indicate the subjective native point of view. If to be a Raven is to be an old man, it is a contradiction in terms to conceive of young boys acquiring the Raven membership. On the other hand, if the sole condition of Raven membership is its collective purchase, then there is no reason-why men of any age whatever should not acquire it. Consistently applied, the principle of purchase as the dominant principle would mean that any age-group might buy any society, and this would occasion an indefinite shifting of rank. Nevertheless, within the historical period the shifting was, after all, limited. The

offer to sell the Raven society to a group of young men was clearly abnormal. The Stone Hammers appear as the youngest or next to the youngest society both in my lists and in Maximilian's, and in general there is considerable agreement as to the ranking of societies. I believe there is no psychological difficulty in supposing that the mere fact of a certain grading having once been established would tend to preserve a definite order except for minor changes due to the causes mentioned. Moreover, it seems plausible that the objective association of a certain society with a certain age, if continued long enough, would retro-actively establish a subjective feeling that the men in some particular society ought to be young men, or men of some other fairly definite age. If the Stone Hammer society was by convention the first to be bought by a group of boys, then the Stone Hammer society would very likely come to be regarded as a boys' organization.

The native attitude towards these societies appears most clearly from an examination of the second condition for the essential correlation of ages and societies. No matter how crude or how refined an age-gradation may be, it is obvious that a man cannot belong to an age grade below the highest for an indefinite period, nor can he at the same time belong to two distinct grades. On the other hand, if membership means *ownership* through purchase, a man can hold membership simultaneously in an indefinite number of societies. Even if the order of entrance were fixed, he might then buy successively, but within a space of time the shortness of which would be determined only by practical considerations, each and every one of the societies and hold them all at the same time. Oddly enough, the breakdown of ancient customs that generally obscures our understanding of primitive life has in this instance helped to lay bare the psychological attitude of the natives. Owing to changed conditions it frequently happened during the nineteenth century that the groups which would normally have purchased certain societies never attempted to do so. The question arises, Did the members of these unbought societies lose their membership with the lapse of time, or did they retain it indefinitely? The evidence secured, which accumulated entirely without leading questions and greatly surprised me, seems convincing. Poor-wolf, at 90, still considered himself a member of the *miraraxu'xi*, which he had joined at 7; of the Crazy Dog society, which he had joined at 20; of the Half-Shaved Head society, which he had joined at 27; and of the Dog society, which he had joined at about 45. Wolf-chief and Butterfly still regard themselves as members of both the Fox and the Black Mouth societies. Hairy-coat still considers himself a Little Dog. Old men could not regard themselves today as members of societies they entered when boys or young men if the societies represented age grades; and this assumption becomes quite absurd when we find the

same individuals claiming simultaneous membership in several organizations. If, on the other hand, membership is simply a matter of purchase, then a man can *own* membership of every society he has ever purchased but which for some reason he has never sold. It is, indeed, the invariable explanation of the Hidatsa themselves that they belong to such and such organizations because they have never sold their membership rights. This point of view coincides absolutely with that expressed by members of the women's societies, and also by both men and women of the Mandan societies.

The view that purchase was at the basis of the Hidatsa-Mandan system explains certain peculiarities in Maximilian's Mandan data. His statement that all the higher classes might at the same time belong to the Soldiers' group¹ becomes at once intelligible. So does the fact that while the Mandan of his time were divided into six dancing societies graded by age, there were two supplementary dances — the Half-Shaved Head dance held by the Soldiers and sold to the Hähderucha-Ochatä before they were old enough to become Soldiers; and the Old Dog dance held by the Bulls and sold to the Dogs before these were permitted to become Bulls.² That the Half-Shaved Head dancers were regarded as forming a distinct society by Maximilian himself is clear from his identifying them with the Hidatsa Half-Shaved Head society.³ What happened in the case described by this author is evidently that a certain group had acquired the Half-Shaved Head membership and, before selling it, had purchased the Soldier membership, thus owning both at the same time. In accordance with the secondary psychological attitude produced by the fact that a certain order had been and was customarily followed (see p. 234), they naturally would sell to the next younger group not their most recently acquired membership but the one they themselves had purchased before obtaining the Soldier membership. The double membership of the Soldiers noted by Maximilian, though in perfect consonance with the system as here described, was accidental and temporary, for of course just as soon as the Soldiers had sold the Half-Shaved Head dance, they were Half-Shaved Head dancers no longer. It had simply happened in Maximilian's day that a particular group had bought the Soldier society before disposing of their Half-Shaved Head membership. A corresponding explanation suffices for Maximilian's Old Dog dance, which is said to have been bought by the Dogs from the Bulls before the former were permitted to become Bulls.⁴ It would have been equally consistent with the native system if each group of age-mates

¹ Maximilian, II, 141.

² Ibid., 144, 274.

³ Ibid., 218.

⁴ Ibid., 144.

had held but a single society, in other words, if there had been eight, instead of six, groups, as there happened to be at that particular period.

To sum up. The Mandan and Hidatsa men's societies were forms of property purchased in a preferential, though not obligatory, order by groups of age-mates, whose constitution remained practically the same at successive purchases. Through this mode of purchase the societies, viewed objectively, became age-grades, but from the native point of view within the period of which we have any knowledge they were primarily not age-grades but purchasable commodities. A question that remains unanswered is why there should have been any grading of the societies at all. As the data from other tribes shed some light on this problem, it will be taken up at the close of this volume.

The historical relations of the Hidatsa societies will also be more profitably discussed in a subsequent paper. At present suffice it to state that the relationship was more intimate with the Crow and Mandan organizations than with those of other tribes.

Certain aspects of the Hidatsa societies not connected with their age character remain to be briefly touched upon.

In the first place, the importance of the religious factor in the Hidatsa men's societies must not be overestimated. There can be no doubt that this factor is more prominent than in the corresponding organizations of the Crow. The Hidatsa origin traditions give much greater emphasis to supernatural revelations than do the purely fragmentary accounts of the Crow; certain of the regalia had a sacred character of their own; and there is in general greater complication of ceremonial observances. Nevertheless, there was probably nothing esoteric about these organizations. After having obtained data on the military societies, one is immediately struck by the change of attitude on the part of a non-Christian native when requested to discuss the medicine bundle performances. Ordinarily there will be an absolute refusal to divulge anything concerning these genuinely religious ceremonies, while even the most conservative Hidatsa speak with great freedom concerning the military societies.

On the other hand, the importance of the military and social factors will become apparent from the description of the several organizations. Police functions were not assumed alternately by the several Mandan and Hidatsa societies as among the Crow, but were restricted to the Black Mouths.¹

¹ According to Mr. Curtis, a Wood-root society of the Hidatsa also exercised police duties (see p. 225).

NOTCHED STICK SOCIETY.

When Poor-wolf was seven years old, he joined the Notched Stick society (*miraraxu'xi*). Together with other boys of about the same age, he bought the privileges of membership from the group of older boys then in possession of them. For twenty nights the buyers were obliged to entertain the sellers. On the twentieth night a ("friendly"?) woman was made to stand up by the sellers; she held in her hand a bundle of willow twigs, painted red at the top and enclosing a central stick of greater length, which was spotted in the middle. This woman danced, and the buyers were obliged to pile up property until the heap reached the woman's forehead. The sellers tried to press down the heap of goods, while the buyers attempted to swell it as high as possible. When the pile had reached the required height, the goods were removed, and the process recommenced until four piles had been accumulated and taken away. The buyers sometimes added a tent in order to increase the height of a pile. Poor-wolf's group was assisted in this purchase by members of some higher group, who considered themselves friends of the buyers. During the twenty nights preceding the consummation of the purchase, the sellers discussed matters with the buyers, and instructed them about warfare and other affairs. The final step was taken when each boy, on the last night, approached an individual of the upper grade, thus selecting him for his father, and presented him, according to his means, with a horse, a gun, or a bonnet. Each novice was free to select whomsoever he pleased for his special father, though the entire group stood in the relationship of sons to the entire group of sellers. The son approached his father and said, "My father, you must give me a feather to tie to my head." The father, if sufficiently distinguished, might fulfil the request himself, otherwise he would call upon a brother of his, who thus addressed the son: "After belonging to the Notched Stick society I did so-and-so." He then tied a feather to the novice's head, told him of a vision received by himself, gave him his own paint, and expressed the hope that the boy would grow up to be an old man and would be successful on the warpath.

At the time of the smallpox, most members of the Notched Stick society died, including Carries-arrows, in whose earth-lodge the meetings were held. Poor-wolf's group never sold the membership to a younger generation, hence Poor-wolf, aged 90, still considers himself a member of this society.

Poor-wolf states that there were two officers: one owning a "male," the other a "female" stick. In apparent contradiction to this, he also

says that both were purchased by Carries-arrows. The "female" stick (arumi'ga) was called *mirarazu'xi*, "notched stick," the musical instrument employed at dances, from which the organization derived its name. An ordinary stick was rubbed up and down the notches. The unnotched side of the *mirarazu'xi* seems to have been encased in rawhide. The "male" stick (arugi'rupi) was called *mira'rū'witsi*, "smooth-stick" (or "snapped-stick?"). At meetings it was smoked with incense of peppermint and pine-needles, and then made to rest on two forked sticks. The incense caused the weather to become foggy, no matter how fine it had been before. For singers, the boys selected three or four of the most competent men among

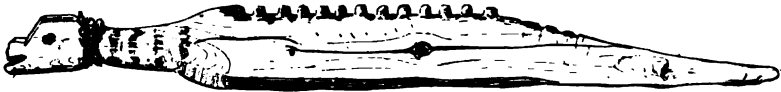


Fig. 1 (50.1-4356). Instrument of Notched Stick Society. Length, 127 cm.

their fathers. When the singing commenced, the boys clapped their hands to their mouths.

Wolf-chief never belonged to this organization, but his father, Small-ankle, was a member in his day, and had described the emblem of the society to his son as a stick about 3 feet long, notched in the upper section. Another stick of ash-wood was employed as a rasp, while a rawhide acted as resonator. The notches on the lower stick represented a snake's backbone. A model that may not be quite accurate, because not made by a member of the Notched Stick society, is shown in Fig. 1.

Buffalo-bird-woman told me that her own father, Small-ankle, as well as his older brother, had belonged to this society. Their sister, whose name was Red, was the singer. This organization was sacred. In buying the society, a great deal of property — robes, quillwork, and eagle feathers — was collected for the sellers, each of whom also had food presented to him on four successive nights. On each of these evenings four songs were sung then the meeting broke up. The fathers had their "friends" come in to share the food brought to them. During these meetings, a fire of dry willows was maintained by the buyers' female relatives. On the fourth night the sellers instructed their sons how to rub the notched stick, which was placed on a pile about 2 feet high so as to be seen by everyone present. It was shaped like a snake, with two horns in front; it also had two front legs and two hind legs. The fathers said to their sons: "This stick has two horns, you must give up two articles." Then two sons rose and laid two articles on the stick. The fathers continued: "It has four legs, give up four things."

Then four articles were added. In similar fashion, one object was added for the tail, and another for the head. During the four days' entertainment there was always a thick fog in the village. This fact is referred to in a song, which my informant remembered hearing her aunt sing:—

“awaci'a raharē'm; cēwā'+its.”

“The haze is continuing; I say so.”

After the period of feasting, the sons received their regalia from the fathers, to whom each purchaser paid a horse, a gun, an eagle feather, or the like. Only one man got the notched stick; he was also the one in whose lodge the members met. Buffalo-bird-woman says that this society originated in Awaxā'awi.¹ The notched stick was always rubbed downwards.

STONE HAMMERS.

Two stories were referred to by Poor-wolf as native accounts of the origin of this society. According to the one rejected by this authority, the society was organized by the mythical hero called Mō'tsawitsi'tsic (Coyote-chief), Ī'tsi'ka-mā'hiric (First-worker), or Itā'xga-dētac (Old-man-never-dies). The approved story refers the origin back to a young man's vision. The spirit appearing to this man gave him a convexly diamond-shaped object (mī'i me + ū'paki). One half was painted red, representing the Sun and his path; the other was painted black, representing the Moon and her trail. The reddened (?) section was further decorated with a half-moon figure, the other by a cross representing the morningstar. The spirit told the dreamer that if he should organize the society, his children should grow up and enjoy good luck.

Wolf-chief gives the following origin legend. One day a young man from the village at the mouth of the Knife River went up-stream to a high hill, which he ascended in order to get a vision there. People had tried to obtain a revelation there before, but the hill had always seemed to them to sink, and they had fled in terror. The young man had heard of the hill, and for that reason he went there. He began to cry, continued doing so, and looked about. The hill did not move at all. In the night he went to the woods to sleep. The next morning he again ascended the hill and acted as before, but the hill did not move. For the night he retired to the same place as before. The third day passed in the same way. On the fourth day, toward sunset, when he was still crying, he heard a loud noise inside the hill. The

¹ The village nearest the Missouri of the three villages on the Knife River described by Maximilian (II, 212).

young man said, "Many young men have come here to get a vision and have run away. I wish to stay in order to see whether I shall get killed



Fig. 2 (50.1-4342). Staff and Hammer of Stone Hammer Society. Length of staff, 164 cm.

or shall get a vision." The noise ceased, and the hill no longer moved. Then the man said, "There is not much danger, I just heard a noise. I think the others who ran away merely heard the same thing." He went homewards. As he passed along the wood he heard some one shouting. Listening and looking about, he caught sight of a *mi'ri atihe'* (a lodge covered with bark and earth) in the wood. He went thither, and saw a group of young men, who seemed to be laughing and amusing themselves. As he approached them, one of them cried out to him, "Come in and sit right down!" The visionary looked round, and saw that all the men present were young. He watched them closely, and noticed that each of the men was holding a stone hammer in his hands. Someone said, "Show the other side!" The visionary then noticed a star. As the young men turned their stones, the visionary observed that a line was cut on them, and he thought, "This is the path on which the Moon and the Star always travel." The same man as before then spoke. "Now, we will show you the stones we carry. These are for a society of young men able to fight the enemy and to conquer them. We know what you are seeking, this is what you have wished for." They sang. Each one shouted, rose to dance, and with one hand raised his stone in any direction. Suddenly the visionary fell asleep, and was as one dead. His eyes were moist; after a while he opened them again, and felt as well as ever. He saw about him a great many little birds. Then he fell asleep as before. When he awoke, he was alone in the woods. Neither lodge nor bird was to be seen. He went back. He had learned what was to be done, and thought he

had seen a great vision. "As soon as I return, I will start the society, so that young men may have the power of fighting against the enemy." He tried to organize the society, but at first he was unable to recall the songs. After a while, however, he had a dream during which he again saw the society and heard its music, and so he re-learned the songs. Then he got all the young men of the tribe together, and founded the organization. No name had been given to the stone in the founder's dream, but he himself thought that as it was of stone and had a handle it should be called "stone hammer." He got a soft stone, cut it into egg-shape, perforated it in the middle, and stuck a five-foot stick through it, so that about fourteen inches of the shaft projected beyond the stone at the top. In accordance with his vision, he left two or three branches on his stick (see Fig. 2).

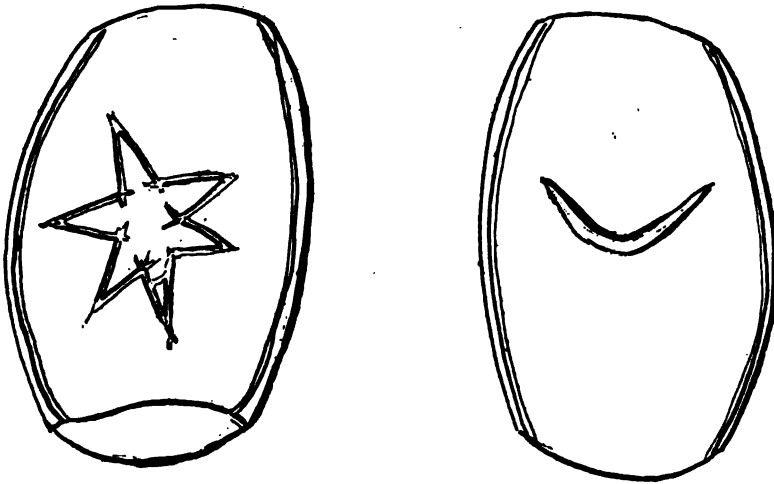


Fig. 3 (50.1-4342ab). Emblem of Stone Hammer Society. Length, 9 cm.

After giving the young men instructions, he said, "Young men, I do this because this stone has the power to make you good men. When you have completed the sticks, bring them back to my lodge. We shall keep them all there to sing and dance with." When they returned with their emblems, he tied young hawk feathers along the sticks. He also marked the stone with representations of the new-moon and the star, and with lines representing their paths (see Fig. 3). Then he wetted pulverized charcoal, and rubbed it all over the stone. He selected some older men for musicians, letting them practise the appropriate songs. At first they had no drum, but merely hit the ground with a stick; later they got a drum.

The visionary said, "I will sing two songs. At the third song, everyone shall get up and dance. Everyone of you sing, but do not dance. When I approach the end of my song, all of you shall shout, for thus I saw it in my vision." Accordingly, after his second song, everyone shouted. He continued as follows, "Now, at my next song, each of you shall get up and dance, raising your emblems in all directions. While you dance, think of being good men and of fighting against the enemy." He sang once more. All the members rose, danced, and raised their stones. After a while they stopped. The dance was performed many times, so that all the members learned to sing and dance properly. The people of the village watched them and thought, "That is a great man, he has seen a great vision." Whenever enemies came to the village, this society always went to the front and struck the enemy with their emblems. Some of the members became noted warriors by repeatedly striking coups in this way. The founder had been instructed never to get older men into the organization. When some of the members got to be about 30 years of age, they were considered too old, and a younger group bought the society from them. All this happened very long ago. Since that time the society was kept up until a few decades ago.

To this narrative, secured in 1910, Wolf-chief added a few supplementary statements when the story had been read to him a year later. He then said that the feathers used for the decoration of the sticks were those of a sharp-clawed species of hawk, that the star side of the stone hammer was painted red, which symbolized the sunrise, and that the moon side was black.

Still another origin legend was given by Wolf-chief's sister, Buffalo-bird-woman. A very long time ago a young man named Gā'riwapi'tec ("Grandson") traveled among the Indians and gave them instructions. Some of the people had small eyes and mouths, as well as webbed hands, all of which he transformed into their present shape. He destroyed man-eaters and other monsters. When he finally returned to the Five Villages, he found that his people had only one miserable society. They were able to sing nothing but the words, "House-hole, sunbeam." Grandson wished to found an organization. His father was the Moon, and he himself the Morningstar, accordingly he made a small egg-shaped stone object, and marked on it himself as a star, and his father as the new-moon. Then he called all the young men together, sang songs for them, and gave to each of them a stone.

A fourth tradition was related by Hairy-coat. When the Hidatsa had become people they did not at first have any dances or other forms of amusement. Some beings dwelling in the sky thought they would descend

and instruct the Hidatsa. There were three of them: the Sun, the Moon, and the Morningstar. They taught songs to the Hidatsa to make them strong, and admonished them not to permit the knowledge of the songs to die out. They had an egg-shaped stone object, perforated and set on a staff. The Sun incised two marks on the stone, filling them with red paint. On one side was a representation of the new-moon, and on the other that of the star; the moon side was painted black, the star side red. The stick was decorated with a collar of red and yellow quill work, with young eagle or young hawk tail-feathers, and with a fancy strip of buckskin, trimmed either with gulls' wings or colored wings. The three deities taught the Hidatsa to dance outdoors in the village, with the singers in the center. The dancers were told to move towards the left. At the third song, they were informed, the villagers would pelt them with stones, but this should serve to make them strong like stones. At the fourth song they were to keep their hands on their backs and then the people would again cast stones at them. On the other hand, the three gods gave the Stone Hammers the right to steal food. Before doing so they must go round the village with a drum and proclaim their intentions, crying, "Hide your food under your pillow and lie on it, for we'll take it." Then people would hide their food but the boys would steal it during the night.

When Wolf-chief was about fifteen, all his friends assembled to buy the Stone Hammer society from the older group then owning it. For four nights, the buyers entertained the sellers. Wolf-chief, for example selected from among the sellers one of his clan fathers, thus making him his individual father, and supplied him with food each night. On the morning following the fourth night, each son was invited by his father, made him an individual payment, and received from him a society emblem. Wolf-chief paid his father a blue blanket, a robe, a big kettle, beaded leggings, and a shotgun. Others made presents of horses. Wolf-chief's father, Deer-head, was very glad to receive the presents, narrated his own vision to his son, prayed in his behalf, and surrendered to him his own war medicine, which consisted of a plume. He said, "Do not fear the enemy, son, bullets shall never touch you. You may also have my own name, Deer-head; your society shall call you by this name."¹ This prophecy was fulfilled: Wolf-chief always tied the plume to his head in battle and was never hit by the enemy. In 1911 Wolf-chief added that only boys having clan fathers in the sellers' group were expected to provide food for an individual father, and that some who had clan fathers were too poor to feast them. In either

¹ Among the Hidatsa names were generally bestowed by clan fathers. When Wolf-chief returned from a successful war expedition, Butterfly, another clan father, dubbed him "Wolf-chief" after a famous warrior of an earlier generation.

case the purchaser did not receive the stone hammer emblem, but was obliged to go to the mountains, get a revelation about the enemy, and then manufacture an emblem for himself, patterning it after those of his more fortunate associates. However, I get the impression from other accounts that these conditions were very unusual. It seems rather improbable that a boy should be unable to find a single clan father in the sellers' company, and as both relatives and "friends" of each purchaser rendered assistance, the furnishing of food was not likely to present any difficulty. Nevertheless, in the account given to Rev. Wilson and quoted below, Wolf-chief states that of the forty purchasers of the Stone Hammer membership in his group only about eighteen selected individual fathers.

In 1911 Rev. Wilson secured an admirably full account of the purchase of the Stone Hammer society by Wolf-chief's group. The following summary of Rev. Wilson's notes may well find a place here.

The prospective buyers filled a pipe, and after choosing a spokesman proceeded to the Stone Hammer lodge, where they sat down between the door and the fireplace. The leader went to the rear and deposited the initial gifts, packed in four or five bundles, and a pipe. Facing the Stone Hammers who were seated in a semicircle in the rear, he said: "Fathers, we want to buy your songs! See all these goods. They are all that we have been able to get together. We ask you to take them, and to light this pipe. We want to have your songs. Light this pipe that we may know that you accept." Then he sat down with the rest of his group. A Stone Hammer replied that the goods were not sufficient to purchase his society. The would-be buyers then debated among themselves whether it was possible for them to get more property from relatives or friends. Several thought they could, left the lodge, and came back with additional gifts, which were laid down with the rest. The spokesman of the sellers said the presents were still hardly enough, but as the buyers had done the best they could he would consent to sell and asked his group whether they agreed with him. When they had expressed their consent, he lit the pipe, and carried it to the Stone Hammer on the right end of the semicircle, who smoked it and passed it to the left. When the pipe had been smoked dry, the Stone Hammer spokesman returned it to the buyers' spokesman, then went back to the rear, and thus addressed the younger group: "Our sons, tomorrow evening you must fetch a feast and they will make ready to give you your stone hammers and teach you the songs. Four nights they will teach you the songs and you shall bring a feast for them each night. By that time you will have learned all the songs and they will be yours." The boys then left and returned to the lodge they had started from. Those who had special gifts to give to individual fathers as payment for the stone hammers then decided whom they were going to choose for their father. About eighteen of the forty were able to do this. Then, in accordance with the sellers' instructions, the boys selected six officers to hold the four lances and the two rattles the society was to receive on the last night of the purchase.

The next day, before sunset, the novices assembled in the same lodge as before. The parents of some had already prepared food with which to feast the sellers, so the boys who were going to have fathers went home to get it, returning to the lodge with

their kettles. All went to the Stone Hammers, and the boys with food arose and offered it to their fathers, each saying, "Father, make me my stone!" The food was passed along the semicircle, all the Stone Hammers helping themselves. The buyers who had no individual fathers remained seated. Some women and children came in, and sat at the right of the door (for one entering), while the novices were at the left. Three of the older "friends" of the buyers sat with the sellers and shared the food. When the fathers had done eating, they called to their sons to take back their dishes. Wolf-chief's father thus addressed the people: "Listen, my friends, to what I have to say. To this my son I now give my name, hereafter he shall be called Deer-head." Then to Wolf-chief he added: "Son, I will make you your stone. I will begin tomorrow. You shall receive it when we get through the four nights' feasting." Those boys who had relatives among the women spectators then asked them to take their kettles home. After the feast, the sellers smoked from the one pipe owned by the society, but a few of the buyers had brought pipes with them and offered them to their fathers. Finally, one of the sellers rose and said: "Our sons, we are now going to sing. You who want to learn, listen to us. You must learn these songs. When we get through, we will go, expecting to gather here again tomorrow evening, and you must again fetch us a feast as you have tonight. So also for the third and fourth nights. When we are then all through, the following day, by daylight, we will take you out in the village to dance. You shall be the ones to dance that time. As I have said, we are going to sing. You may listen, or you may join in the singing if you wish. And now, friends, let us begin our singing." Two musicians with hand-drums and seven other singers sat in a circle in the rear of the lodge, between the semicircle and the two rear main-posts, and began to sing and drum. Some of the fathers rose and danced. Finally, the gathering broke up. The buyers went back to Wolf-chief's lodge, practised some of the songs heard, and at last went home.

On the second evening the boys assembled with their gifts of food as on the previous night, went to the Stone Hammers, and offered them the food as before. One of the buyers also offered them a pipe. The sellers told the buyers they might dance or sing when the music began, but the boys were too bashful to dance, though they sang a little. About four of the fathers danced. When the dancing and singing was over, the novices went away to practise the songs as before.

The following morning Wolf-chief's individual father called him to his lodge, showed him how far he had progressed with the manufacture of the stone hammer, and feasted him. In the evening the novices feasted their fathers as before. One of the latter rose and admonished his group to complete the emblems by the following evening. Then he asked the buyers to dance to the musicians' singing. Some of the fathers themselves danced, and the novices rose to take part until all of them were dancing. One of the Stone Hammers said, "Sons, I am glad to see you dance. You do very well! That is the way! Do not be afraid or ashamed, but dance!" Finally, one of the "friends" said: "You are about to have your stones. These Stone Hammers are young men who are always found where they may strike the enemy!" The novices went home, and practised the songs nearly all night.

On the fourth evening the fathers were entertained by their sons as on previous nights. The fathers' female relatives brought fuel, and the novices were asked to start a fire going. Upon request, the boys came forward, that is, behind the rear main-posts of the lodges, facing the musicians, who were now seated in the extreme rear in the same semicircle with the other sellers. The novices danced to six songs,

all of them at once joining a few fathers who rose to dance. After the dancing the owner of the lodge rose and delivered a speech. First he exhorted the sons who had individual fathers to pay for their emblems what property they could spare,—a horse if possible. Then he pointed out two especially brave Stone Hammers and urged the novices to emulate their example. Turning to his own group, he told them they were to give the stone emblems to their sons on the following day, and suggested that those who had had visions should tie an object seen in the vision to the stone and pray in behalf of their sons. Finally, he requested one of the "friends" to address the novices. The "friend" told the boys they were to receive the emblems on the next day, and urged them to be brave in war. He was followed by a Stone Hammer, who again reminded the buyers that tomorrow they would get the stones and own the society. He explained the origin of the organization and reminded the women present that the young men about to become Stone Hammers would protect them against the enemy. "Now, my friends, we will sing again and we will sing more than any other night. Thus our sons may learn all the songs thoroughly." Then the music and dancing began, the novices at once taking part. The fathers who danced recited the war deeds they had performed as Stone Hammers, the implication being that the new members were to do likewise. Many songs were sung, and after the meeting the boys disbanded without practising as they had done on previous nights.

The next morning Wolf-chief was called to his father's lodge, made to sit behind the fire, and feasted. Then the father showed his son the emblem he had made for him. He went to his medicine bundle, took out an eagle tail feather, and tied it to a string. He had had a vision of a man wearing such a feather tied to his scalplock in battle and escaping injury. This vision he recited to Wolf-chief, telling him that if he wore it and prayed in battle he would not get hurt. Then he tied the feather to Wolf-chief's scalplock. Wolf-chief went home to get special presents to pay for the stone emblem and returned with the gifts. The father accepted them, and told Wolf-chief to meet the sellers in the afternoon in a certain lodge, where all the buyers were to assemble, painted up and in full dress. Wolf-chief returned home, where his own father, Small-ankle, instructed him how to paint, though he thought his ceremonial father might have done that for him. The other novices all got together and were summoned to the sellers' lodge with their new emblems. These were all leaned against a rope stretched between the two rear main-posts. The fathers were now seated on the left of the door (for one entering) with ten of their older "friends." Women gathered on the right. The fathers and novices sang and danced. The fathers' "friends" reminded the boys that the Stone Hammers were expected to fight the enemy. Then one of the fathers told the novices to go outdoors to dance, and warned them that the villagers would pelt them with stones after the close of the performance. The novices proceeded in single file, followed by ten fathers in one row, the four fathers in the center holding drums. The fathers sang, and the whole village looked on. Some of the women wept, thinking that some of the boys would soon die in war. In front of one lodge the novices formed a circle, the fathers forming another within. The fathers sang and beat drums, and the boys danced. Many men urged the boys to be brave. After several songs the procession moved to another open space, where the dance was repeated. It was performed in two other places in the village, and before the end of the fourth dance, the people got ready to pelt the dancers. The fathers moved out of the circle and stepped aside, shouting to the novices to run away to their lodge. The novices broke their circle and dashed away as fast as possible, while everybody threw sticks and small stones at them. When

they reached the lodge, some were bleeding and weeping, though not seriously hurt. Most of the fathers entered the lodge, and one of them made a final speech, telling the boys that they now owned the society and in war should use the feathers tied to their stones. At night he instructed them to enter the lodges of the village and steal food. The new members then disbanded, agreeing to meet in Wolf-chief's lodge later on. The boys were too much afraid to steal anything that night and the next, but on the third night they stole a little sugar.

Water-chief, though a Mandan, nevertheless bought the Hidatsa Stone Hammer society with Wolf-chief's group, having been one day summoned to join his Hidatsa friends. They collected property in a heap, each one contributing his share, which consisted of shirts or blankets. This property was carried to the Stone Hammer lodge and deposited before the members. A pipe was also placed before them. Then, to quote Water-chief:

In token of their consenting to sell, the fathers took and smoked the pipe. Then they said to us, "We give you this society, we also give you the power to steal. We shall pick out whatever clothes of yours we want for ourselves." They stood up and came towards us. One of the fathers approached me and wished to take from me a pretty beaded necklace. Being still only a boy, I cried and did not wish to give it up. He caught me by the back of the head, made me bend down, and struck me, saying, "This is what ought to be done to you if you wish to keep your property." Then he pushed me away. "This you must remember when you steal. I am making you a good thief." After the surrender of our clothes we went home.

From Poor-wolf's and Joe Packineau's statements it appears that the buyers were at the sellers' mercy, for the latter might stipulate any length for the period of entertainment and always manifested the greatest reluctance about giving up their membership, protesting that they were very much attached to their songs and dances. In order to propitiate the sellers, desirable presents were offered, then one of the buyers would rise and say, "Fathers, we should like you to cut off so many nights." Then some father would get up and remit so many nights. The manner in which "friendly" groups might aid and abet the purchasing class is illustrated by the following story. When Packineau's group bought the Stone Hammer membership, one of the sticks with the stone emblem was set in the ground, and the buyers were obliged to heap up property four times to the height of the stone. In this transaction the buyers were assisted by the Lumpwoods, the lowest society ranking the sellers. When it seemed impossible to reach the mark indicated, the boys, at the suggestion of their Lumpwood "friends," threw a bonnet on the pile of goods, thus barely reaching the level of the hammer. The Lumpwoods then cried out to the sellers, "Your sons are clever!"

Hairy-coat's group numbered about forty when they bought this society. He was the youngest, being only about 14 years old, and the oldest was 17.

Each member contributed to the initial gift made to the sellers. Hairy-coat gave a robe made from the skin of a yearling buffalo calf, others contributed arrows and bows, quivers, and guns. My informant cannot recollect whether anyone paid a horse. His group amassed three piles of goods as a compensation for special privileges they desired to exercise in connection with the theft of food. In the first place, they wished to knock down the person robbed by them if he came to their lodge in anger. Secondly, a member thieving in an earth-lodge and finding a naked woman there should be permitted to possess her while asleep; if she awoke and held him, however, his associates should have to pay a ransom. Thirdly, members of the group were to have the right of stealing food not only in the dark, as was customary for Stone Hammers, but also in the daytime.

In practically all the societies the final consummation of the purchase was signalized by a parade through the village and a public performance of the dance, during which several of the fathers acted as musicians. When the Stone Hammers held their first outdoor dance, all the people came to see them. The boys formed a circle and began to move clockwise, holding their hammer wands in the left hand. Buffalo-bird-woman says that one older "friend," a member of the Crazy Dog society, joined in the dance. Hairy-coat remembers that as he was standing in the circle he noticed that the villagers were armed with stones and mud, and he heard someone say, "Those boys steal our meat, I want to hit them." He thought this was merely an attempt to scare the new members, but at a certain song the spectators began to pelt the dancers. These, however, did not run away, but continued to dance until the close of the song. While pelted, they held their emblems over their shoulders. They learned that the object of this custom was to make the dancers strong.

When the Stone Hammers prepared for a dance, Hairy-coat says, they painted their faces with white clay to represent the white stone used for their hammer. A few painted one side of the face red to symbolize the sun, others used yellow or black paint over the entire face. This looked very sacred.

Though mere boys, the Stone Hammers attempted to distinguish themselves in battle. The words of their war song were: "I am on the earth just for a little while," that is to say, "When there is a fight, I must die." They regarded themselves as of stone and accordingly did not dread the enemy. Some struck first coups in battle, and some even acted as war-captains. White-buffalo was the bravest Stone Hammer known to Wolf-chief. In one encounter he was wounded in the leg and had a horse killed under him, but he simply mounted another and rode so close to the enemy that this second horse was also killed. Once he led a war party, captured

a scalp and struck two coups, but was killed by the enemy. Wolf-chief himself took part in war expeditions while a member of this organization. The year after he had become a Stone Hammer, he joined in the pursuit of two enemies. The Stone Hammers got far ahead of the other Hidatsa. A comrade of my informant's shot one of the fugitives, but Wolf-chief himself dismounted and scalped him. When he returned, the people said that the young men had earned honor marks. In the second war after Wolf-chief's entrance into the society, the enemy, numbering about 100, attacked Ft. Berthold village, but were repelled. Wolf-chief went in pursuit of them caught up with one man and shot at him, but missed him. The enemy stopped, but Wolf-chief's horse ran on, and he got close to the fugitive lines. All of them fired their guns at him. The smoke resembled that from a prairie fire. My informant's horse was killed, but the bullets did not touch his body. Two years later he again fought some enemies in the Bad Lands, struck a coup, and scalped one man.

As repeatedly indicated above, the licensed theft of food was one of the distinctive activities of this organization. In accordance with their origin traditions, Wolf-chief and Hairy-coat ascribe the institution of the custom to supernatural birds and to the celestial visitors of the Hidatsa, respectively. Before the stealing could take place, it was necessary that public announcement be made, so that the villagers could hide their food. After the proclamation had been made, the young men ran to their lodge, pelted with earth by the people of the village. There were generally boys in each household who betrayed the secret of the hiding-place. Moreover, the Stone Hammers possessed the mysterious power of casting a deep sleep over the persons robbed, so that their presence generally remained undetected. In some cases, a spy might report that a woman had dug a pit in the ground for her food, covered it with a board, and lain down to sleep on it, so that it seemed impossible to steal the food. Then the boys would go to the lodge, lift the woman from the board, steal her provisions, and still escape unnoticed. Usually the people who were robbed did not discover the theft until the following morning, when they looked up at the smokehole or went outdoors and found hanging there a parfleche emptied of its contents, but often filled with moccasins or some other compensatory gift. It is necessary to note that only food was stolen; even the food receptacles, as just stated, were not taken away. When preparing for these expeditions, the thieves tied all their hair in front and painted their faces yellow or black. If a Stone Hammer anticipated difficulty in the undertaking he painted on his face the symbols of the star and new-moon marked on his society emblem, and duplicated the incised marks representing the sun by drawing lines obliquely from the forehead across his face.

In order to enter an earth-lodge, a Stone Hammer either removed a part of the porch, or was lowered in a basket through the smokehole. In the latter case, if the inmates of the lodge were found stirring, the thief merely jerked the rope and was immediately raised out of danger. By the same device the thief might have the stolen provisions raised in installments before finally making his exit in the same manner. If by some chance a thief was caught, a heavy ransom had to be paid for his release. On the other hand, if people detected their loss only the next day, they merely laughed and showed no resentment.

After executing thefts in various earth-lodges, the thieves met, cooked the purloined food, ate it, and returned to their homes before daybreak.

Sometimes a man would voluntarily bring meat to the Stone Hammers, saying, "You are brave young men; I am bringing you dried meat for your dinner."

Water-chief gave the following, rather realistic picture of a thieving expedition.

After the completion of the purchase we marched through the village, and made this announcement: "We are going to steal to-night. Hide your *parfleches*!" We went about, repeating the words of this song many times. Finally we returned to our lodge. One of the older members spoke to us as follows: "Go in pairs, all of you!" I selected Wounded-face for my partner. We went together to the village and saw light in one of the earth-lodges. As soon as we got to the door, we looked in and saw a woman making bread. We said, "We'll try to steal that, it has a pleasant smell." We watched all night. When done, the woman put her bread into a dishpan, placed it inside a box, and hid it. We noted the place. "Friend," said I, "we shall surely get it." She covered the box with a dry skin and put some heavy object inside. We saw all her attempts at hiding the food. We ran off some little distance to watch the smoke-hole in order to see when the fire would be out. Then we returned. Wounded-face removed a log far enough for me to crawl in (for I was still small), then I entered. As soon as I was inside, he called me back, and whispered, "Unbar the door!" I did so. Wounded-face continued, "Be careful, go very slowly, or they will catch us." I went ahead; at every step I heard my arms and leg-joints creaking. I raised the bar with a noise. "Be careful, grasp it at the bottom, and lift," said my partner. I obeyed. Wounded-face entered, and both of us advanced towards the food. Our bones were creaking. We proceeded very quietly along the edge of the earth-lodge. Part of the way I took the lead, until we got to the biscuit box. We were in a hurry to get the food. I raised the hides, and reached down for the biscuits. The top one I gave to Wounded-face, who began eating it then and there. He found that it was as yet uncooked. The flour covered his mouth and breast with white. He said to me, "You run faster than I, take the pan, I'll lift the door and give you a sign when I am ready, then you must run out." So I got ready, raised the cover, and lifted the bread. When I had done that, I pushed the cover off, no longer caring what noise I made, and ran off. I ran towards the river. Wounded-face said, "Run hard! If they catch us, they will take away all our clothes." So we ran hard, and reached the river. We jumped from the

bank into the water and waded along the bank for a while, then we climbed up a hill and continued to run. We got back to the lodge of the society. Each pair of members had stolen something,— sugar, dried meat, or other provisions. After the feast, towards daylight, we went home.

The following morning the owner of the lodge I had stolen from summoned me to his home. Though I was afraid, I went. When I arrived, I looked around and saw Wounded-face already seated there. I sat down near him, expecting to be questioned regarding the meat. Our host gave us each a platter with food. When we had eaten, he filled a pipe for us. When we had smoked, he said nothing, and I thought that he was not going to reproach us for the theft. All three of us smoked, laughing and talking at the same time. I was glad at his not making mention of the last night's doings. But when we had done smoking, I knew he was going to ask us about the stolen food, and got frightened again. At last he said, "Last night someone stole all our baked biscuits. You are my friends, perhaps your society did this, and I wish you to tell me who were the thieves." I did not answer, but Wounded-face, pointing at our host, said, "You are not acting as you should. You ought to say to your wife, 'Give these boys some biscuits and coffee.' Yet you did not say so. I know you can afford to entertain us in this way: it would not kill you at all." "Very well," said our host, "I am very glad, my younger brothers, that you tell me what I ought to do. The matter is settled now. You must not have any bad feeling against me." Then we went from the lodge, and thereafter no longer were afraid of the man whose meat we had stolen.

In Wolf-chief's group White-buffalo was the best thief. He would enter any earth-lodge, and, guided by his sense of smell, could detect the hidden meat or other food. Wolf-chief was too nervous to make a good thief; his heart began to palpitate and the joints of his legs creaked when Drum tried to teach him to steal. Drum thought there was some good meat in Big-black's lodge. Accordingly they went thither and entered by removing a log behind the entrance passageway. Drum bade Wolf-chief walk on tiptoe around one side of the circle of posts, and himself walked round the other side. Touching the posts, my informant had gone about halfway when he came to a basket. Wishing to seize it, he upset a number of tin cups belonging to the Dog society, which came toppling down with a crash. All the inmates of the lodge woke up and said, "Oh, there are thieves in here!" Wolf-chief ran about in the dark, unable to find the exit and pursued by the people. Drum showed him where the door was and both succeeded in making their escape. Drum made fun of Wolf-chief for not knowing how to steal.

HOT DANCERS.

Maximilian identifies the Hot dancers (bā'tsawé') with the Stone Hammers. This view was not confirmed by my informants, who stated that the membership was bought as in the military societies, but did not assign to the organization a definite place in the Hidatsa series. According to the Prince, the ceremony resembled that of the Mandan (see p. 308) in that the performers danced barefoot on glowing embers and took out meat from a pot of boiling water. The hands, as well as a part of the forearms and the feet, were painted red.

Maximilian (II, 144) says that the Hidatsa obtained the dance by purchase from the Arikara — a statement corroborated by Hairy-coat but denied by others who regard the dance as indigenous. According to Wolf-chief, an Hidatsa going to receive a vision saw a raven singing and dancing. He noticed the feathers on the raven's back. He saw the raven go forward, put his bill into the vessel, and take it out again. On another night he saw many people dancing in a lodge. The dancers had a raven-skin tied to the back of their belts. A kettle of boiling water was to be seen over a fire. Each dancer, in turn, put his hand into the kettle, and, when he got back, a certain man seemed to rub something on his hands. This man knew what kind of a weed to grow for medicine that would prevent injury. He chewed some of the medicine, and spat it on the performers' arms. Flat sticks with honor marks were raised aloft in dancing.

Hairy-coat says that all the Hot dancers painted themselves with red, yellow or black colors. At the back of the head they wore an ornament composed of two eagle feathers and owl wing-feathers. The lower part of the face was painted black, while the upper part might be painted according to each dancer's wishes. One or two oblique bars across the face symbolized the striking of enemies. If the upper portion of the face had been decorated with yellow paint, these bars were in red, otherwise in black.

There were five officers. The two head men sat in the center; one of them was painted red, and the other yellow. The latter had a red lightning line on both legs, both arms, and across the chest. Both head men painted their bodies with a red sun in front and a red new-moon in the back. A third man, partly painted with black, acted as food-distributor. He had a red star on his breast and a green new-moon on his back, the rest of which was daubed yellow. Two other officers, also decorated with lightning lines and a moon design, bore pipes. When the members ate together, the officers were the first to be served. Buffalo-bird-woman says that two men wore raven-skins in the back.

When a dance was held, a big fire was built and slices of half-dried meat were boiled in a kettle suspended over it. A hide scraped clear of hair was stretched out flat behind the fire. The officer who was painted black came to the fireplace, chewed some medicine, and spat it first on his hands, and then into the kettle. Then he plunged his hand into the vessel, extracted a piece of meat, and threw it on the hide. The other members followed suit until all the meat had been taken out. No one ever burned his fingers. By way of joking a man sometimes put a piece of hot meat on a friend's back, for he knew the medicine would prevent scalding.

When they wished to smoke, one pipe-bearer went upon the roof and began to sing, facing south, while someone inside was beating a drum. At the close of his song, the pipe-bearer went towards the west, raised his pipe and again began to sing. He repeated the performance on the north, and finally on the east, side of the roof, then descended, and passed the pipe to the other pipe-carrier, whereupon he began to dance round the fireplace. One of the head men knocked off the charred part of a burned stick, chewed medicine, picked up the hot charcoal with his mouth and approached his friend, who lit the pipe with the charcoal. Then the head man replaced the charcoal near the fire. This performance was also undergone by the second pipe-bearer. Finally, smoke was given to the chiefs.¹

In dancing, members advanced the left foot and sometimes raised the right hand as if to strike the kettle.

For the words of one song Wolf-chief gives the following:

"bā`tsawe' ciwo' mi hī'ts."

"Hot [One] has come to me."

Wolf-chief thinks this dance may possibly be identical with the Grass dance, or that they are only different variations of the same performance; the raising of the sticks and the songs seem to him noteworthy similarities. According to the same informant, two causes operated to make the dance obsolete: the smallpox, which destroyed many of the members, and the fact that there were only two songs, so that the people soon tired of the dance.

KIT-FOX SOCIETY.

Maximilian merely informs us that the members of the Kit-Fox society (i'Exoxka) i'ke' when parading, wore otter and wolf skins. Hairy-coat — himself never a member — says that all the Kit-Foxes wore kilts similar

¹ It is not clear, which of the officers are referred to here.

to those of the Bull society, edged with eagle feathers and decorated with three kit-fox skins, one in the rear and one on either side. This kit-fox deco-

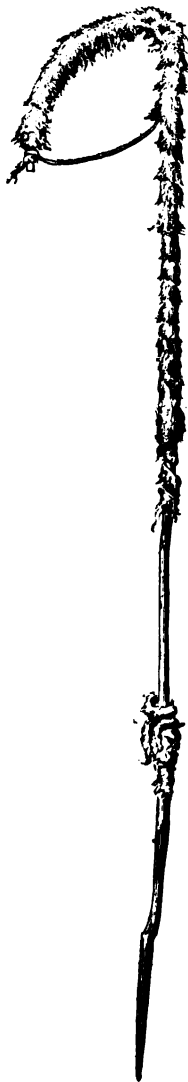


Fig. 4 (50.1-4319).
Stick of Fox Society.
Length, 184 cm.

ration he actually saw on but one member, but Bear-looks, who had initiated my informant's brother, said that all might use it. The body was painted yellow or pink. All members apparently wore a rawhide (or cloth) head band decorated with a number of kit-fox jaws sometimes painted yellow and green; jaws placed in juxtaposition faced each other. This head band does not seem to differ from that in use among the Mandan (Fig. 17). These head bands may have been considered sacred to some extent, for Wolf-chief says that smoke was offered to them. Hairy-coat mentions a necklace made of the whole skin of a raven, the bill and tail being tied together. At one time it seems that the Kit-Foxes shaved off their hair on the sides so as to leave a central roach and one lock in the front, but one informant limits this practice to but two members, while others speak of individual variations in the decoration of the hair. Thus, Hairy-coat's half-brother merely imitated the roach effect with a buffalo mane; those making this substitution combed their hair back stiff. When the hair was cut, the shaved portions of the head were daubed on one side with red paint and on the other with yellow paint, and in this case, according to Hairy-coat, the members wore ear ornaments of dragon-fly shape. Another informant states that the shaved parts were plastered with white clay and yellow paint. Small tufts of hair and the perforated spindle-shaped ornaments known as "hair-pipes" hung down over the fox-jaw head band. At the back of the head some members wore a bunch of feathers colored red.

According to Poor-wolf, there were two rattlers, two men with hooked spears wrapped with otterskin, and a single officer bearing a spear wrapped with wolfskin. Wolf-chief mentions but one hooked spear officer, but adds two officers with straight sticks. Hairy-coat is the only one to speak of two spear-bows similar to those of the Half-Shaved Heads; he had

never purchased the Kit-Fox society and is thus more liable to err than other informants on the subject of this organization. Fig. 4 shows a hooked stick wrapped with wolfskin, which is said to have belonged to Packs-wolf's brother. More recently it had been used by a woman in a dance, introduced among the Hidatsa by the Dakota.

In battle the hooked-stick men would sing a certain song as an indication of their next move, namely, the planting of their emblems into the ground. The rank and file then prepared to aid them, for regardless of danger these officers were not supposed to flee from the enemy unless their spears were plucked out by a fellow-tribesman.

The order in which these officers marched relatively to one another and the privates during a public procession was fairly definite, though it is given somewhat differently by the several informants.

According to Wolf-chief, the Kit-Foxes marched two abreast, with the exception of a trio in the rear and the officer bearing the hooked spear wrapped with otterskin, who walked in the center, by himself. At the head of the procession walked the officer carrying the hooked-stick wrapped with wolfskin, accompanied by one of the rattlers. At the end of the line were the two straight-staff bearers, and apparently beside them the second rattler. Poor-wolf put the wolf-stick bearer in the center, and the two rattlers behind and before the two otter-stick officers respectively. On the other hand, Hairy-coat confirms Wolf-chief's statement as to the leader, but speaks of a *hooked-stick* officer in the rear.

The rattles were originally made of rawhide, but in Wolf-chief's day they were made of tin cans, enclosing stones and decorated with horse-tails attached to the top of the handle, which projected above the can.

The bent staff (*miraracku'pe*) borne by Wolf-chief's leader was hooked at the top, wrapped with wolfskin, and decorated at four points with pairs of wolfskin strips,—one pair at the end of the hook and the others at points on the shaft. The upper half of the stick was painted red. The hooked otterskin-stick seems to have been quite similar save for the substitution of otterskin at corresponding points. The straight staffs are described as long, wrapped with black and red cloth, and decorated at the top with two erect eagle feathers. The otterskin on the staffs represented the otter's activity, and the wolfskin the strength of the wolf as an enemy, the red paint on the stick symbolizing the blood of his prey. Whoever owned this stick had good luck in counting coup on the enemy.

Like the head bands of the privates, the officers' regalia were in some measure regarded as sacred; at feasts the members, after offering food to the north, also made offerings to the hooked-sticks and other emblems (Hairy-coat).

Normally the Kit-Fox society was bought by a group of young men after the Stone Hammer society and before the Lumpwood membership. This, however, was not necessarily the case. Thus, Poor-wolf, for some reason never joined the Kit-Fox society, and mention has already been made of a case where the exorbitant demands of the selling group induced the prospective buyers to obtain the membership of an ordinarily higher organization (p. 233). After the smallpox, Hairy-coat states, there was but a single survivor belonging to the Kit-Fox society, named Bear-looks, and the organization would have fallen into desuetude had not the members of the informant's half-brother's group purchased the membership from Bear-looks. Here, then, the continuation of the society was hanging by a thread; and it may readily be imagined that previous to white influence warfare sometimes produced similar results and completely wiped out a society from its place in the series.

The fact that in the last-mentioned case there was but a single seller did not interfere with the essentials of the customary purchase proceedings. The purchasers piled up property for Bear-looks as an initial payment, and Bear-looks instructed them in the appropriate songs and dances. He was a good singer and was in the habit of beating not the drumhead but the drum hoop. He got the assistance of other people,—presumably for preparing the regalia for his sons. While putting the wolfskin on the leader's staff, he sang this song, which an officer was expected to sing in planting his emblem in the ground:—

"Iwara'kic	maha'kûts.	hi'ro'	warë'tâ'wits."
"I shall stay here (live)	but a little while.	Right here	I will stay."

Another song was sung in putting on the otterskin:—

"i'Exoxkaō,	mī	i'riwawā'hērek	cē	ici'Ets,	hiro'	warë'tats."
"Foxes,	myself	if I want to save	that	is bad,	hence	I will not go."

In teaching the boys to dance, the old man sang as follows:—

"awa'haca	waki'	wawā'hëts."	
"Scattered	I lie	I wish,"	i. e. "I wish to lie with my bones scattered."

Another song was of the same type:—

"batsëte	i'ruts	barë'wits."
"A man	should die,	I will go."

Still another song is of quite a different character:—

"na'kirāhe	ici'ekā'tits,	barë'wits."
"Your husband	is very bad,	I'll go (away with you)."

Poor-wolf gave a somewhat fuller account of the purchase transactions. While he and his comrades were Stone Hammers, their fathers acquired the Lumpwood membership. Accordingly, the Stone Hammers went to them, and asked for how much property they would sell the Kit-Fox society. They replied, "You boys must gather together property, and we shall then tell you whether you have heaped up enough for buying the Kit Fox society. The younger men went back, and collected plenty of calicoes, shirts and the like. One day, when a great amount had been amassed, they took it over to their lodge. Then one of the Foxes inspected the pile and said it was about large enough. Accordingly, the Foxes consented to sell. For four nights the sons feasted their fathers and learned their songs. On the fourth night the fathers decided which of the sons were to become officers, for they knew which were the bravest warriors and also the best singers. The officers-elect presented horses to their fathers. Sometimes an officer elected in this way was slain in battle. In this case the successor was appointed by the society, and he was not expected to pay for getting the position. On the final day of purchase, the Foxes paraded about the village, followed by the fathers who sang for them. The members marched at a very rapid pace. As Hairy-coat put it, "They trotted like kit-foxes." Whenever they desired to halt, the leaders turned to form a circle. The fathers went into the center of the circle with their hand-drums, and the Foxes danced to their songs. For this occasion the members were arrayed in their best clothes and wore switches. A few had fox-jaw head bands; some used red paint, others yellow paint. As they stood there, their relatives piled up presents for each one in recognition of their bravery in fighting the enemy. These gifts were turned over to the fathers in the center of the circle. At four of these halting-places the Foxes performed their dance, then they returned to their lodge. On their return the fathers gave them a drum, as well as further instruction in singing. They said, "We have done with this society, it is yours." There were about thirty young men who bought the society with Wolf-chief, who was then 26 years old. They continued performing the Fox dance until they became acquainted with the Grass dance; then they gave it up, because they preferred the new dance. However, Wolf-chief still considers himself a Kit-Fox, because the membership was never purchased of him.

An account given by the same informant a year later expands but also contradicts his previous utterances on some points. In the latter narrative he states that all the kettles of food provided by the purchasers in entertainment of the sellers were given collectively and distributed by the sellers among themselves. The regalia were not made by the fathers, but by the buyers themselves, and it was the latter that appointed officers according to

their bravery. If one of the men named declined the office, another was asked to take it. Those who accepted the position responded, suggesting, but without expressly stating, that they should have to be brave. Thus, Foolish-crow took one of the sticks, saying, "I think I must die some time." Wolf-chief, in taking one of the rattles, remarked, "Well, I like to sing anyway; I do not know whether I shall die in battle." Buffalo-paunch in taking the stick wrapped with otterskin, said, "I do not know whether I shall strike an enemy, but at all events I like to have the stick." Lame-bull took one of the straight sticks and said, "This feathered stick looks well, it will help me with the girls." The rattlers had four songs, the hooked-staff officers each had one, but the straight-staff bearers did not have a distinctive song.

As already stated, certain officers were under special obligations to act bravely in the face of the enemy, which duties are also indicated in the words of their songs (see p. 256). All the Kit-Foxes, however, strove to distinguish themselves and to rescue comrades exposed to danger. This feature is illustrated by the following statements.

A Fox bearing the otter-lance once charged against the Sioux, who were entrenched behind breastworks, and was killed after lancing one enemy. Another Fox rushed in, and saved the lance. When the Indians returned, they marveled at the slain man's bravery, and mourned his loss. His friends mourned, but after a while they prepared a great feast, and desired someone to take his place. Old men were summoned to a council. Half-fat was present. The dead warrior's lance was stuck in the ground. Before the assembly had had an opportunity to discuss the matter, Half-fat gave the war-whoop several times, and seized the spear. Half-fat joined the next war party. They located a large Sioux camp, and prepared to make a charge in the daytime. Half-fat was carrying the first spear, and took off its case (?). He had his hair shaved and dressed; feathers were tied to his hips, and the fox-jaw head band encircled his forehead. He rubbed wetted yellow paint over his hair, and daubed red paint in between. When he was ready, he sang his war song. All his comrades began to cry, as they expected to lose him. They charged at daybreak. Half-fat approached the enemy, planted his lance in the ground, and would not move. The Sioux whipped him till his face was bleeding. Then another Fox, named Fur-on-his-horns, made a dash against the Sioux, plucked out Half-fat's lance, and ran back to his own lines, followed by Half-fat. Later Half-fat charged against the Sioux breastworks, and again stuck his spear into the ground. The enemy shot him in the head; he was killed, and toppled down. Half-fat's war song was ever since kept by the society. In another fight, a Fox riding the same horse with his father-in-law noticed that some Hidatsa

warriors had been hurt by the Sioux, and immediately started back again to face the enemy.

In the winter the Foxes danced in their lodge, in the summer they went outdoors. On some evenings, when they had gathered in the lodge for a feast, they allowed old people to join in the repast. These guests were wont to call up members by name, and say, "You have a great many enemies. You will not live long, but try to be men."

LUMPWOODS.

This society is called by Maximilian "*die Bande der grossen Säbel, la bande des grands sabres*" and forms the second in his series of Hidatsa age-societies. In dancing they carried sabres in their hands, from which fact Maximilian argued that the organization was probably of recent origin.¹

The translation of the native name of this society, *miraxi'ci* was for a time involved in considerable doubt. My interpreters at first translated it "baskets," which would coincide with that of the third society in one of Clark's two lists of Arikara organizations.² I, however, felt confident from the similarity with the Crow *maraxi'ce* that the meaning was "Lumpwood," which is also that obtained by Curtis.³ Further questioning seemed to me to establish the correctness of this rendering beyond doubt. Wolf-chief remarked that this society was in existence before the separation of the Crow and Hidatsa, and his sister said it had been introduced by the Crow. It must not be assumed, however, that the Lumpwood organizations of the two tribes bear a very close resemblance to each other. In particular, one trait highly characteristic of the Crow society is lacking in its Hidatsa counterpart. Poor-wolf, as well as other Hidatsa, knew of the Crow *maraxi'ce* custom of stealing wives (see p. 169), but said that it was never practised by the Hidatsa. It was at one time suggested to introduce the custom, but the old men vetoed the proposal.

Hairy-coat says that one day long ago the people in a village were hungry. Two young men went out to get a vision. The *miraxi'ci* society was revealed to them by buffaloes in human shape, bearing the emblems described below. The buffaloes instructed the young men how to dance and sing, and bade them unite all the boys of their age in order to instruct them in

¹ Maximilian, II, 217.

² Clark, 355. The Hidatsa word for "basket" is however differently accented: *miraxice*.

³ Curtis, IV, 182.

turn. On such occasions, they prophesied, it would always rain for a short time, and as a matter of fact Hairy-coat declares that in his day it always began to rain a little whenever the Lumpwoods beat their drum. The visionaries were informed that the flat-board was to be used in striking enemies. In addition to the buffaloes the young men also saw birds in a tree and their nest; the latter is represented by the drum of the organization, and many *miraxi'ci* songs belong to the birds. When the animals that appeared to the visionaries had done instructing them, some rose into the air as birds, others turned into buffaloes, bears, or snakes.

The close association with the buffalo indicated in this origin tradition persisted in later times. Poor-wolf says that the Lumpwoods were wont to pray to the buffalo for good luck and constructed pens into which they would drive the buffalo. Wolf-chief and his sister mention one of their ancestors, Yellow-horse, who went out on the prairie to fast. His knobbed ("lumpy") *miraxi'ci* stick, which Lumpwoods took with them in their quests for supernatural power, revealed four songs to him, by means of which he was able to lure buffalo into a pen. These songs were inherited in the maternal line. Wolf-chief himself used some of them in the chase. In organizing a buffalo hunt, Yellow-horse had the young men pile up stones, and then bade them chase the game toward a steep bluff, while he himself sang his mystery songs to entice the buffalo where he wanted them. The buffalo were chased down the cliff. When the people got there, Yellow-horse said to them, "Do not go near, I want my wife to come here." When his wife arrived he bade her jump on top of the buffalo and then come back. She said she thought it was too dangerous, but when he insisted she obeyed. Some of the buffalo were still alive, one of them being an albino. Nevertheless, she came back safe. The people thought Yellow-horse had great power. They had killed a great number of buffalo. They piled up meat, and built a lodge there. Hence the name "Horse-pound Point" was given to a spot near Ft. Berthold.

The rank and file carried as emblems of the society unknobbed sticks (*mir'E'itawatu'*) with representations of animal faces. These common sticks did not necessarily represent buffalo. The last of the men carrying a stick of this sort had on it a representation of a bear, and he was supposed to be slow in his movements. However, if the Hidatsa had surrounded an enemy and were afraid to approach him as he stood at bay, this officer was expected to advance against him. At the end of each stick there was a tail, above which the Lumpwoods tied some medicine "belonging to the buffalo," called *a'tū'rēchē* which was used for incense and from the description may have been identical with the *isē'* root of the Crow. One of the sticks, borne by an officer marching in the center of the field during a parade,

had a protuberance at one end, from which the society probably derived its name and which represented a buffalo head (Fig. 5).

At the back of the head each member wore an ornament made of weasel-skin strips, called *i'tawara'zawi*, which was decorated with beads or horn-shells. All Lumpwoods also wore crowns of bear-gut; at the tying place, on the right side, two hawk feathers were attached.

Certain individual variations in costume were due to the members' visions. Thus Hairy-coat, having had a revelation from a buffalo, painted a large horn on the back of his robe, the point being directed towards the right. For similar reasons some used wooden whistles, though according

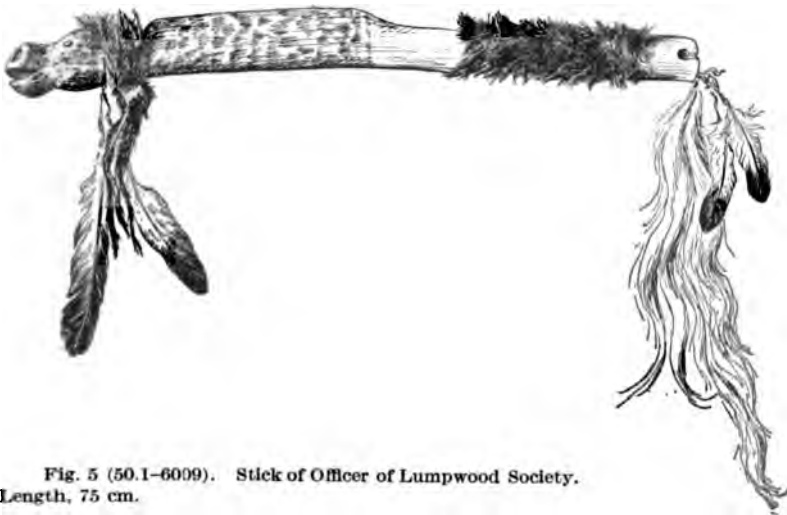


Fig. 5 (50.1-6009). Stick of Officer of Lumpwood Society.
Length, 75 cm.

to another statement all such whistles were obtained from a single Lumpwood who had received a vision from an elk. Slight changes were also prompted without special reason. For example, at the time of Hairy-coat's purchase white eagle feathers were tied to the wooden emblems for embellishment. Probably the decoration of switches with the entire skins of small hawks and other birds (Hairy-coat) is likewise in no way essentially connected with the Lumpwood society.

There were two officers carrying flat-boards (*mirixā'pi*), one leading the procession, the other in the rear. A model of a flat-board, made by Butterfly and approved by Hairy-coat is shown in Fig. 6. Hairy-coat says that the projecting corner of the flat-board represents a buffalo hooking with one horn, and the entire board a buffalo. One side of the board was painted

red, the other yellow. On the red side four pairs of slanting black lines represented honor marks, and the other side was similarly decorated; according to Butterfly, the X-shaped figure in the model, as well as the oblique lines, denote the striking of an enemy, while the angular horsetrack represents a stolen horse. The grip of these boards is said to have been wrapped with buckskin, to which a dry buffalo tail was attached. Little clusters of beaver claws and hoofs of young buffalo were secured to the board, which was also perforated at intervals for the attachment of buckskin strips decorated with eagle feathers. The leader wore moccasins, the heel

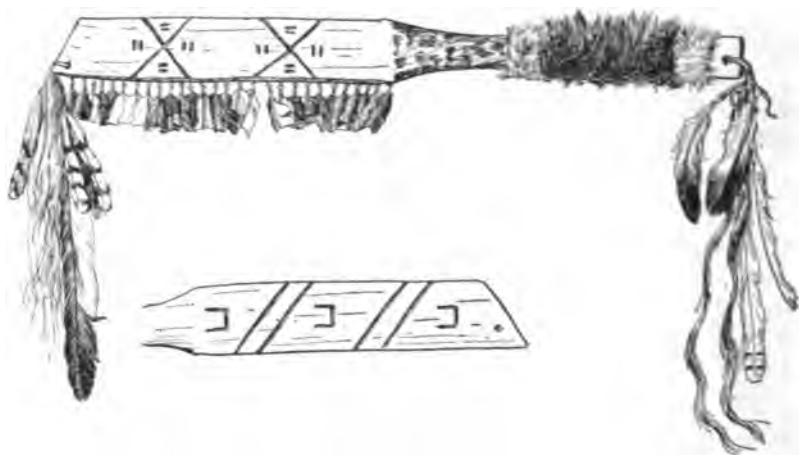


Fig. 6 (50.1-6008). Flat-board of Hidatsa Lumpwood Society. Length, 78 cm.

and the outside of which, on the inner side of the foot, were painted red to symbolize the enemy's blood. Near the ankle a wolf-tail was tied to the moccasin; at the near end this tail was wrapped with red cloth and buckskin, while at the other end shortened raven wing-feathers were attached. As the raven wings represented a scalp, only men who had scalped an enemy were privileged to use them for decoration; a man who had caught an enemy with his hands might both use the raven feathers and redden his moccasins. The leggings¹ were of tanned antelope skin dressed without the hair. Both sides were fringed and decorated with gull-wing quill work in blue or yellow patterns. A band of rawhide about two fingers in breadth, similarly decorated, was tied round the knee. A breechclout was worn, and to the left side of the belt there was attached a bunch of bison tails cut short at the bottom and hanging down to the muscle of the lower leg.

¹ It is not clear whether the following statements of the paragraph were meant to refer only to the two officers or to the members generally.

Four officers carried bow-spears, the heads of which represented a buffalo's sharp horns. One of the bow-spears was double-headed and represented a young bull moving quickly in a fight; it was borne by the drum-carrier. In marching the officers always bore their bow-spears in the left hand, so that the spear point slanted toward the right. The bow was about 6 feet in length, painted a light pink, bent in the center and at the top, and supported a slanting spear head of sheet iron. The square bottom of the head was fixed in the split end of the bow by means of buckskin string and was cut into four times on each side, an additional oblique cut being made on each side. The incisions thus produced were intended to lacerate an enemy. Both sides of the spear head were partly filed and then subjected to fire, which turned the filed sections blue, then the remaining portions were painted pink or light blue. Hairy-coat painted the four inches at the tip of his spear head red in order to show that he had struck an enemy. His bow was decorated on both sides with an incised, uncolored lightning line. The bow had glued to it several fleshed birds and parts of birds — bluebirds, red woodpeckers, ducks, etc.— and was decorated with bunches of feathers. The bowstring was of the kind of thread used for snares and supported a number of fine eagle plumes disposed at intervals along its length. A model of the type of bow used by this society is shown in Fig. 7.

Six officers not referred to by any other informants are mentioned by Butterfly. Two of them bore hooked staffs, and two of them straight-staffs. The hooked-staffs are described as wrapped with otter-skin and decorated with feathers and strips of skin like those of the Fox organization. The straight-staffs were wrapped with wolfskin, and had eagle feathers at the top; the upper half was painted red. Two whippers (*i'ki akuée*) had quirts, occasionally wrapped with foxskin; when young men, instead of dancing, remained together near the center of the lodge, these officers whipped them into taking part in the dance.



Fig. 7 (50.1-4353).
Bow-spear of Lumpwood
Society. Length, 157 cm.

Probably officers became such automatically at the time of purchase, that is, through the fact that their individual fathers had owned the appropriate regalia. Thus, Hairy-coat received a bow-spear from the clan father he had selected for his special father. If a vacancy occurred through death, someone said, "Our friend has died, I wish one of you to take his bow-spear" (or other emblem). Then the emblem was passed from member to member until some one man offered to keep it.

Hairy-coat was about 23 or 24 years old when his group bought the *miraxi'ci* membership. This agrees fairly well with the statements of other informants with the exception of Poor-wolf, who said that the buyers were middle-aged men. Poor-wolf, however, never belonged to the society, and his remark is refuted even for the period of his youth by Maximilian's statement that the Lumpwoods were boys of fourteen or fifteen.

Moreover, Poor-wolf undoubtedly errs in denying that the Lumpwoods bought the organization from a group of fathers. Thus, Hairy-coat says that while some of his associates contributed horses to the initial payment, he himself gave a horse only to his individual father; that the fathers were feasted in the usual way; that the buyers offered them their wives; and that the sellers provided their sons and their sons' wives with clothing. During a public performance there were four halts in the village, and while the members stood up, the fathers sat down within the circle, facing southwest.

Butterfly's account is more specific. According to this informant, the prospective buyers brought property to the sellers, and filled a pipe for them. Two leaders, who, however, were not regarded as officers, decided whether the membership should be sold. Then the fathers also determined the number of nights on which they should be entertained. Usually about ten nights were fixed upon, on each of which the buyers all supplied their fathers with kettlefuls of cooked food. A few of the sons moreover offered their wives to their fathers. On the last morning a buyer went to his father, bringing him a horse, and saying, "Father, I wish to take your place now." Then the father replied, "Very well, bring your wife here." When the wife had arrived, the father prayed in behalf of both husband and wife. Then he opened up his medicine bundle, took out some object seen in a vision by himself, and burnt incense. He raised the image over the smoke, and sometimes he sang. Addressing the sacred object, he requested it to preserve his son from danger. Besides, he furnished both his son and his son's wife with complete suits of clothing. In the afternoon of the same day the new members paraded around the village. The order in which the Lumpwoods marched on this occasion was as follows (Hairy-coat). The leader carried a flat-board and was followed by the first bow-spear officer; next there were a number of privates bearing their sticks; behind whom marched the second bow-spear bearer; after some more of the rank and file,

in the middle of the procession, came the owner of the knobbed stick, followed by ordinary members; then there came the third bow-spear officer, with a number of ordinary Lumpwoods, followed by the member with the bear-face emblem; the drum carrier with the double-headed spear; and finally the second flat-board officer brought up the rear. The Lumpwoods marched in single file and were supposed thus to represent a procession of the buffalo. As Butterfly adds several officers to the list given by other informants, he also makes some additional remarks on their position in the line. He places his first hooked-staff bearer directly behind the leader; the straight-staff bearers and the second hooked-staff officer might occupy any position they pleased.

The new members were followed by some of the fathers, who were to act as singers on this occasion and formed a single file of their own. As soon as the leader of the Lumpwood line turned to form a circle, the singers took their places inside with their hand-drums. In recent times white people residing near the Agency then brought gifts of paint, kerchiefs, and looking-glasses. The relatives of the dancers also brought property, which was turned over to the fathers. After returning to their lodge, the members danced there.

With the other organizations the Lumpwoods shared the military and the courting features, both of which found expression in their songs. The following song was sung during nightly serenades, on which occasions women joined the members:—

“mī'ekuā'kapē tā'ruca barē'wits.”

“My sweetheart he is not, still I will go.”

Buffalo-bird-woman remembers the following words, sung on similar occasions: “She may be sleeping, but still she is laughing.” Another song, somewhat obscurely worded, represents a woman speaking to the husband she is deserting in favor of her lover:—

“dī wa'tawapiwā + i'c, kowī'hirets bare'wits.”

“You are my day, it will be no more, I will go.”

The following song is connected with the vision of a member whose suit had been spurned by a young woman:—

“marō'ka kū'opikā'ca ī'tōpa, waci'Eraha'c 'tate',
“Elk young buck with four (teeth), thus he said, 'Father,

biri'kiku'ore, tate'!”
you hear me, Father.”

As a dance song Hairy-coat recited the following:—

“mī'reca wawakī'E māmā'hak, ma'ro ohā'wikā'tits.”

“Myself I fight I want, I am very tired.”

Dances were frequently held in Hairy-coat's lodge. There the wooden emblems were hung up in a bunch. Once, while the Hidatsa were away, the enemy came, burned the village, and stole the emblems. Hairy-coat found ten of them on the enemy's trail.

Packs-wolf says that, while dancing, members put their arms behind them, letting their hands rest on the rump. According to Hairy-coat, there was a preliminary dance within the lodge before the Lumpwoods marched out into the village. At first only the members participated. At the end of each song the members raised aloft whatever insignia they were holding in their hands.

The following social feature was mentioned by Hairy-coat in connection with his account of the Lumpwoods, but was at the same time said to be shared by other organizations. On some nights all the members sent for their wives. Then water was poured on the fire, and in the darkness each man seized and hugged someone else's wife.

HE' RERŌ KA I' KE'.

Maximilian speaks of the *Haidero'hka-Ächke*, and translates "die Raben-Bande, la bande des corbeaux." This is somewhat strange, as the (quite different) name of the highest of his societies is translated in exactly the same way. According to my interpreter, the meaning of *hē' rerō' ka i' ke'* is "Crow Indian Imitators," and as the Crow were known as *Gens des Corbeaux* it seems probable that Maximilian confounded the meanings through this circumstance.

What may have been the place of the organization in the series at the time of my informants was not ascertained. Maximilian describes the members as youths of seventeen or eighteen. The following meager data were supplied by Hairy-coat.

The organization originated with the Crow, among whom it was also called "Black Eyes." It was sold by Bear-looking to Kidney's group. Hairy-coat says the members resembled the Small Dogs and the Dogs in wearing a bunch of owl feathers together with two eagle feathers in the back of the head. The real object of the buyers was to purchase the Kit-Fox membership. Bear-looking was the only Kit-Fox surviving the smallpox, accordingly he appropriated the entire heap of goods. However, he received but little food from the purchasers, and wives were not surrendered to him. After the goods for the Kit-Fox society had been offered, Bear-looking suggested that the purchasers should also buy the *hē' rerō' ka*, which was done forthwith.

Hairy-coat does not recollect any lance emblems. He remembers that his father's mother's brother wore a sash and thinks that there were four insignia of this type. There may have been a whipper. The musical instruments consisted of rattles. The dancing resembled that of the Crazy Dogs.

LITTLE DOGS.

From his ignorance of an origin myth Wolf-chief infers that the Little Dog society (*Macu'ka kari'cta*) was of alien, possibly of Arikara, origin, but this is contrary to his elder sister's opinion, which is shared by Hairy-coat. The last-mentioned authority states that the dogs originated the society. They approached an Hidatsa village, howling like wolves but at the same time simulating sounds of the human voice. The villagers went out to see them and found them transformed into human shape and wearing the regalia of Little Dog officers. The dogs said, "This will help you to live with greater ease and to enjoy yourselves." The same dogs also gave the society to the Mandan and Arikara, but these tribes had in addition to the other insignia two feathered lances not shared by the Hidatsa.

Poor-wolf did not regard this society as part of the graded series, but this is contrary to the statements of all other informants and of Maximilian. Poor-wolf had never belonged to this organization.

Maximilian says that the Little Dogs wore sashes of blue or red cloth. Buffalo-bird-woman also regards the sash (*maa'piruti*) as an emblem common to all members, while others say their use was restricted to four officers. The sashes are described by Wolf-chief as made of either red cloth or a long strip of skin dressed without the hair. They were slipped over the head by means of a slit, crossed the breast, and trailed down to the ground; in the center of the back they were decorated with bunches of owl feathers. A sash was obviously regarded as a sacred object; Hairy-coat still preserves his Little Dog sash together with his medicine bundles. This informant received his sash when the former owner had died. Apparently the privilege of wearing such an emblem was associated with the duty of special bravery, for when the sash was offered him Hairy-coat at first refused to take it, but finally accepted it, saying, "I want to die, I will keep it." Hairy-coat took this sash with him, went away from the village, and abstained from food and drink for seven days. The next year he again fasted for seven nights and also cut one of his fingers in two places. During his first quest for power the sash gave him a song. It hung in the air unsupported, and fastened to it was a man's hair,— the symbol of a chief's honor-marks. In the second quest Hairy-coat saw a bull coming out of the ground to

embrace him and give him a victory song. In commemoration of the vision my informant made a backrest cover of buffalo skin with the horns. The next fall he again fasted seven days and cut off two finger joints. He saw the Moon and the Stars. About sunrise, as he was crying, he heard a voice call out, but looking across the ground he could not see any one. Looking higher, he saw the sash in the clouds. When it halloosed for the third time he saw it floating unsupported in the air, covered with the hair indicative of honor marks. It sang these words:

"di'wa i'waha'kuts."

"You stay, I too stay." *I. e.*, "I subsist on you."

In battle, this song gave courage to Hairy-coat. He would first raise his sash, slip it on, and then spur his horse straight into the enemy's lines.¹ Whenever my informant donned his sash, he thought of an enemy cocking his gun or preparing to let fly an arrow at him, but this did not daunt him.

One officer mentioned by Hairy-coat bore an elkhorn whip. This man was expected to be the last man to flee. If the Hidatsa were pursued by an enemy, it was the whipper's duty to dismount and give aid to those wounded or in danger. If he was killed, another man took his place.

Besides the sashes, Maximilian mentions feather-ornaments worn on the head. Poor-wolf describes this ornament as a circlet of raven feathers, with an eagle feather in the center, worn in the back of the head, while Wolf-chief says the feathers were those of an owl. Hairy-coat gives additional data as to hair-dressing, but it is not certain that they are distinctive of the Little Dogs. The members wore switches, brushed their hair pompadour-fashion in the center, and cut it short at the sides. Horn-shells — or, if such were lacking, hair-pipes — were tied to the braids, seven wire-wrapped horn-shells above, eight below, and a small strap was hanging down beneath.

Each member wore, suspended round his neck by a buckskin string, a whistle made from the wing-bone of a young "white-head" eagle and wrapped with colored bird-quillwork. Several buckskin strips terminating in quillworked loops hung down from the whistle, and gum was put into the upper part of the instrument.

Wolf-chief says that some of the Little Dogs wore no shirts and used red body paint. The blankets were red in Hairy-coat's time, and decorated with bands of beadwork; some wore buffalo robes with a two-foot fringe at the bottom. Buffalo-bird-woman says that one member painted the center of his robe with a yellow circle surrounded by dog tracks.

¹ At this point of his narrative, Hairy-coat paused to give smoke to his medicines, because he had been telling of his visions.

At the time of Hairy-coat's initiation, the buyers were told to make rattles for themselves, as the sellers said they had not had the time to make them. They were instructed to use one of two shapes, either the globular or the loop-shaped type. The latter was edged with red cloth and shortened raven wing-feathers. The handle was wrapped with red cloth. In shaking rattles, the Little Dogs always moved them from right to left.

Hairy-coat's group of Stone Hammers had vainly attempted to buy the Kit-Fox and Crazy Dog societies (cf. p. 233). Then the Stone Hammers found that the still higher Little Dogs were willing to sell their membership and indirectly informed them that they were desirous of buying it. The Little Dogs gathered together and dispatched three ambassadors to request the younger men to come over and buy their society. Accordingly, the members of the Three-Clans in the Stone Hammer society filled three pipes, and the members of the Four-Clans filled four pipes. The Stone Hammers then proceeded towards the Little Dog lodge, one representative of each phratry carrying the three and the four pipes respectively. In the lodge the Little Dogs were ranged in a curve on the left side. The pipes were deposited in the place of honor. Then the group of younger men piled up the robes constituting the initial payment and were requested to take seats on the opposite side to that of the Little Dogs. Bear-nose, one of the officers, rose first, lit the set of three pipes and passed them to the Three-Clans, while Wolf-eye did the same with the set of four pipes and passed them to the Four-clans. At the same time these men said to the Stone Hammers, "These songs we agree to sell to you." And to their fellow-members, they said, "Sing for them."

Compared with the accounts of purchases of other organizations, Hairy-coat's narrative shows some gaps at this point. However, this may be due to certain anomalous conditions, the smallpox having greatly reduced the number of fathers. My informant explicitly stated that wives were not surrendered on this occasion. He jumps from the above quoted statements to the account of the first public parade.

The Little Dogs were seated in the lodge, with their wives behind them. All the women were dressed up, wearing sheepskin dresses and painted robes; their hair and face was painted, and they wore bracelets of beads and rings of yellow wire. During the dances the men ogled the wives of other members. The fathers sang for the new members. At the beginning of a song, when the drum was beaten in a preliminary way, all the members clapped their mouths. At the close of each song the drums were raised and shaken so as to produce a rattling noise. Then the people yelled, and after the shouting blew their whistles. Before the beginning of the next song, the whistles were blown again. Four songs were sung indoors, then the Little

Dogs marched out. One of the sash-wearers led the procession, another was in the rear, but in front of the whipper, who came last of all, while the two remaining sash-wearers were placed at equal distances from the leader and rear man respectively. The members whistled as they went along.

The Little Dogs marched to the first halting-place, and a few of the fathers who were acting as singers and had distinguished themselves by their honor marks went into the center and recounted their deeds. First they began to sing, while the new members clapped their mouths, whistled and shouted. These were the words of the song:—

“mā + ihā’ waki’rits.”
 “Enemies I hunt.”

Two of the fathers began to dance. Then one of them, Bear-nose, said, “Stop and listen. I want to tell you something you should try to do yourselves.” Then one father told how he had struck an enemy and taken his lance, closing the narrative with the words, “That is an easy thing to do. Sons, you will do likewise. My friends, the singers, all saw me do it.” Wolf-eye next recited how he had scalped an enemy and taken his gun, and what deeds he had performed on several war expeditions.

The Little Dogs marched on to a second halting-place. One of the fathers, Blue-stone, danced within the circle, while the Little Dogs again merely whistled and rattled. Blue-stone recounted how he had taken an enemy’s gun, ending with the words, “It was easy, and you will do the same.” Then he told of a scalp he had taken. Next Prairie-chicken-bear told how he had given aid to a fellow-tribesman in danger. “I did not strike a coup, but I did what was right, so I tell you, and you will do the same” During all the public performances the people of the village were watching from the tops of the earth-lodges.

At the third stopping place Tearless-eyes danced and told of his deeds. This time the Little Dogs also danced, and then marched so as to approach their lodge. Another halt was made on the way. There the singers again sang, “I am hunting enemies.” Raises-hearts told his coups, then the Little Dogs re-entered their lodge and walked round the inside, marching towards the left, while the fathers remained standing near the fireplace. No one sat down. The whipper, Bull-hoop, got inside the circle and began to whip the members, saying, “Now, friends, I do not wish to whip you always, but I shall die soon, and then someone else will keep this whip.”

Before the return of the Little Dogs, food had been prepared in their lodge. A rawhide rope was stretched across the lodge and the officers’ regalia and members’ head-ornaments were tied to it. A father offered food to these emblems, then Bear-nose said, “Whoever gets a sash shall be

privileged to select for himself whatever piece he wishes from the meat offerings of the Goose Women society. He may also pick out meat when any man comes home from a hunting trip or when people are gathered for his feast, and his attendants will carry it off for him. Whenever you wish to sell the society to younger men, you may do so." Then there was a feast.

Thereafter, the Little Dogs went out to have a public parade whenever they felt inclined, but then they might spend a whole afternoon standing in one open place in the village before they returned to their lodge. For their lodge they used that of any member which was of convenient size.

Hairy-coat still considers himself a Little Dog.

Whenever the Little Dogs gathered together they were joined by four of the best single women of the tribe, selected by the members themselves. The Little Dogs never married these girls, and always addressed them as "marakū'ec," a term otherwise applied only to male friends. The four young women occupied the place of honor during meetings of the organization. Whenever the Little Dogs had an abundance of food, they invited their women comrades to join them in their feasting and singing. If the women's relatives had food, they in turn were wont to invite the society. If the Little Dogs won any women's belongings while playing the moccasin game, they turned them over not to their wives but to their female comrades. In general, they treated them with great kindness. If such a woman married, she might still attend meetings provided her husband did not object.

The Little Dogs were as active as other societies in courting young women, and this is reflected in several of their songs, though obviously there was no essential relation between this phase of the members' lives and their belonging to this particular organization. Among these songs are the following:—

"mā'rūwatsé, marī'kiku'ē, baki'rits."

"Sweetheart, you hear, I hunt."

"mara'ta'cēre, diawa'kawahā'kuts, iwa'reohā'wits."

"My sweetheart, I look at you always, I am tired out."

"hirā'ka'cēre, barē'wits."

"At last I consent, I'll go."

The last of these songs was sung by the members in the daytime, the words being directed to their sweethearts. While singing it, the Little Dogs stood in a circle on the roof of their lodge, and at the end they yelled. Before singing again, they blew their whistles. The words are supposed to be spoken by a woman.

Once Hairy-coat and the other Little Dogs, while far from the village

on a buffalo hunt, got on Thunder's Nest Hill, put on coats of red cloth with wire trimmings on the breast and sleeves, and prepared to sing. They tied together sticks to form a small tipi and borrowed the rattles of the Crazy Dogs, then they sang the last of the preceding songs.

Once the Little Dogs went round at night singing in front of various lodges. Hairy-coat had not joined them, so they came to his house and cried, "Send out your wife." So Hairy-coat sent her out, bidding her join in the singing and submit to whatever treatment the members wished to give her. Not all men were equally brave in such an affair; some would go out together with their wives and join the society. Under such circumstances the following song was sung:—

"mara'tacē re, ita'¹ marē'ts."

"My sweetheart, I am going."

Another song sung outside of lodges is given as follows:—

"ita' hi're mira'wahēruk, marē'wits."

"Well! if you want me, sweetheart, I'll go."

HALF-SHAVED HEADS.

The Half-Shaved Head society (tsū'ta kirakcū'ki) according to Poor-wolf, originated with the Crow, a view in which Buffalo-bird-woman coincides. The Crow visionary received the ceremonies from a procession of birds, whose songs and dances he learned. Hairy-coat said that the name of the society originated in a member's vision. This man saw a buffalo bull, which had its hair shaved off. Accordingly, the visionary shaved half his head, and as he was very brave the rest of the members, without imitating him with regard to shaving, adopted the name by which they afterwards became known. The visionary had a war club with a solid yellow stone and a buffalo tail attached to the end of the handle. Half of the stone was painted red, and the remainder with white clay. He painted his face red all over, and on the left side a tail of spotted old eagle feathers was made to stand up erect. The hairs of a buffalo mane were strung together for a necklace, which was painted half red and half white.

Maximilian, who expressly identifies his Hidatsa Bow Lance society with the Mandan Half-Shaved Heads, merely says that the members wore feathers on the head, and carried bow-spears in the hand. According to Hairy-coat, members marching outdoors carried guns, which they fired during their procession. All walked two abreast,² men in similar costumes

¹ Woman's expression of surprise.

² This rule was not absolute, as is shown by other statements.

beside each other. Thus, if two members both had coats of red cloth with gold braiding, or if both wore war-bonnets, they would march together. These bonnets were the usual caps with horns, weasel-skin strips, and streamers. One man rode horseback, dressed as though for war and with hair tied in front; the horse frequently shied on account of the shooting (Hairy-coat). The same informant later spoke of several horsemen, all warriors of distinction, who wore sacred feathers and honor marks on their heads. The horse's tail was turned up and shortened by tying. According to Buffalo-bird-woman's recollection, the members wore the hair loose on one side and tried to tie it so as to give an appearance of no hair on the other. The shooting of the guns was part of the impersonation of enemies by the society.

The leader bore a hooked stick called *mi'ra atake'*, "white stick," but painted red; it was wrapped with wolfskin, and pairs of wolfskin strips, about a foot long, hung down from three points on the shaft. The last man in line carried a similar lance wrapped with otterskin. Sometimes Poor-wolf, as leader, and the rear officer with the otter-wrapped spear took the lead, walking abreast.

Two other officers had bow-spears resembling those of the Lumpwoods except that red cloth took the place of bear-gut (Hairy-coat). A more detailed account of these emblems (*miru'xi i'ti'a* "big-toothed bow," or *miru'xi ha'tski*, "long bow") is given by Poor-wolf. A weasel skin with the head was wrapped round the grip of the bow, so that the head was above the holder's fingers. Above the weasel a mallard skin was glued to the bow, then there followed the skin from the neck of a woodpecker the skin of a yellow bird, a white bird, and another mallard. A symmetrical arrangement of skins was made below the weasel skin. To four points on the bow eagle tail-feathers were attached, while the sides of the bow, throughout its length, were decorated with magpie feathers. These bow-spears were buried with their owners. The officers carrying them generally walked in the middle of a society procession, though not, as a rule, next to each other. However, Poor-wolf recalls one occasion when they walked abreast in lead of the other members, who followed in single file.

Butterfly sets the number of hooked-stick carriers at four and speaks of two additional officers with flat-boards not mentioned by other informants.

The only musical instruments used were hand-drums.

Poor-wolf bought the society at the age of 27. He remained in it for nine years, but one year after his entrance his group bought the Black Mouth society so that during eight years the same body of men held both memberships. (Compare page 235.)

Though no detailed account of the mode of purchase was secured, it

did not, in all probability, differ from that obtaining for the other men's organizations. Thus, there are statements that the fathers gave their sons some medicine in the form of a head ornament, or sacred paint for a war charm, and that the fathers sang for the buyers at the first public parade.

Before going outdoors for a dance, the members planted the hooked-sticks on the roof of their lodge as a sign for the people of the village.

The society frequently met for the discussion of martial affairs, but dances were not held very often. When someone made a suggestion to that effect, the members prepared their regalia and held a dance. It was only for their public performance, however, that they used all their insignia. On such occasions they marched outdoors, proceeded through the camp, formed a circle at each halting place, and performed a dance there, finally returning to the lodge. The simple indoor performance might take place during any season of the year, while the public dance might be held only in the summer.

On a certain occasion the lances emblematic of the society were stuck into the ground, and one of the Fathers offered a piece of the best meat to them, at the same time addressing each lance in succession as follows:—

"mi'ritiruté	tsē'ca	dí'xuwets,	hawa'te	cigā'go	maki'eruk,
Lance	wolf	you,	my young	man	fighters
i'rikit'ā	mawā'hets.	tsagi'ha	ma'riamamā'hāts	a'riwaki'a,	mā'-
we do not	them touched.	Best	we wish to get along	in the fight,	we wish to
want					
aruwa'ca	a'kiraruk	marí'atsats	tsagi'ha,	ma'ta	cigā'ga
have luck	good luck	we want it	good,	all our young men.	we don't
easily,					
mā'mahā'ts.					
wish to be	touched.				

This prayer was followed by a feast. No special payment was made to the man reciting it.

BLACK MOUTHS OR SOLDIERS.

Wolf-chief and Hairy-coat think that the Black Mouth (í'í cipi'ē) society originated not with the Hidatsa, but with the Mandan. The former's sister and Packs-wolf are of the same opinion. Maximilian does not state the age of the Hidatsa Soldiers but as they form his eighth division, they must have been middle-aged or elderly men. Hairy-coat, however, bought his membership at about thirty, and so did Poor-wolf, who remained a Soldier for fourteen years.

Two officers carried emblems known as raven-lances (*pē'ritska m'raturé*) (Fig. 8). Each lance was blackened, and the spear head was ordinarily carried pointing upward. Below the spear head there was a bunch of owl wing-feathers, to which strips of otterskin were attached, and fastened to these were some raven wing-feathers. This decorative arrangement appeared at three points on the lance. A strip of otterskin was wrapped spirally round the shaft, which remained partly exposed. At the bottom of the lance there was a raven head with bill pointing downwards. The tail of a raven was fastened to the head. The lancers were not elected. If a man's father happened to have a raven-lance, the buyer automatically became an officer through purchasing an officer's membership (Poor-wolf).

In battle, if the enemy pursued the Hidatsa, a raven-lance officer was expected to sing his song, invert his emblem, and plant it in the ground. Then he might not retreat until one of the rattlers or some other fellow-tribesman plucked out the lance for him. If, however, the officer's rescuer was not a member of the society, he removed all the decoration of the emblem and returned merely the bare shaft with the spear head. The officer was then obliged to go to the father from whom he had purchased the lance and have him decorate it once more. If the father had died, some member of his group was approached for the same purpose.

Each of two other officers carried a flat-stemmed pipe, red on one side and black on the other, decorated with quill work and a dyed horsetail. These men were expected to adjust quarrels and preserve peace in the tribe. According to Poor-wolf, the black and red colors represented night and day, bad will and good will, respectively. All the spirits were represented by the pipe. The members prayed to the pipe that their children should grow up, and asked it for plenty of buffalo. Invariably the following prayer was addressed to it: "When I fight, I wish to defeat the enemy easily."

While Poor-wolf was a Soldier, one of the pipe-bearers was killed, and Poor-wolf was chosen in his



Fig. 8 (50.1-4354). Stick of Black Mouth Society. Length, 190 cm.

place.¹ The other pipe-bearer was Enemy's-dog. As the latter was the older of the two, he generally filled the pipe and recited the appropriate prayers. Poor-wolf took the unfilled pipe before a dance, burned sweetgrass for incense, and held the pipe over it. Then he filled his pipe, lit it, burned sweetgrass once more, relit the pipe, and offered it in succession to God (?), the West Wind, North, East, and South Winds, the Earth and all the spirits, invoking a blessing on the society of Soldiers.

There were two rattlers. Originally their emblems were of rawhide, but at a later period baking-powder cans were substituted. The rattles were shaken not from right to left, but forwards.

Poor-wolf, alone of my informants, mentions a couple of "death-men" (dē'ruxpā'ka), wearing, one a red, and the other a white, bonnet. During a fight they separated, each leading one half of the Soldiers, who in turn were followed by the Fox society. The "death-men" must never retreat so long as they were wounded only in the arms and legs; they were allowed to turn back only when injured in the breast or back.

The rank and file carried a sort of tomahawk (mi're i'boptsa' — sharp-pointed wood) consisting of a knife-blade set in a wooden stick near the turn of its tapering bent end.²

Packs-wolf said that the Black Mouths painted the lower part of the face black, and drew a slanting line from the forehead across the face.

Hairy-coat says that a public parade was led by one of the raven-lance officers, the other bringing up the rear. In front of the second lancer and directly behind the first marched the two rattlers respectively. The pipe-bearers occupied the center of the line, separated or immediately followed by the herald of the organization. According to Poor-wolf, however, these officers led in marching out of the lodge.

When Poor-wolf's group wished to buy this society, the Soldiers protested, saying, "You are going too fast, you have only recently acquired the Half-Shaved Head society." It took the Half-Shaved Heads nearly a year before the Soldiers would listen to their proposal. As there were seven clans in the Black Mouth organization, the buyers were obliged to make a preliminary offer of seven pipes, and of as many horses. Later, the fathers were entertained for more than twenty nights. The two "raven-lances" were planted in the ground, and the buyers were ordered to pile up property to the height of these sticks. Further, the fathers placed two calumet pipes (i'ikipi i'cuwatū) in the rear of the lodge. On the last night one of the Soldiers rose, and addressed the purchasers as follows: "My

¹ This happened three years after Poor-wolf's purchase of the society.

² Hairy-coat said that the Assinibolne had two blades in a corresponding emblem.

sons, today the whole village — men, women, and children — belongs to you. These pipes do not wish for anything wrong, they are bearers of good will, they want nothing but what is good, they are peace-makers. If anything goes wrong, these pipes will settle matters. Those two raven-lances, on the other hand, are soldiers, they want to die." On the last day, each buyer took a gun or a horse to his father. After a little while, in the course of the same day, the father called his son and his son's wife to his lodge, conversed with them, gave them food to eat, and presented them with new clothes.

It seems that one of the fathers of the members might act as drummer for the Black Mouths even after the first public procession. Before going into the village to dance, there was a performance indoors. The father's first song was "Pipe-bearer, get up!" When he sang his second song, the pipe-bearers rose and danced very slowly. Next the lancers seated nearest the door rose and danced. The father sang: "Ravens, you are scared to death. You will not die. I am the one that wishes to die." Finally, the old man sang: "All, get up! Ravens wish to be soldiers!" Then all rose, and danced in their places. All bore the weapons they would carry on the warpath. The following song sung by a father on such an occasion was recited by Poor-wolf; Wolf-chief, who corrected it, said it belonged to the raven-lance officers.

"*hirā'tsa o'hē'wa tiri'a, waru'xtaru, cē wā'+ its.*"

"Hidatsa these when they run, they are crazy, thus say I."

Poor-wolf says that the rattlers began to sing, the fathers acting as drummers took up the chant, and the rattlers then advanced so as to cross each other's path. According to Hairy-coat, the rattlers merely advanced the left foot and vigorously shook their instruments at the end and before the beginning of a song and it was the lancers that advanced, crossed each other's path, turned round and crossed again. The pipe-bearers and other members did not change their position while dancing. The following song was given by the same informant:—

"*tā'wi tē'hiru tē'iruts.*"

"No matter how many will die, let them die."

The Black Mouths acted as a police force. Whenever some difficulty arose in the tribe or between friendly tribes, this society tried to effect a reconciliation. At certain times they forbade people to go on the warpath. On a buffalo hunt they punished those who transgressed the rules of the chase. If, however, the punishment was taken in good part, the Soldiers made a compensatory payment to the offender. The following accounts may serve as concrete illustrations of their activity.

Once the Arikara and the Assiniboiné were at loggerheads; an Assiniboiné had been killed by an Arikara man, and an Arikara woman had been killed by an Assiniboiné. Poor-wolf summoned the Assiniboiné and Arikara chiefs, took his pipe and two war-bonnets, met the chiefs, and said, "This is the Soldiers' pipe. If you do not listen to me, I shall call the Soldiers." He put one bonnet on the head of each of the chiefs, and continued as follows: "Now my friends, I am an Hidatsa and can call on the Crow for assistance. But I belong to this River, where I raise corn. My friends, the Arikara, also raise corn, and so do the Mandan." Then, looking at the Assiniboiné, he said, "You also belong in part to the River, and I want you to be friends and smoke the pipe." They agreed to smoke, and thus peace was established.

During the same winter, five Mandan arrived with as many sticks representing horses. They brought the message that the Yanktonai desired to make friends with the Hidatsa. Poor-wolf knew that several Hidatsa had been killed by the Sioux, and said that he did not know about the matter. He went to the relatives of the slain person, and gave them horses. The Soldiers had a meeting. Poor-wolf said, "We are not afraid of the Sioux, but if you consent we will let them make peace." At last they consented, and the peace offerings were accepted. A year later, the Sioux fought the Crow and made one Crow a prisoner. Upon Poor-wolf's interference, the Crow was allowed to return to his people.

When people tried to go cherrying while enemies were near, the Black Mouths prevented them from going. Similarly, they sometimes stopped war parties. They would issue an order, "People, stay in the village, don't go away too far." Then, if anyone disobeyed them, leaving at night to hunt or go on the warpath, the Soldiers burned down his house, or punished him in some other way. Thus, a man named Snake-coat went on the warpath against the orders of the Black Mouths. They assembled, went out, and killed many of his horses. Then they returned to the village and began to shoot into the air. The people all fled into their lodges. The Soldiers said: "We wish to know if there is anyone that wants to help the man whose horses we have killed. If so, let him come out and fight. We stop you from going away for your own good; if you do not obey, we shall punish you." They then sang their Black Mouth songs. When the war party came back, the culprit said, "I knew they had killed my horses." Then the Soldiers gathered together and gave him as many horses as they had killed.

If anyone startled the game prematurely during a buffalo hunt, Poor-wolf thus addressed his Soldiers: "Do not break his guns and do not hit him, but take his blankets, cut them up, and scatter the strips. If you

break his weapons, you take away his means of fighting the enemy. Don't give your bows and guns to another tribe." However, it is clear from the accounts of others that there were chiefs of the Soldier society who did not scruple to deprive an offender of his weapons. When Wolf-chief was only fourteen, he disobeyed the orders of the Soldiers and went rabbit-hunting. He shot at a scabby bull that happened to come his way, but was overtaken by two policemen, who cut up his robe and confiscated his flintlock. In this instance the gun was returned to Wolf-chief's father, who had previously told his son, however, that the police had acted within their rights. When a Mandan named Bear-on-the-water went hunting contrary to the decree of the Hidatsa police, they seized his bow and broke it, and also took away his arrows. However, as he did not get angry, they gave him another bow and a set of arrows.

Once one of Buffalo-bird-woman's brothers went out on a bluff and shot one of the buffalo in a herd when he should not have done so. The Black Mouths hooted, "Ū'ū'+ i!" Straightway they assembled, whipped the offender, and broke his gun. On another occasion, on a cold day, the father-in-law of Hides-and-eats' blind daughter went out hunting with his son and killed two buffalo. The Black Mouths began to shout, and people knew they were going to punish someone. They began to cut up the hunter's meat, and to throw it away, but the young man pleaded with them, saying, "Fathers, my children are hungry, that is why I went out hunting: Please cease, and I will give you a horse." He also filled a pipe, and placed it before them. Then they permitted him to take his meat home. Another man who had hunted alone had his tent cut into pieces; he ran away.

Sometimes individual Black Mouths seem to have acted in a rather arbitrary manner. Once, when a fort was to be built, the women were ordered by the Black Mouths to construct the fortifications. Buffalo-bird-woman was working with her mother, when a Black Mouth came along and shot at her in order to frighten her. He did this merely because he was a joking-relative. My informant decided to get even with him by making a quill work suit for him, which would oblige him to give her a horse in return. On another occasion, the Mandan and Hidatsa Black Mouths again ordered the women to work on the fortifications, and pointed out some weak spot to them. Buffalo-bird-woman and four of her comrades were frightened and ran away, but the police told her she need not be afraid, but should merely finish her work. After a while, however, an Arikara Black Mouth came there and bade Buffalo-bird-woman go away. She pushed him back, and he stumbled and fell. He rose full of wrath, but some Hidatsa policemen seized his gun and explained the affair to him. My informant then completed her share of the work. When her father and

brother heard of the incident, they were going to kill the Arikara, but the Black Mouths told them that he had not had a chance to injure her, so the matter was dropped. On another occasion a Black Mouth named Ree ordered a woman to go for poles, but she refused. Then he shot her in the back so that she was burned by the powder. Her relatives became angry, but were stopped by the pipe-bearers.

Boller relates that Poor-wolf, as head of the "soldier band," going his rounds to see that his orders were obeyed, knocked down with his tomahawk several women who did not seem disposed to heed them.¹

CRAZY² DOGS.

The Crazy Dog (macu'ka warā'axi) society, Poor-wolf states, was derived from the Northern Cheyenne. A Cheyenne named Lean-elk dreamt it, and gave it to the Hidatsa before Poor-wolf's time. This informant identifies the organization with the Assiniboiné No-flight society, but in all probability the resemblance is of the vaguest character.

Buffalo-bird-woman thinks this was considered a chiefs' society, but as her brother estimates the members' age at twenty and as Poor-wolf himself bought membership at that age this seems highly improbable.

Poor-wolf in 1910 still considered himself a member because he had never sold his membership.

Some or all of the members had loop-shaped rawhide rattles, to which honor marks were attached. Thus, a horsetail dyed yellow symbolized the theft of a horse, while an eagle feather referred to the striking of a coup. Wolf-chief, who thinks that every member wore a sash, says that corresponding honor marks were fastened to this emblem as well as to the rattle. During a dance the performers wore eagle wing-bone whistles round the neck and might carry what weapons they chose (Poor-wolf). Some members, Buffalo-bird-woman remembers, had spears, which were sometimes obtained from the fathers, but not necessarily so. The spears were decorated with short raven wings. Very few of the Crazy Dogs wore shirts. The body was painted white or red.

Two officers in the society wore caps with sections of mountain-sheep or buffalo horns, and trimmed with weasel skins. When two villages came together, there were naturally four of these officers. Hairy-coat is inclined to think that there were four of these men in every Crazy Dog organization.

¹ Boller, 303.

² Good-bird regards the term *ward'axi* as a Crow word, which means "foolhardy, reckless."

The horns were painted white and the tips were wrapped with quill work and decorated with strips of weasel skin. Owl wing-feathers were attached below the horns. The cap was tied by neck-strings of otterskin. If I understand Hairy-coat's statements correctly, a band of red cloth, about 4 inches in width, was attached across the cap. It was decorated with white beadwork, and three rows of raven wing feathers nearly covering the cloth. In the back an eagle wing-feather was fastened to a strip of red cloth so as to hang between the shoulders. Buffalo-bird-woman says that raven feathers were tied between the horns of the headdress.

Two other officers wore a pair of sashes of red cloth, crossing in front and trailing on the ground behind. When one of these sash-wearers died, the society met to appoint the bravest among them as his successor. The man selected usually declined the honor for a long time, but it was finally forced upon him. When the others fled, the officers were expected to make a stand. Their song was, "This is the way I sing when I want to die." Butterfly says that the sash-wearers attached their individual war charms to their sashes.

Hairy-coat and Buffalo-bird-woman mention another officer bearing a whip, while Butterfly says there were two men with whips. The quirt had a wrist-loop of foxskin and a handle of elkhorn.

The officers¹ of the Crazy Dogs and Dogs shared the right to approach the scene of a feast, point at what food they wished with their lances and knives respectively, and carry it off to their society. In later times, Poor-wolf declares, each society had two officers empowered to exercise this privilege, but originally this was a prerogative of the two societies mentioned. "When the Goose Women society had hung up dried meat, two of us went over there and touched the food. Then the waiters of our society, following behind, took the food that had been touched to our society's lodge."

It was not possible to secure a good account of the method of purchase. Poor-wolf contributed to the initial pile of property paid by his group to the selling Crazy Dogs, but did not have an individual father. Joe Packineau explains that this sometimes occurred when a man endeavoring to get officer's regalia from one of the fathers was somehow prevented from receiving them. More probably, Poor-wolf had no clan father in the sellers' group (see p. 244).

Butterfly says that the Crazy Dogs befriended the young boys who had not yet acquired membership in any society and would invite them to their feasts.

¹ All of them?

Wolf-chief's brother-in-law kept the lodge of the organization, and so my informant, then about 12 or 13 years old, saw the dances. All the members were Hidatsa. On the morning preceding a dance, the Crazy Dogs went to hunt buffalo. They brought all the ribs to the society lodge; the rest of the meat was taken home. An entire rib-piece had a sharpened stick run through it, and was then suspended over a fire for roasting. Three ribs were prepared in this way, and altogether there were thirty-six pieces of meat. While dancing, the members stooped; they did not remain in one place, but walked about. Towards the end of a song, the musicians beat their drums faster, then all straightened up and yelled. While dancing, the Crazy Dogs sounded their whistles and rattles, making a great noise. Women were invited to join in the singing.

Hairy-coat says that the members tried to act like dogs.

For an officer's war song, Hairy-coat sang the following words:—

"Mī watséwa, ma+iwiti'arēcats."

"I am a man, I do not desire help."

The two following songs are obscurely worded, but have reference to women's utterances, the first being the speech of a girl who had intended to marry her sweetheart but was sold to another man:—

"mī wakuwaca'waciru'wa."

"I did so (?)."

"iwa'ra+ohā'wits, hi're, marē'wits."

"I am tired out, say, I'll go."

RAVENS.

The Raven society (pē'ritska i'ké) is the highest of Maximilian's societies. It passed out of existence so many years ago that even Poor-wolf had never witnessed a public performance of the Ravens, though he had seen some dances held indoors. At one time there were many members, but Hairy-coat, Buffalo-bird-woman and Wolf-chief recollect having seen but a single survivor of the organization in their youth. His name was He-has-ears. He always wore a necklace made of the whole of a raven-skin, with the head on the left and the tail on the right side; a piece of red cloth was held in the raven's mouth, and a small piece of rawhide hung down the shoulder. While Buffalo-bird-woman thinks that all Ravens had such necklaces, Wolf-chief is of opinion that the number of members wearing them was limited and that the general emblem of the society was a raven-skin head band; no shirts were worn and the body was painted black.

Maximilian says that every Raven bore a long lance wrapped with red cloth and trimmed with hanging raven feathers. In the same passage he further remarks that the members wore beautifully decorated garments, feather-decorations, and war-bonnets, but there was nothing distinctive about these methods of adornment, and such costumes might even be borrowed from other organizations.

Poor-wolf and Hairy-coat limit the number of spears to two. The emblem was described by Hairy-coat as follows. The shaft was of blackened ashwood, about $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, with a spearhead 1 foot in length, which had at one time been fashioned out of flint, but was in later times of tin or steel. To the shaft there was attached a flap of black cloth, four inches wide and running along the entire length of the stick; the strip of cloth was perforated at intervals, so that it could be secured to the shaft by means of buckskin strings. Sleighbells were fastened to the cloth in a vertical line, and on the outer side the cloth was again perforated for the attachment of a great number of raven tail feathers,¹ through all of which there ran a string of the sort used for snares. The spear was called *pē'ritska i'ta mi're pará'pa*, "Ravens' wood with flying thing" (= "like a flag").

When Hairy-coat was about 17 and a member of the Stone Hammer organization, He-has-ears offered to sell his Raven membership to the Stone Hammers. He bade the young men bring him a drum and sleighbells and had them sit down in a curve. He told them that he had been one of the spear officers, while his friend Road-maker had been the other. In battle the enemy always endeavored to capture these emblems. He-has-ears struck two enemies with his spear, but was outdone in bravery by Road-maker. He told Hairy-coat that if he was touched and ever saw blood from a wound he should immediately fall dead. If an officer happened to be away in time of war, some other Raven took his emblem and tried to conduct himself as be seemed his office. Though his voice was cracked as might be expected of an old man, He-has-ears began to sing for the young men and asked them to dance in accompaniment: "When I sing, dance like the Kit-Foxes, throw out your chests, bend your backs, hold your arms slightly flexed,² and dance either with both feet or advance one before the other. All of you, yell like ravens." His song was the following:—

"*pē'ritska mī, mī i'ka, hūts.*

"Raven am I, me look at (as) he (the enemy) comes."³

When the Little Dogs discovered that the old man had offered to sell his Raven membership they decided that *they* might as well get the property

¹ Poor-wolf said that white and black feathers alternated.

² Not quite as though held akimbo.

³ A closely similar song was: "The Raven comes to see me."

that would have to be paid in the event of the purchase, and offered the Little Dog society to the Stone Hammers. The Stone Hammers agreed to buy it and accordingly became Little Dogs instead of Ravens (see p. 269).

If anyone during a battle began to sing, "If anyone makes a stand, I, too, will not flee," all the Ravens stopped and made a stand (Buffalo-bird-woman).

Poor-wolf thought the Raven society was in some way connected with driving buffalo into a corral.

Dogs.

Three or four years after becoming a Soldier, Poor-wolf, at the age of about 45, became a Dog (macu'ka i'ké).¹ In being adopted into this organization, candidates paid heavily, and Poor-wolf more so than the majority because he became an officer. Accordingly, he gave his father two horses. In 1910 Poor-wolf, then about 90 years old, declared he was still a Dog, having never sold his membership. He also said that he was the only surviving member.

The following account was secured from Hairy-coat.² A man once saw a vision and painted his robe accordingly, daubing it yellow and cutting a fringe of seven strips. He saw two dogs standing in the clouds at daybreak, and a yellow dog on the ground was looking up at the sky and hallooing at them. The celestial Dogs came down to visit the Yellow Dog, and asked him, "Why are you hallooing at us?" The Yellow Dog was very glad to meet his visitors, and replied, "Well, you were looking at us, so I began to halloo and the other dogs followed suit, for both you and we are dogs." Then the Yellow Dog said, "Do you first instruct the people, then I will instruct them next. Let us come to an agreement first." One of the Celestial Dogs said, "I thought of this first, so I wish to be the leader." "Yes," said the Yellow Dog, "but if there is anything you cannot do, I will do it." The Celestial Dog said, "On the robe I wear I will cut two long strips and make them hang down, and I will tie a small owlskin to the top of the strips. I will paint my body a light red; on the front of both arms and legs, I will put red paint terminating in three forks. A whole foxskin shall be tied to each ankle; the head and tail shall be joined, with the tail dragging along the ground. On the left side I will wear a sash of red cloth, two hands in width, and on the right side a similar sash of black cloth."

¹ The translation given by my interpreter is "dog-imitators."

² The description of regalia in Hairy-coat's narrative is given in the appropriate paragraph below.

He continued to enumerate the other portions of his costume, and he and the other Celestial Dog, who acted as his attendant, proceeded to prepare their regalia. The sash in some way represented a travois, and as a dog cannot put a travois on himself, the Celestial Dog was supposed to have an attendant who slipped the sashes over his head.

The Yellow Dog asked whether the Celestial Dog and his attendant were ready. The attendant said, "You hallooed at us, and we know that you belonged up there as well as on the earth. I will belong to the earth, because I put the travois on the Real Dog. I will join you, for I represent the Indian." They instituted the custom of "backward speech," which the Attendant practised in talking to his master. The Yellow Dog said he should dress himself and should not regard anything as sacred. If meat was being dried, he would take some down, and the birds in the air, as well as the dogs on the earth, should enjoy it. They then instructed the Hidatsa how to dress and dance. The Attendant said the Indians might have five sashes as a dog had five claws, but if they preferred they might use but four. The Real Dog told the people that during a performance of the Dog dance the members might lock the door of their lodge and freely indulge their passions in the dark, irrespective of ties of relationship, as dogs also disregarded such considerations. This license was to be granted in view of the dangers incurred by the Dogs in battle.

Wolf-chief, like Hairy-coat, regards this as an Hidatsa society. An Indian, born of a woman, but knowing that he was descended from wolves, started the Dog organization. He composed the songs. He said, "We will call just one man 'Real Dog.'" He made four caps for the members; eagle wing-feathers (afterwards superseded by those of the magpie) were fastened to the caps, and in the center a tail-feather was made to stand up erect. "This," said he, "shall be the sacred headgear." The dancers wore no shirts, and painted their bodies with red paint. Before the wet paint had dried, they scratched it with their fingers. The face was likewise painted red, and near the mouth canine teeth were indicated by paint. Some members tied a bunch of split owl feathers to the back of the head, so that they stood up erect. All of them wore sashes and carried the rattles already described. The founder of the society said, "My name is Yellow Dog. When you fight enemies, and the Real Dog goes forward, you must say, 'Go ahead, and jump at the enemies.' Then he shall turn back. But if you say, 'Come back, don't go near the enemies,' then he must go right into their midst. You must teach future generations, you must not let the organization die out; always keep one Real Dog."

Wolf-chief's version terminates in a somewhat obscure account of four bad dogs living in the Hidatsa village at the time the Dog society was intro-

duced. One would jump up high to get meat down from a rack, another, which had a big swelling on the forehead, went into lodges to steal meat, a third dug holes in earth-lodges, which was a sign that someone would die. People wished to kill these dogs, but they turned out to be very strong. Though wounded, they did not die. When the Yellow Dog was asked, why such bad dogs grew up in the village he replied, "You must not kill them. They are dogs, but their power is greater than that of other animals." He called their names. "So-and-so, and so-and-so, and so-and-so, shall go to heaven when they die. I shall go there also. After I shall have gone, the dogs in the village will cry and look up to the sky. They will do so early in the morning, at noon, and in the evening; they cry to me." According to Wolf-chief, the dogs of the village were actually wont to howl as the Yellow Dog had predicted. At daybreak one dog would howl, and the other dogs joined in, all looking up at the sky. At noon they did likewise, and a second repetition took place after dark.

Each member wore a whistle suspended from his neck by means of a buckskin string decorated with quill work; the whistle was from the wing-bone of an eagle (Poor-wolf) or of a swallow (Hairy-coat). The rank and file had headdresses of owl feathers with one or two eagle feathers in the middle. All members carried a *ma-i'xaxō'ri* rattle, which consisted of a stick about 14 or 16 inches long, covered with buckskin with a fringe of deer (Hairy-coat) or buffalo calf (Maximilian) dewclaws. In Fig. 9 there is a picture of a Dog dancer, reproduced from Maximilian's Atlas.

Hairy-coat speaks of but one Real Dog (*macu'ka kā'ti*), wearing two sashes, and of three other officers wearing one sash a piece. The skins of a species of owl (*hi'te*) were tied to the sashes. One of the sash-wearers represented the mythical Yellow Dog. These four men were further distinguished from the rank and file by their headdress (*maxi'te*) which consisted of a buckskin cap completely covered with magpie feathers. From the center of this headdress there extended two very long magpie tails. Other magpie feathers were strung together and sewed to the edge of the cap, and then in corresponding concentric rings up to the crown. In the front an eagle feather had tied to it an eagle plume, while down the back there extended a whole eagle tail of twelve feathers. Little strips of weasel skin were glued to the magpie tails.

Poor-wolf and Buffalo-bird-woman speak of two Real Dogs, and to them alone the latter informant ascribed the use of the magpie headdresses. Poor-wolf says that the owl feather headdresses were worn by all members when dancing indoors, but were exchanged for the caps with magpie feathers when the Dogs prepared for a public performance.

Poor-wolf mentioned, in addition to the two Real Dogs, one Lone Dog



Fig. 9. Hidatsa Dog Dancer. (Maximilian's Atlas.)

(macu'ka i'tsegic). Wolf-chief thinks the Lone Dog belonged to the Crazy Dog organization and was a man who wished to die. All three of Wolf-chief's officers had knives, of which the handle was supposed to be a bear's jaw. Whenever one of the other societies, notably the Goose Women's society, had a feast, these three officers had the privilege of going thither, touching with their knives some of the meat prepared for the occasion, and having this food carried away for their own use by their attendants.¹

According to Hairy-coat, the Real Dog was the only member to wear a foxskin round each ankle, and he always had a knife hanging by his wrist, which represented a dog's tooth. The attendant referred to in the origin myth did not wear a sash, but was expected to dress the Real Dog (see p. 285). In case of danger the attendant was supposed to pull back the Real Dog. At a sale of the Dog membership referred to by Hairy-coat, the Real Dog who had just disposed of his office stood up by the door and thus addressed the purchasers: "I'll tell you something. Select a man to take care of the Real Dog, for all dogs have a person to keep them and take care of them. Whoever takes care of this one must be brave and prepared to rescue him from danger." Volunteers were called for, and finally Almost-a-wolf sat down beside the new Real Dog.

The Real Dogs acted by contraries. One Real Dog, named Bloody-mouth, according to Buffalo-bird-woman, would put red paint on his body and feet in the winter time, and walk about naked, save for a breechclout and his cap, and with nothing but a whistle and a flint knife. He went through the village to the woods, and back again, to show that he was a Real Dog. Some power he possessed prevented his feet from freezing. Wolf-chief remembers his father telling of a similar power, peculiar to the Real Dogs, to take out boiling meat from a kettle without injury to the arms and hands. This feature was certainly characteristic of the Hot dance (page 253).

It was necessary for Real Dogs to express the contrary of their meaning in speaking to others, and a like rule was obligatory on others addressing them. If a Real Dog met his girl in the wood and she addressed him with the words, "Come, Real Dog," he turned about and went away. But if she forbade him to approach, he ran up to catch her. At a feast of their society the Real Dogs were beaten with sticks to make them come into the lodge.

In battle the attendant was to hold back the Real Dog, but when there was great danger, he would say, "Go now!" Then the Real Dog might

¹ In describing the Mandan and Hidatsa corn ceremony, Maximilian writes: "Öfters kommen auch während dieser Ceremonie ein Paar Männer von der Bande der Hunde, zerren ohne Umstände ein grosses Stück Fleisch von den Gerüsten herab und nehmen es mit. Da sie Hunde und angeschene Männer sind, so kann man ihnen dieses nicht wehren" (II, 183).

flee. If, on the contrary, the enemy seemed cowardly, the attendant would say, "Well, there is great danger. Then the Real Dog went forward. When Hairy-coat's father had bought the office, the former incumbent thus prayed to the Celestial Dogs: "I hope that my son will die immediately. I do not wish him to live long. If he wishes for anything, I hope he will not get it, or only after a long time."

Wolf-chief narrated the following tale illustrating the "backward speech" feature of the Real Dog office.

Once the Cheyenne had come towards an Hidatsa village and killed a party of hunters. The Hidatsa were only a few in number, and sent for aid to the Assiniboine, then camped on the Yellowstone. The Assiniboine came, and the Hidatsa asked one of their shamans to pray. The shaman had a rawhide rope stretched, and ordered all the guns to be leaned against it. Then he put down the barrel of one gun, and blood dropped from it. "This is a good sign." He sang a song, and repeated the procedure with every other gun. He issued the rule that none should walk in front of the guns, but one man, a Real Dog, paid no attention to this prohibition, picked up some cooked food from there, and said, "Tomorrow is the day for me to die, I do not care whose food this is. If I want it, I'll have it." He wished to disobey orders. People said, "He will surely be killed." The Real Dog said, "Why, you sent me there, you should have told me the opposite of what you meant." Afterwards an Hidatsa shaman prayed. He picked up some sage leaves, rubbed them with his hands to form a ball, sang, raised his hands to his head, then lowered them again, and showed the inside of his hands, which were all black with the exception of the finger points, which were all white. "This color shows that I shall lose ten men, but I shall yet be able to arrange it differently. Get me ten eagle feathers." They could find only nine feathers. He said, "It is not so bad after all." Again he sang, rubbed sage leaves, and showed his hands: nine of his fingers were black, and one white. "Well, because you brought me nine feathers, only one Hidatsa man will be killed tomorrow. But I have some captives from other tribes, and I shall have one of them slain instead of an Hidatsa." The allies went close to the Cheyenne camp, and at day-break they attacked them. The Real Dog went into the enemy's camp, they heard him and awoke. The allies killed all the Cheyenne. The Hidatsa lost only one captive and the Real Dog, whose body was found cut to pieces, while the Assiniboine lost thirty men. Since that time people knew that when they wished to call back a Real Dog, they must bid him go forward.

Before a dance, the Real Dog would carry meat on his knife, walk towards the four quarters, then return and put the meat down on the ground in the center of the village. Tearless-eyes, Hairy-coat's father, obtained

the meat from one of his clan fathers. The Yellow Dogs, and later the other Dogs, of the village would come and devour the meat. One statement by Hairy-coat seems to indicate that the Yellow Dog officer might come from his own house and eat of the food, as he did not respect sacred things (see p. 285). He wore a sash on this occasion, and his body was painted red all over.

Before beginning to sing, the Dogs howled like dogs. The first member to enter the lodge was the Real Dog, who was followed by the Yellow Dog. There was a single double-headed drum hollowed out of a log. At first the members only blew their whistles. Wives were seated behind their husbands. Then the attendant holding the Real Dog's sash whipped him as he would a dog, then the Real Dog rose and began to dance, still held by his keeper, who whipped him a little at the close of the song, whereupon both sat down. The other Dogs shook their rattles during the dance, in which they also took part after the Real Dog had begun. At the close of the song all the Dogs stood blowing their whistles, then they returned to their places and sat down. The other members admonished the attendant not to forget to save the Real Dog whenever he was in danger. The dancers carried bows of elk and mountain-goat horn.

The dance continued until nightfall, when the doors were locked. Then, in the dark, while the fathers¹ of the members were continuing to sing, the Real Dog seized any of the women present and embraced her. The other Dogs followed suit. Degrees of relationship were disregarded, and no woman might refuse to yield. Tearless-eyes once caught hold of one of his mothers-in-law, who cried out, but was quieted by other people, who told her not to cry as she was merely submitting to the rule. Another man caught a young woman, who afterwards turned out to be his sister. When the Dogs had done, the doors were opened, and the women ran off.

In a public parade the members marched in single file, except for the Real Dogs, who walked abreast. Sometimes the Real Dogs took the lead, at other times their place was farther back. The Dogs would say, "Whoever kills a Sioux or strikes the first coup, shall be feasted by us." Once Enemy's-dog struck the first coup, and was accordingly entertained by the society.

The following are Dog songs:—

"awa'he maxū'ats; awa'he maxū'ats cewā'+its."

"This earth is my body; this earth is my body.² I said so."

"hiricé makī'ric. mī ri'tēts."

"This is what I look for. So I begin to get frightened."

¹ This clause would seem to indicate that the custom here described was practised at the time of the purchase of the organization.

² That is, "When I die, my body will be dust."

BUFFALO BULLS.

The Bulls (ki'rup i'ke') formed one of the highest age-grades, nevertheless Hairy-coat estimates the age of members in his day at but little over thirty. It was customary to have one junior member, and Hairy-coat himself was chosen at the age of eight years, "because they knew my father loved me and would feast them." Apparently he was admitted free. He did not state whether he was the first junior member ever taken into the organization; at all events, when the society was sold two years and a half later, the junior membership was sold like any other. For some years after the sale Hairy-coat continued to associate with the group he had belonged to when they were still Bulls. Whenever his father returned from the chase, he had rib meat cooked and bade his son invite these older men. On such an occasion the boy would get an old man to herald that the former Bulls were invited to Hairy-coat's father's lodge. In return the older men also invited Hairy-coat to their feasts. This association was not dissolved until the time when Hairy-coat's proper age-group purchased a society.¹

Poor-wolf said that some Bulls were old, while others were young. In 1910 Wolf-chief explained that the Bulls were "friends" of the Lumpwoods and that thus old and young people might sometimes dance together. A year later the same informant thought that the Hidatsa Bulls were "friends" of the Kit-Foxes, while the Bull society of the Mandan stood in the same relationship to the Crazy Dogs of that tribe.

The Bulls had several women comrades who helped them in singing and occasionally prepared a feast for them. Wolf-chief remembers three women who acted in this capacity. They called themselves Buffalo Bull women.

No complete origin tradition could be secured. Hairy-coat says that the society was given to the Hidatsa by the buffalo bulls themselves and that it was shared by the Sioux and Assiniboiné. Poor-wolf derives the use of the Blind Bulls' masks from a personal vision.

The mode of purchase was the one customary in all the age-societies. Seven pipes were offered by the prospective buyers,—four for the Four-clans and three for the Three-clans in the sellers' group. The Four-clans discussed among themselves how much property was to be demanded and how many nights they should be feasted, and the Three-clans conducted a corresponding discussion.² If the members of one phratry could not

¹ This seems to have been the Stone Hammer society.

² This mode of deliberation by phratries was also customary in matters of tribal importance according to Hairy-coat. It was followed, for example, in the construction of a winter village.

agree, they might decide to leave the decision with the other phratry. The office of a Blind Bull was acquired in the usual automatic fashion noted with regard to the offices of other organizations (see p. 264, 275, 301).

Hairy-coat for some reason did not have to buy his junior membership, but some years later he sold it at the same time as the older Bulls disposed of their membership. In spite of his youth a pipe was offered to him, and he was requested to give his consent to the sale. Then a boy belonging normally to the age-group just above his own was assigned to Hairy-coat for his son.

All the members, with the exception of a horseman and two officers, wore the same headdress, consisting of a cap made from the skin of a buffalo's head above the eyes. In the back this cap extended a trifle below the neck, and in front it was tied with chin-straps. From the cap there rose two buffalo horns, cut short at the bottom, with their tips approaching each other; they were perforated so that they could be fastened to the skin with buckskin strings.

Two officers, known as Blind Bulls (ki'rup ictarë'ci'kè), wore a mask consisting of the skin of a whole buffalo head with the mane and horns. Blue glass was put in place of the buffalo's eyes, and below them were the eyeslits for the wearer. The nose — or, according to Buffalo-bird-woman, the entire lower half of the mask, from the nose downwards — was painted blue. The Blind Bulls carried spears decorated with long feathers tied at the top, as well as with horsetails dyed yellow. Pieces of weasel skin were tied to the shaft, all of which was painted black. The spear head was over a foot in length and was held pointing downwards. These spears were called mā + ita' i'cu i'ti'e, "arrow-feather-large."

A few members tied a dried buffalo tail to the back of their belts so that it stood up erect. These, after dancing forward, would run back again, hold their right horns with their hands, and act as if they were going to hook some of the people. In war these men were obliged to make a stand against pursuing enemies (Wolf-chief). Accordingly, they would address the people as follows: "You see my tail in the air because I am brave. Once the enemy were pursuing us. I got so angry that my tail rose erect, and I turned about to chase the enemy." A statement by Hairy-coat seems to imply that all Bulls wore tails.

During a parade one member wearing no headdress proceeded on horseback. In this case, however, the horse had sections of horns with a piece of buffalo skin fastened to its head, and a piece of rawhide painted yellow was attached to its face. The rider carried a shield and wore a skirt.

Members wore a skirt or kilt of red cloth extending just below the knees; at the bottom it was edged with tin cones, and directly above the cones

small bells were fastened to the cloth. Shirts were not worn, and the body and arms were painted with blue clay. All carried guns and wore what honor marks they possessed. Thus a man who had killed an enemy tied a scalp to his gun and painted a line with white clay for each man slain. If a Bull had been wounded, he would whittle the center of a stick so that the shavings were still attached at one end, and tie the stick to the hair on his cap. If wounded in the chest, he would put red paint from lip to chin. Finger-prints on both sides of the breast indicated that an enemy had been seized by the person thus decorated.

Anyone that had ever driven the Sioux from their breastworks, or had entered a Sioux tipi, was permitted to enter the dance lodge before the other members. In dancing, the Bulls stamped their feet. When performing outdoors, they acted fiercely. If anyone of them had slain an enemy, he might run up towards the spectators and discharge his gun. Anyone wounded in battle had the privilege of kicking his neighbor in the dance. The Blind Bull — Wolf-chief speaks of but one officer of this type — did not seem to hear the drumming and singing, but merely walked and jumped around. When the Bulls danced, a vessel with water was put in the center of the village, and some food was placed beside it. After the Bulls had ceased to dance, someone said, "Whoever has helped to take a wounded man out of the fray, may come forward and drink water." Then those who had done so got up and drank of the water; generally there were very few of them. In later times whiskey was put into the vessel. Wolf-chief's father once went to the vessel, and said, "Over there, in the west, the enemy were pursuing us. One woman was lagging behind. I turned back and saved her life." Then he drank of the liquor. After drinking, he said, "At the Knife River confluence the enemy were pursuing us. I halted, I did not run. The enemy stopped. The bravest of them approached. I shot and killed him." Then the speaker took another drink. After this public performance the Bulls returned to their lodge.

MANDAN MEN'S SOCIETIES.

THE MANDAN SYSTEM.

Both from Maximilian's account and the statements of my own informants it appears that the Mandan system of men's societies closely resembled that of the Hidatsa. In both cases there was a series of graded organizations, the membership, or rather ownership, of each of which was acquired by collective purchase. The method of buying membership was practically identical, and among the Mandan as well as among the Hidatsa the surrender of the purchasers' wives to the sellers formed a conspicuous feature. Owing to the collective manner of obtaining membership, practically all tribesmen belonged to some one of the societies. If a boy of a certain age did not yet belong to any organization, he was, according to Water-chief, derided as a "Finger-in-his-eye (*istá wátke*). After selling their last society the retired members, as among the Hidatsa, were known as "Stinking-ears" (*nakóxe xuⁿpé*).

According to Black-chest and Wounded-face, the institution of "friendly" organizations described for the Hidatsa (p. 229) also occurs among the Mandan, but this is denied by Painted-up for both men's and women's organizations. Unfortunately this important point must remain undecided.

There can be no doubt that within the period known to my informants membership in a society was primarily, on the Hidatsa plan, a matter of purchase, not of age. Because, for example, the group that normally would have purchased the Kit-Fox and Little Dog societies failed to buy either from his own class, Black-chest at 62 considers himself a member of these organizations, which he joined at 20 and 25 respectively.

Owing to the very small number of Mandan who survived the epidemic of 1837 and the intimate relations of the survivors with the Hidatsa, the accounts of my Mandan informants may be largely colored by Hidatsa influences, so that Maximilian's data are all the more valuable and will be summarized in the following sections. Of the societies enumerated by my Mandan informants but not given by Maximilian, the Kit-Fox and the Little Dog organizations may be assumed to have been adopted from the Hidatsa in recent times, for both occur in Maximilian's Hidatsa list. In preparing the following comparative table I assume, for reasons already set forth (p. 235), that in Maximilian's day there were distinct Dog and Half-

Shaved Head societies. Black-chest's enumeration differs from that by Wounded face merely in the omission of the Old Dog, Coarse Hair, and Black Tail Deer societies and in the reversal of the relative positions of the Buffalo Bull and Dog societies.

MANDAN SOCIETIES.

Maximilian (II, 139-144).	Wounded-face.
	1. Cheyenne Society (cō'ta ō'xat'e)
	2. Kit-Fox Society (ō'xox'atoc)
	3. Little Dog Society (mini'sinik ō'xat'e)
1. Foolish Dogs (Meni'ss O'chka O'chatā)	4. Crazy Dog Society (mini's'ō'xka ō'xat'e)
2. Crows, or Ravens (Hähderucha O'chatā)	
3. Half-shaved Heads (I'schohä Kako-schochatā)	
4. Soldiers (Chara'k O'chatā, or Kau'a Karakáchka)	5. Black Mouth Society. (I'he psi'here ō'xate, or numā'k xarāk ō'xat'e)
5. Dogs (Meni'ss O'chatā)	7. Dog Society (mini's ō'xatoc)
6. Old Dogs (Meni'ss-Chäh-Ochatā)	8. Old Dog Society (mini's xixe' ō'xat'e)
7. Buffalo Bulls (Bero'ck-O'chatā)	6. Buffalo Bull Society (mēro'k ō'xat'e)
8. Black-Tail Deers (Schu'mpsi O'chatā)	10. Black-Tail Deer Society (cu'psi ō'xat'e)
	9. Coarse Hair Society (bacā'ca ō'xat'e)

CHEYENNE SOCIETY.

Wounded-face's group bought the Cheyenne society (cō'ta ō'xat'e), at the request of the men owning it, when my informant was about 10 or 12 years old. Calicoes and tanned goods were gathered, and with them a pipe was taken to the sellers. One of these smoked the pipe to show that they were willing to dispose of their membership.

Every member had a head ornament consisting of a round piece of raw-hide with a bone feather holder. Two officers wore moderately wide aprons of red cloth edged with eagle feathers hanging down. Each of two other officers had a sacred bow with two arrows, one painted red and the other black. Two officers bore a spiked club (*ō'o kahiri* 'ka), the spike being of horn. The sacred bows and arrows were for use against the enemy; they never missed their aim. For some reason no paraphernalia were supplied to Wounded-face's group, and they did not exercise their membership privileges because older men who should have taught them the appropriate songs died. All the members of this society were Mandan, but the organization originated with the Dakota or Cheyenne. Black-chest independently made the statement that the society was not really of Mandan origin. The *cō'ta ō'zat'e* regarded the Foxes as their fathers, and the Little Dogs as their "friends."

Water-chief said that members wore two eagle feathers rising from the back of the head. Before his group bought the society, five older Mandan called them together, and said, "We wish to give you a society." Then property was collected and brought to them. The same night they sang songs, to which the young boys danced. After the dance, the sellers addressed their sons, saying, "You are growing up now. You must go against the enemy. Try to be brave and conquer the enemy."

KIT-FOX SOCIETY.

The following account of this society (*ō'xox'atoc*) was given by Black-chest.

When we bought this society, all of us were unmarried. We wished to buy this society. Our fathers said, "These foxes have ten claws on their front legs, so we wish you to give us a ten days' feast." I selected Good-bear, one of my clan fathers, for my individual father. The members of the River Women society were our "friends"; one of these, Black-head, was my individual "friend."

When the River Women had gathered together, we went to them and thus addressed them: "We wish to make friends with you. We desire to buy a society and wish you to help us and give us some blankets. We wish to know whether you are willing to do so." The women debated the request, and each one declared that she would contribute her blanket. Then we said, "Well, now each of you shall say which one of us you are willing to help." Then Black-head designated me. She was no clan aunt of mine.

We borrowed Broken-horn's earth-lodge for our meeting and brought kettles of food there. Black-head also brought a kettle of food there. We boys came in on the left side and sat down in an ellipse. We could hear our fathers singing as they approached our lodge. They entered it on the right side and sat down. Their wives, who were to assist in the singing during the ten nights' entertainment, were grouped behind their husbands.

When our fathers had sat down, one of our number, Wounded-face, rose and said, "Well, comrades and women friends, listen. We have brought our food here, and we wish to select our fathers tonight. Do each of you rise and set your food before your father." Then each of us rose, picked up his kettle, and walked past the door-side of the fireplace to his father. I picked out one of my clan fathers and gave him my kettle; then I returned to my place. Black-head, who had watched my movements, then came forward and brought her kettle to the man indicated as my father. Those purchasers who had no clan fathers among the sellers selected anyone they pleased for their individual father. The fathers ate of the food, leaving some for their wives, who emptied the kettles and returned them to their husbands. Then Good-bear called me by name and said, "Come, son, and get your kettle." I went towards him and stood before him. Then Good-bear prayed to the supernatural powers: "I have gone through the Oki'pe ceremony myself and have undergone great hardships for your sake. In other ceremonies I have also undergone suffering. Before I underwent this suffering, I thought you would help me whenever I could not do something by my own power. I have no power to give honor marks, therefore I ask you to help me by securing honor marks for my son." Then I took both kettles and went back to my place, where I returned to Black-head her own kettle. Each of the boys acted in a similar way.

After all of us had sat down, our fathers began to sing. They beat drums, but did not dance. They sang these words:—

"ma'kitā'ni mǎhuna."

"You, wake up and come."

[These words are supposed to be addressed to one's sweetheart.]

Four times they sang such songs. Then came a second set of songs, during which the fathers danced in their places. When they had done dancing, they addressed us in obsolete Mandan, saying, "Si! i'karēxoc!" ("Clan son, daylight is here!") Shot-foot, one of the fathers, rose to address us. He said, "Si, we wish you to give us a ten nights' feast. This will give us time to prepare clothes for you."

This meeting took place in the evening, each of our female "friends" brought in a bundle of willows carried by means of a tump line and a second line passing around the breast. The bundles were piled up on the left side of the door (for one entering), and from time to time one of the boys would rise to keep up the fire. This purchase took place in midsummer. I was about 20 years old at the time.

On each of the ten nights the fathers came in in the same way as the first time, and the mode of procedure was the same. On the tenth night, the fathers said, "Sons, we have done; tomorrow we shall give you your things." On the following morning we came back to the same lodge and took our seats, but without any kettles. Our women "friends" also came in and sat down. This time, however, we were not ranged in an ellipse as before, but sat in the arc of a circle, with our "friends" in a similar arc from 4½ to 5 feet behind us. Until this day White-bear's house had served as the place of assembly for the fathers prior to their approach to our own meeting-place, but this morning each came from his own lodge, their wives carrying the clothes to be presented to the purchasers of the society. The fathers sat down in a curved line opposite to ours, and their wives took seats behind them. There were about thirty fathers; sometimes two boys had the same father. They planted two sticks into the ground in the rear (mana'ktata) of the lodge. One of the sticks was hooked, and its shaft was wrapped with otterskin; three eagle feathers hung down from the end of the hook. The second stick was straight and also wrapped with otterskin;

to the top of the shaft there was fastened a single eagle feather. The bottom of both staffs was blunt, but in order to secure them in their places a sharp-pointed stick had been previously driven into the ground there. The fathers had two hand-drums. The father nearest the door took the hooked stick (*ma'nanū'skup*) which had been set at the left side of the straight stick (*ma'nacū'cuk*) for one facing the door, and held it in his hand, while the last father in line took the straight stick. The two fathers standing nearest the staff-holders bore rattles. The drums were beaten, but before the rest of the fathers rose Shot-foot addressed us, saying, "Sons, you will keep our society, you will dance today." Then the fathers all rose, and the singing began. The staff-bearers advanced towards the boys, shouting, while the rest danced in their places. When the staff-bearers had got to the fireplace, the singing ceased. Each of the two officers then went to his son and led him to a spot between the two main posts on the right side of the lodge (for one facing the entrance), and gave his stick to his son. On this occasion Water-chief received the straight stick, and White-eye the bent stick. Next Shot-fox rose with his rattle and — this time without any singing or dancing — walked straight towards his son, Long-tail, whom he led to the place between the two posts used by the staff-bearers and presented with his rattle. The second rattler went through a corresponding procedure. Then the wives of the four officers who had just disposed of their emblems came forward to give the newly prepared clothes to their sons. The spectators, during all this performance, were restricted to the space between the door and the two front posts. From among these outsiders there now advanced the relatives of the new officers in order to pile up property before them or to present small sticks representing the promise to donate a horse.

The fathers said, "Now, sons, all of you stand up!" All the fathers then walked towards us, followed by their wives, who carried the clothing and laid it down before the sons. All of us put on the new clothes on the spot. The fathers who had surrendered their rattles stood next to their sons, whom they wished to assist in singing. The fathers who had owned the two officers' staffs said to the new incumbents: "There is an abundance of enemies; try to be brave!" The fathers who had carried rattles said the same to *their* sons, adding: "You will sing for your society, and I must teach you now. When you sing outdoors, you shall circle round to the right, and all will follow you." The first rattler accordingly led the procession in a circle until he had got near the second rattler, where he stopped and began to sing. The second rattler then also sang a song, shaking a tin-can rattle. In the procession outdoors the marchers walked at a very rapid pace.

Four female associates followed the men. These were called "Fox women" and had been appointed by their own families to assist the Foxes at their feasts and in the singing. They stood outside the circle formed by the society when dancing outdoors, but also took part in the dance. These women were unmarried, but later two of them, Pumpkin-blossom and Otter, married members of the society.

After we had marched out of our lodge, we went to an open space east of the Round Corral.¹ Four of our fathers stepped inside the circle we formed there, and sang for us, beating their drums. We danced and then went home. This first public dance was the only occasion on which our fathers sang for us.

After a few days we came together and danced in Water-chief's lodge. During indoor performances we sat in an arc round the lodge and did not make use of our

¹ This is the structure described by Catlin and Maximilian as the "ark."

regalia. After a few days spent in hunting we again gathered in our meeting-house and had an abundance of food prepared. Some time in the spring we went outside in our regalia and danced publicly, whereupon we would return to the lodge, dance again, and then have a feast. This happened about three or four times a year. Frequently members of the society went out at night in their ordinary costume and walked from house to house, singing in front of every lodge. This was done to please the young women of the village. The four Fox women did not take part in these nocturnal processions, but other girls accompanied the men and sang with them.

In addition to the rattlers and the staff-bearers, there were two men distinguished by their regalia from the rank and file. One of these wore a cap (*mapa'caci wa'ah-ku'pe*) of kit-fox skin, with the ears sticking up.¹ This officer acted as a sort of



Fig. 10. (50.1-4332). Cap of Mandan Kit-Fox Society. Length, 127 cm.

spokesman for the society, but was not regarded as the chief of the organization. The other officer wore a head band decorated with kit-fox jaws (Fig. 17).

The Black Mouth society was regarded as friendly to our Kit-Fox group. They sat with us when we purchased the society and contributed to the food given to our fathers, though not to the property paid to them. When a new rattler did not at once learn his song and was accordingly afraid to try it, the Black Mouth officer bearing a "dance flag" took his place for a while. After the purchase the Black Mouths participated in our feasts. Sometimes we got together in the house of Two-chiefs, a Black Mouth; if any Black Mouth so desired he might then join us in the dancing.

Sometimes we gathered instead in the house of Foolish-soldier, a Stinking-Ear (see p. 294). Foolish-soldier acted as our herald. He would get up on the roof of a lodge and announce our meeting.

Bear's-ghost, Crow's-heart, Black-eagle, Sitting-crow, White-owl, and their associates should have bought the Kit-Fox society from us. As they did not do so, we still own it."

¹ Wounded-face's cap is shown in Fig. 10.

Some additional information on this society was furnished by Wounded-face, Water-chief, and Little-crow. Of these, Wounded-face and Water-chief belonged to the same group as Black-chest, while Little-crow was a member of the group from which the other three informants purchased their membership. Black-chest sets his present age at 62, while Little-crow is supposed to be 74. At the time they purchased their membership, the age of Little-crow, Wounded-face and Water-chief was about 14, 20, and 16 respectively.

Wounded-face regards Good-fur-robe, a mythical hero, as the founder of the society. Good-fur-robe pulled out two sunflower stalks from the ground and presented them to two young men. He instructed them to plant these stalks in the ground during an encounter with the enemy and not to retreat from the spot. The sunflower and the corn, this informant added, were essentially one. A similar account was furnished by Packs-wolf, who further stated that at a later time lances were substituted for the stalks. Though Maximilian does not mention a Mandan Kit-Fox society, the following tradition recorded by him as to the origin of the other Mandan organizations is very suggestive in view of the statements obtained from my own informants. The chief who first ascended to the earth from the subterranean regions formerly inhabited by the Mandan was named Village-smoke, but assumed the name of Good-fur-robe ("die Robe oder das Fell mit schönem Haare, la robe à beau poil") after reaching the upper world. He founded the societies, beginning with the Dogs. For the Soldiers he made two hooked-sticks wrapped with otterskin and two other sticks trimmed with raven feathers. The hooked sticks represented sunflowers; the other sticks, the corn plant. These emblems were to be planted into the ground in fighting an enemy and were never to be abandoned.¹

Water-chief mentions the interesting point that his group bought the Kit-Fox organization at the suggestion of the owners. These came to the younger men and said, "We wish to give you this Fox society and make you our sons." It is quite clear from the other accounts that this fact did not affect the initial mode of procedure. A pipe was put before the fathers and had to be accepted and smoked by one of their number in the same way as when Little-crow's group decided to buy the membership on their own initiative. In both cases the fathers seem to have been able to dictate the terms of purchase: at the time when Black-chest and Water-chief became Kit-Foxes, a ten nights' entertainment was demanded, while in Little-crow's day the feasting of the sellers lasted twelve nights.

Like Black-chest, Wounded-face selected a clan father, Two-crows, for

¹ Maximilian, II, 162.

his individual father. Wounded-face did not know that Two-crows owned two kinds of emblems,— the foxskin cap to be used in dancing and in war, and the head band decorated with the lower kit-fox jaws which was to be worn when courting young women.¹ On the morning of the final transference of membership rights, Two-crows gave Wounded-face the cap and the head band, as well as a shirt, armlets and fringed buckskin leggings. In return, Wounded-face paid his father a fast black horse suited for use in the buffalo chase and some property contributed by his relatives. I get the impression that the transfer of special regalia was automatic; that is to say, if the father happened to own certain specific emblems the son buying his membership bought *ipso facto* the regalia owned by the seller.

Little-crow states that at the public performance the relatives of the new members brought presents, which were turned over to the fathers, either individually or collectively. In the latter case the fathers proceeded to distribute the gifts among themselves.

In marching outdoors, the first rattler took the lead and was immediately followed by the first hooked-staff officer; Wounded-face — presumably as the owner of the cap — occupied a central position in the line; the second rattler came last, being directly behind the second hooked-staff officer. The first rattler selected a site for the dance and turned in order to begin the formation of a circle there, at the same time raising his rattle and singing very loudly. There was always a special song to be sung prior to the drummers' entrance into the circle. This song was taken up by the second rattler. While the circle was forming, the singers went within the circumference and began to beat their drums. These singers were always the members' fathers, if I understood Wounded-face correctly, but it is probable that this applies only to the first public performance by a new group of members. The songs referred to warlike deeds, and the words were, according to this informant, invariably in the Dakota language.

Little-crow, as already stated, considers the head band decorated with kit-fox jaws as a badge common to all members; he further states that each Kit-Fox had a hair-pipe attached to the left side of the head and that six men had their hair roached. The hair-cutting was done by the men's fathers. Other informants agree that there were two rattlers and two officers with hooked-staffs, wrapped with otterskin and decorated at four points with feathers. Wounded-face says that sometimes the second staff-bearer carried a *straight* stick, in which case an erect eagle feather was secured to the top of the shaft. Little-crow states that rattles were used

¹ This seems to conflict with Black-chest's account, which assigns these emblems to distinct officers, but Little-crow regards the kit-fox head band as a badge common to all members.

outdoors, and drums within the lodge, but this contradicts the accounts of others. The rattles were originally made of gourds, but in Wounded-face's time baking-powder cans had been substituted.

The Fox women, according to Wounded-face, were selected by the fathers' wives. Their robes were decorated with honor marks earned by their male associates. Little-crow mentioned only two Fox women, selected by the members themselves, and placed in the middle of the line of march.

The military element was obviously prominent in the society. Water-chief relates that on the first public appearance of the new members, each one was called by name by the older men and women of the village and addressed as follows: "We have numerous enemies, you are the one that must fight and try to be a man. You must not forget this when you are in a fight." Later in the season, when Water-chief had struck a coup and received a wound, his people rejoiced, telling him, "That is what you desired to do, you are a brave man." Little-crow declared that the Kit-Foxes did not dance very frequently,—in fact only when the approach of an enemy was reported. Wounded-face, while stating that dances were occasionally performed solely for the sake of amusement and in order to attract the attention of young women, also said that the Foxes danced very often in times of war, beginning as soon as a scout had brought the news of an enemy's approach. The Foxes tried to be brave in battle. Wounded-face recalls an occasion when a very brave enemy, surrounded by the Mandan, was holding his foemen at bay; finally, a Kit-Fox advanced towards him, struck him, and was killed. On another occasion a Kit-Fox together with four companions, set out on a war party. All five were killed by the enemy. This event was commemorated in song: "Once two enemies went into the bush. We surrounded them. One Kit-Fox went forward, and they killed him there."

The purely social features of the organization were also conspicuous. Public appearances were followed by feasts after the members had returned to their lodge. There were occasional horse parades by the Kit-Foxes, and the nocturnal processions referred to by Black-chest were of frequent occurrence.

LITTLE DOG SOCIETY.

While Black-chest's and Wounded-face's group owned the Fox society, their fathers were Little Dogs (mini'sinik ō'xat'e)¹; that is to say, after

¹ The present meaning of the native term seems to be "colt society," but the older informants consider the above rendering correct in the context given and consider the society related to the Hidatsa Little Dog organization. Maximilian also translates *meniss* "dog." A corresponding confusion was encountered in the case of the other Mandan societies named for the dog.

surrendering their ownership of the Fox organization, they had acquired possession of the Little Dog society. On one occasion, after the lapse of about five or six years, the Kit-Foxes were meeting at Woman-ghost's house, when someone asked whether they might not buy the Little Dog society then. Each one expressed his willingness to purchase it. Then they gathered together property for an initial gift, and one man carried a pipe to the Little Dogs' lodge. One of the Little Dogs said, "Well, we will meet and debate the matter." The messenger returned. As it was late, the Kit-Foxes waited for the next day to make their first offerings of goods, and merely went about the village, singing at several earth-lodges. On the next day they gathered and notified their friends, the River Women, who collected some property for them. This was piled up together with some guns contributed by the purchasers themselves, and was then divided among them. They waited until nightfall, then they went outside, crying, and marched towards the Little Dogs' lodge. A leader carried the pipe, and, on entering, laid it down before the fireplace. All the property was deposited near the pipe, then the Kit-Foxes took seats near the door, in the space allotted to outsiders. The Little Dogs were seated in the rear and on the sides of the lodge. Iron-eyes, one of the sellers' company, took the pipe towards the fire, lit it, and began to smoke. All the Kit-Foxes then cried, "Hahō'! We are going to have some songs." According to Wounded-face, the prospective buyers said to their fathers: "We have bought the Kit-Fox society of you, but we still have the Dog society to buy from you." Thereupon the fathers took the property and bade their sons prepare a lodge for the next evening. Then the Kit-Foxes went back to their lodge.

The next evening the Kit-Foxes gathered in Two-chiefs' house. They had married since their former purchase, and each one had his wife prepare food and bring it to the meeting place. The Little Dogs approached the lodge, singing on the way. The door of the lodge faced north. The buyers had ranged themselves on the right side (for one entering), with their wives behind them. The sellers sat down on the opposite side, with their wives behind them, and began to sing, using sticks with sleighbells for rattles. "We liked their song better than ours." (Black-chest). Big-thief rose, held up a dried dogskin, laid it toward the fire, faced the fire himself, sat down behind the skin, and thus addressed the group of buyers: "Well, sons, this dog has five claws on each of its front legs, that makes ten. Its hind legs also have ten claws, that makes twenty in all. So we wish you to feast us for twenty nights, then we will let you have our songs."¹

¹ Wounded-face says that the entertainment lasted only fifteen nights, while Water-chief spoke of a ten nights' feasting of the fathers. When Little-crow, of the group immediately higher than that of the three informants quoted here and in the text, bought the same society, the entertainment lasted eight nights.

After this speech, Big-thief returned to his place. Then all the Kit-Foxes rose and brought presents of food to their fathers. Black-chest again selected Good-bear for his individual Father, but explains that this was not obligatory. Wounded-face was obliged to select a new father, for the one chosen by him in purchasing the Kit-Fox organization had been killed in battle; otherwise, he says he should have kept the same individual for his father in buying all the higher societies. On this occasion his choice fell on Little-crow, to whom he presented a kettleful of food as a token of his selection. Black-chest states that five of the fathers had been killed since the purchase of the Kit-Fox society.

Black-chest says that on this occasion the River Women did not aid the purchasers, as both they and the latter had married. This obviously refers to the period of the fathers' entertainment, as the same informant mentions a contribution by this women's organization to the initial payment (see p. 303). On the other hand, the Black Mouths attended the performance and brought food for the sellers.

At a height of about seven feet from the ground the fathers stretched a rawhide rope between the two rear main posts. To each end of the rope they attached a whip, and near its center they folded over it two red cloth sashes. These sashes were considered sacred. The wife of one of the buyers then rose, stripped naked and covering her genitalia with her hands, approached the rear of the fireplace. Rising on tiptoes, she seized one of the sashes, covered her nakedness again, pressed the sash to her breast and hung it up as before. Each one of the buyers' wives went through the same ceremony. During this performance the fathers were all singing. The women returned to their seats and put on their blankets. Each husband then said to his wife: "I will give you to my father, for I want his song. Perhaps he will pray for us, and it will be well for both of us."

Then the father and the woman offered to him went out together. Menstruating women were absolved from this performance, for they were not supposed to come to the lodge at all on such occasions. As a matter of fact, Black-chest says that only very few fathers availed themselves of the right surrendered to them, being generally afraid of ill luck if they did. The form, however, was gone through by each wife on each of the twenty nights. Black-chest's wife told her husband that Good-bear merely took her outside, faced west with her and said, "Daughter-in-law, stop and stand there." Then he prayed as follows: "My gods, my son has given me his wife. I wish that my daughter-in-law may always enjoy a long and happy life, and I ask you in behalf of my son that he may conquer his enemies." After this prayer he bade the woman go back, and both returned to the lodge.

On the twentieth night Big-thief again took a seat by the dogskin. He thus addressed the buyers: "Now, sons, tomorrow this dance will be yours, so I wish to ask you for some more pay. Put down one gun to represent the killing of anything." Then one of the Kit-Foxes put down a gun. Big-thief continued: "This dog has a hide, give us a robe." Then one of the Kit-Foxes laid down his robe. "Give us a knife for butchering." Two men then rose and put down two butchering knives. "For this head put down one yellow cooking-kettle." The buyers sent round for such a kettle and finally secured one, which they brought to the fathers. "Put down one thing for the head." Then someone laid down a stick trimmed with tail-feathers. "Put down one thing for the tail." Then, Black-chest thinks, another robe was laid down. "The dog has four legs, put down four articles." The Kit-Foxes again did as bidden.

On the next day there followed the final surrender of membership prerogatives. This time the buyers sat in an arc, without their wives, who remained in the spectators' place (see p. 303). The fathers sat on the opposite side, singing a bravery song, and the two sash-wearing officers danced. The words of the song were in Hidatsa: —

"Māha'hkureci' ruts. tō'cē ruca, marē'wits."
"No one lives forever. Whatever may happen, I shall go."

At the close of this song the whippers and sash-wearers, as well as all the other fathers, surrendered their regalia to their respective sons. As Little-crow, Wounded-face's father, owned a lance decorated with a string of feathers, Wounded-face assumed the same office (not mentioned by Black-chest), of which there was one other incumbent. In addition to the lance, Wounded-face received a shirt, a new pair of leggings, a switch and pendants for the decoration of both sides of the head; his hair was cut short in front by Little-crow. Wounded-face's relatives piled up presents in front of him, which he turned over to his father, adding a good horse of his own. The other purchasers made corresponding presents to their fathers. While Wounded-face speaks of four sash-wearers, Black-chest limits the number to two, and Water-chief sets it at five. Water-chief, like Wounded-face, received one of the sashes from his father; there was tied to it a small package of root medicine to avert danger. This package has never been opened by Water-chief. The whippers, according to this last authority, lashed members who did not rise to dance at the proper time. Each member of the rank and file received a whistle of owl bone about four inches long, and a bunch of split owl feathers, with an eagle feather in the center, to be hung from the back of the head. These feathers were painted yellow.

After the transfer of regalia, the fathers went out, with the exception of

three men, who remained to instruct the new members in singing. These three fathers stood between the door and the fireplace, but nearer to the latter, while the new group of Little Dogs ranged themselves in a three-quarter circle in the rear of the lodge. While the fathers sang, the members danced, moving both feet at the same time and also raising and lowering their arms. Then the Little Dogs proceeded in single file to an open place, the singers following in the rear. Wounded-face says that as first lancer he took the lead, while his associate brought up the rear, and that the sash-wearers had no special place in the line. All the new members blew their whistles while coming out and formed a circle in the open place. The three fathers stepped inside the circle. At this first public parade, the old people called out the members' names and admonished them to try to die soon. Water-chief actually went on a war party soon after the parade, and put on his sash, thinking, "If I get killed, my old people will call out my name; if I live, I shall strike an enemy." As a matter of fact, he struck two women near the enemy's camp, and his people rejoiced.

After several songs and dances the Little Dogs stopped and went back to their lodge, where they sat about and danced. The fathers sent messengers to summon their sons. Each son then went to his father's house, sometimes accompanied by his wife. The father gave his son a present of food, which the wife took home; if the son came alone, he took the food back to the society's lodge.

Like other societies, the Little Dogs occasionally went through the camp at night singing and waking up the villagers.

CRAZY DOG SOCIETY.

In Maximilian's account the Crazy Dog (*mini's'ōxka ō'xat'e*)¹ society figures as that of the youngest age group, embracing boys of from 10 to 15 years of age. In the list of my informants it ranks as the fourth society to be purchased by young men. It was obviously constituted in their day by married men; for they had all married before the purchase of the next lower society (see p. 304). Maximilian was told that in former days old men had also belonged to the organization, but on the understanding that they were never to retreat from the enemy.

¹ The native name is nowadays at first blush interpreted as "Broncho Society." Maximilian, however, renders it "die thörichten Hunde, oder die Hunde deren Namen man nicht kennt, (les chiens fols, ou les chiens dont on ne connaît pas le nom)," and this translation is confirmed on further inquiry. Cf. footnote, p. 302. Yellow-hair explicitly identified the Mandan *mini's'ō'zka ō'xate* with the Hidatsa *macu'ka ward'āze* (see p. 280).

The mode of purchase, as described by Maximilian, closely resembles that followed in buying membership in the other organizations. The boys desiring to become members approached the owners, addressed them as "fathers," and secured in exchange for blankets, cloths, horses and powder, the dances, songs, and regalia characteristic of the society. In this connection the Prince does not mention the feasting of the fathers, but the custom is referred to by my informants: Little-crow's group entertained the sellers for thirty, and that of Yellow-hair's husband for twenty nights.

One noteworthy addition to the purchase ceremony had become possible in later times through the change in the age of the members. As the Crazy Dogs were no longer boys as in Maximilian's day, but married men, the surrender of wives as a partial payment was no longer out of the question. As a matter of fact, I have no direct statement to the effect that wives were surrendered in this instance, but Yellow-hair's account strongly suggests that such was the case. According to this authority, all the women attended the purchase of the Crazy Dog membership. A rope was stretched between two poles and from it were suspended three headdresses and three sashes. On each of the twenty nights of entertainment six women removed their insignia, took them outside, pressed them to their breasts, and finally brought them back and hung them up again. Then six other women went through the same performance, and so on.

In view of Black-chest's statements as to the purchase of the Little Dog society (p. 304), I am inclined to believe that Yellow-hair's account is incomplete and that the women who took down the regalia and passed outdoors were offered as a part payment for the benefits to be derived from the fathers. This interpretation is confirmed by Maximilian's repeated reference to the wife-offering as a feature common to all the higher societies of the Mandan and Hidatsa.

The badge of all members, according to the Prince, was a whistle made from the wing-bone of a wild goose. Yellow-hair says that this whistle was suspended from the neck by means of a quill-wrapped string. Everyone carried a rattle of globular or ring shape. The rattles were trimmed with raven wing-feathers. To the back of the head members attached an ornament of split raven wing-feathers. Some of the Crazy Dogs wore neither shirt nor leggings, but daubed their bodies with yellow paint. While dancing, members were permitted to bear lances.

From the rank and file there were distinguished, in Maximilian's day, three officers wearing a long, broad strip of red cloth extending down the back, from neck to foot. Yellow-hair also speaks of three sash-wearers; the red cloth was edged with white, and a slit made it possible to slip the sash over the head. At the shoulder, near the white edging, there was attached

the war-medicine given by the father to the son at the time of the membership sale. Wounded-face says that there were four sash-wearers.

Besides the sash-wearers, there were three (Wounded-face again speaks of four) officers wearing headdresses of buffalo-skin, decorated with sections of horns and strips of weasel skins. The headgears were secured by means of neckstrings, which also served to fasten them to the stretched rope at the time of the purchase (see p. 307). To the back of the headdresses there were attached strips of rawhide, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length and decorated with quillwork. Horsetails, dyed yellow, were fastened to the tops of the horns, and occasionally hawk-wings were used for decorating the headdresses.

Wounded-face is alone in speaking of two additional officers bearing lances, that were decorated at the top and center with a bunch of short raven wing-feathers. The use of a feathered string with these lances was optional.

Yellow-hair mentions four drummers, each of whom gave his drum to his son at the time of the membership sale.

When the purchase had been consummated after the twenty nights' entertainment, the fathers, according to Yellow-hair, passed out of the lodge, lamenting the loss of their songs,—some of them even pretending to cry. On the other hand, the purchasers began to sing and rejoice. They went outdoors, formed a circle, and sang there. After a while they returned to their lodge, followed by their wives. Supper had been prepared. The new Crazy Dogs and their wives feasted, and then went home. On the next day the fathers invited the purchasers and their wives, gave them breakfast, and presented the men with clothes and regalia and the women with dresses. In return, the sons gave horses to their fathers. After this exchange of gifts, the members frequently assembled to practise the newly acquired dance. The women never danced, but might take part in the singing. In dancing the Crazy Dogs jumped up with both feet and shook their rattles as an accompaniment to the drums. In a parade, the headdress-wearers took the lead, one marching behind the other; the sash-wearers had no fixed place.

Among the Mandan of Ruhptare Maximilian found that the Crazy¹ Dogs performed the Hot dance. After a large fire had been built, a number of glowing embers were scattered about, and then the boys, stripped of all clothing, danced on them with their bare feet. The hands, forearms, and feet of the performers were colored red. Sliced meat was boiling in a kettle over the fire. When the meat had been well done, the dancers put their

¹ Maximilian writes: "Die kleinen Hunde, deren Namen man nicht kennt, führen ihn auf." The modifying clause makes it clear that he is referring to the first society of his series.

hands into the boiling water, took out some of the meat, and ate it at the risk of scalding themselves. Those coming last to the kettle had the worst of it, for they were obliged to dig down deeper into the water than their predecessors. During the dance the performers carried weapons and rattles in their hands.

I did not obtain any Mandan description of the Hot dance. My Hidatsa information is given on p. 253.

CROW SOCIETY.

Maximilian translates the name of the society Hä'derucha-O'chatä as "Crow, or Raven, band."¹ Its members were from 20 to 25 years old. Sometimes the younger men had not owned a society for half a year or longer. Then one of them went to a Hä'derucha and said to him, "Father, I am poor, but I wish to buy of you." If the father consented, the young men then received the raven feathers worn on the head by the members of the society, a double whistle formed of two goose wing bones fastened together, a drum, rattle, song, and dance. In this case, as in other societies, a head man decided whether the privileges sought by the younger men should be sold and he it was that the prospective buyers approached. Then a feast was prepared in the medicine lodge for forty nights, and the fathers were entertained at their sons' expense. Moreover, the purchasers surrendered their wives to the sellers every evening until the fathers were satisfied and abdicated their membership.

HALF-SHAVED HEADS.

My Mandan informants did not refer to this society (Ischohä-Kako-scho'chatä), though it was described by my Hidatsa friends (p. 272). According to Maximilian, the Hä'deruch-O'chatä bought the Half-Shaved Head dance from the Soldiers before they were old enough to become Soldiers. It is worth while to summarize Maximilian's detailed account of the purchase.

The buyers were to entertain the sellers for forty nights. On the first night the drum was beaten to call the negotiating parties to the medicine lodge. A fire was burning in the center, the women sat along the walls, while the white visitors and several noted Soldiers sat in front of the draught-

¹ Compare what is said above about the Hidatsa hē'rerō'ka society (p. 266).

screen. Along the wall to the left sat the remaining Soldiers, about twenty-five in number; while some were clad in fine garments, the majority dressed in ordinary clothes. Some exposed the upper part of the body. In the center three drummers seated themselves. The purchasers stood on the right side of the fire. They were expected to give valuable presents to the Soldiers, to feast them and furnish them with tobacco for forty nights, and every evening they were to offer them their wives. The sellers approached the lodge amidst singing and drumming, and entered with their regalia. These consisted of four lances, from 7 to 8 feet long, with an iron head pointing downwards. The shaft was wrapped with broad bands of otterskin, while pairs of otterskin strips were tied to the head and several other points on the lance. Two of the lances were hooked, the two others were straight. A fifth emblem consisted of a war club with iron point, which was colored red and was decorated with several feathers in the back. Further there were three lances, decorated alternately with black and white feathers, and a beautifully ornamented bow and quiver. At first, the Soldiers remained concealed behind the screen, and were merely holding these insignia so that they projected into the main space of the lodge. After standing in this position, singing and drumming violently, for a while, they entered, placed the lances against the wall, and stuck the war club into the ground, near one of the main pillars. Then they all took seats along the wall. While the singing and drumming was alternately renewed, the purchasers prepared their pipes, and handed them to each of the guests in turn, for which act they stooped, holding the mouthpiece towards the smokers. When the guests had taken a few puffs, the purchasers did likewise, and then carried the pipe in regular order, from right to left, to each of the sellers. This smoking consumed considerable time; each guest, during this part of the performance, was also presented with a little cake of sweet-corn. After about half an hour, two of the Soldiers rose and danced towards each other. One of them seized the war club, and held it stiffly in his left hand, while the right hung straight down. Bending the upper part of his body forward, he jumped stiffly into the air with both feet; keeping time with the music. The other dancer had fine decorations on his head and legs, and the upper part of his body was likewise exposed. He seized one of the otterskin lances, which he held, sloping, between his two hands, and both men then danced or hopped towards each other. After several minutes the second performer put the lance away, and took a seat, while all the other members gave the war whoop and gave vent to exclamations of joy, amidst vigorous beating of the drum. Then there was silence. The man with the war club addressed the buyers, calling them his "sons," and recounted several of his martial exploits, whereupon he handed them the war club. One of the



Fig. 11. Mandan Half-Shaved Head Dance. (Maximilian's Atlas.)

purchasers then called him his "father," stroked his arm downwards with his hand, took the weapon out of his hand, and again put it in its place. The other dancer followed, recounted some of his deeds, and offered the lance to one of the buyers, who received it in the same manner as his predecessor, and then put it in its place. The periods of intermission were filled with smoking, singing and drumming, but no rattles were used. Two other Soldiers also rose, told of how they had stolen horses, medicine bundles, or other possessions, from the enemy, and gave two more insignia to the purchasers. After this had been done four or five times, the wives of the buyers rose. Four of them divested themselves of their robes, quickly seized the lances, and carried them, one after another, outside the lodge. After a while they brought them in again. This ceremony was repeated twice, the disrobed women stroked the arms of the strangers and fathers, put on their robes, and passed outside. The persons stroked were expected to follow them into the woods. This procedure resembled that of the Hidatsa in their medicine festival.¹

Some time after the purchase Maximilian had occasion to observe the dance of the new Half-Shaved Heads. About twenty of them entered the Fort, threw off their robes so as to expose their gaily colored bodies, and formed a circle. They were elaborately decorated and carried the insignia of the dance, such as the otter-wrapped sticks. One man wore a bonnet with horns and ermine strips; another, mounted on horseback, was decorated with paint symbolizing the blood from wounds. Three Soldiers (= Black Mouths) served as musicians. As soon as the drum was beaten, the dancers protruded the upper part of their bodies, and leaped into the air with both feet, at the same time holding their guns ready for firing. Thus they danced in the circle for about a minute, then hallooed, rested for a while, and resumed their performance. After receiving some tobacco, they dispersed, put on their robes, and went to Ruptare, where they also danced among the Hidatsa.² A picture of the dance, reproduced from Maximilian's Atlas is shown in Fig. 11.

BLACK MOUTHS.

The native name of this society is *i'he psi'here o'xat'e*, or *numā'k xarā'k o'xat'e*. Maximilian calls the members of this society "Soldiers." They form the third society in his list, but he states that all the higher classes

¹ Maximilian, II, 274-277.

² Maximilian II, 286-287.

might belong to the Soldiers' class, as the police functions devolved on this society. However, it was necessary that all members should agree to sell; a single negative voice put a stop to the negotiations. Some individuals did not immediately consent to sell when requested in order to exact a greater amount of property from the buyers. The Prince enumerates the undertakings in which the Soldiers took an important part: changes of village sites, buffalo hunts, and other communal movements. More particularly, they took care lest anyone should prematurely startle buffalo herds. Anyone shooting a wolf or other animal at such a time was maltreated, even if he happened to be a chief, and deprived of his gun. In the 'thirties even white people living in the vicinity were subjected to the same rules. The Soldiers frequently forbade the cutting of trees near the Fort, and took away the woodcutters' axes.

Maximilian says that the Soldiers painted the upper part of the face red, and the lower black. Their whistle was made of a crane wing bone. Two pipes, to be smoked on special occasions, remained in the custody of as many pipe-bearers. A rattle was made from a little tin kettle — apparently the baking-powder cans referred to by my own informants — provided with a handle. Among the insignia there were two long, straight poles wrapped with otterskin and decorated with dependent owl feathers. In war these poles were planted in the ground, and must not be abandoned by their bearers. A corresponding regulation applied to one other pole decorated with raven feathers in the manner described and illustrated by Maximilian in connection with a Blackfoot society.¹

The following origin tradition was given by Wounded-face.² Long ago Good-fur-robe assembled the middle-aged men. To the leader he gave one cornstalk, and to the rear man another. "When the enemy chase you," he instructed them, "plant these in the ground and do not run away." Sometimes a cornstalk has five branches at the top. Later, a stick with a spear head was made to represent the cornstalks; owl wing-feathers were tied to its side, as well as crow or raven wing feathers and a raven head. It was wrapped with otterskin, and strips of skin were made to hang down from several points of the staff to represent leaves of the corn. There were two pipe-bearers and two rattlers, the latter taking places next to the spear-carriers, while the pipe men marched in the center. While dancing, the Black Mouths left their circle open at one side. The order in which they marched was: one spear officer, one rattler, the rank and file, the pipe-bearers, the rank and file, the second rattler, the second spear officer. The Black

¹ Maximilian, I, 578.

Cf. Maximilian's version, referred to on p. 300.

Mouths were also called "Brave Men's society." They painted their faces black. The Goose women used the same paint, because their society was founded by the same man. When the time came for singing, the first rattler walked ahead and began to sing. Then the drummers took up the song. The next time the second rattler acted in the same manner. The raven-lance bearers had a special song and dance, during which they crossed each other's path.

One summer, when the society wished to give a performance because some Sioux were coming to fight, they stuck two tipi poles into the ground, and tied raven-lances to the top. One of the Soldiers cried, "Kā! Kā! Kā!" This was in imitation of crows. Then some other member went outside the lodge to see which one had cried. Returning, he said, "It is not a living raven, but the raven head on Skunk's lance." Skunk was a very brave man. The people said, "We will find out what this means." Then someone took the lances down, and returned them to their owners. Skunk said, "Hold on, my fellow-members, I wish to know the reason why my lance is singing." He got his associate to accompany him, and both lance officers then went through the village, singing this song: —

"kē'ka, nasařā'rōoca. mī' ō`watē'roc.

"Raven, you sing. I want to die.

"kika're e'henik, ō'ota."

"If you are afraid, go away."

The people hearing Skunk thought him braver than ever. They said to him, "This is your day, do what you wish best." The people encouraged Skunk. When the society started outdoors for a dance, Skunk took the lead, and again sang. A circle was formed. All the people came to watch the performance. Skunk once more sang his song. He danced alone, in a slanting line. These were the words of his song: —

"mīnukarité, nū'tamina'tare hū'miikāc. i'miinahēc."

"My friends, our enemies are numerous. I am used to it" [that is, to
fight].

When the time came to fight, Skunk struck many coups. This is what the singing of the raven had indicated.

In addition to the police functions described by Maximilian, Wounded-face mentions a special duty devolving on the two pipe-bearers. When some villager wished to kill a fellow-tribesman, these officers filled up a pipe, and gave him presents in order to make him desist. Acceptance signified acquiescence in their wishes.

Water-chief became a Black Mouth, together with about twenty of his comrades, at thirty; generally, however, the members were older. They

feasted their fathers for twelve nights. My informant received a tin rattle, as his father had been one of the singers, but, having a bad voice, he gave it to another man who was a better singer. When the new members paraded about, the villagers called them by name, and said, "You Black Mouths, die soon, for you are the bravest of the societies." The members put black paint on the lower part of the face, and black stripes on the body. If a dog came near them during a parade, a Black Mouth who had shot an enemy was permitted symbolically to refer to his deed by shooting the dog.

BULL SOCIETY.

During their dance the members of the Bull organization (*mēro'k ō'xat'e*) wore, according to Maximilian, the upper part of the skin of a buffalo head with the horns and the long hairs of the neck. Two men, the bravest of all and pledged never to retreat from an enemy, wore together with the horns a complete representation of a buffalo head; this mask was provided with artificial eyeslits, surrounded by iron or tin rings. One woman attendant walked about during the dance, offering to the two mask-wearers water from a bowl. This woman was clad in a fine new suit of bighorn skin, and her face was painted with vermilion. The Bulls were the only society to use wooden whistles. They had a piece of red cloth fastened to the back, as well as the representation of a buffalo tail, and carried weapons in their hands. The two mask-wearers kept on the outside of the other dancers, and imitated the voice and actions of bulls, their shy wheeling over towards one side, their manner of looking about in all directions, etc. During the performance of the Bull dance witnessed by the Prince, there were nine dancers, who discharged their guns immediately on entering the Fort. Only one of them wore the complete buffalo head, the rest wore pieces of the skin of the forehead, a pair of cloth sashes, and an appendix decorated with feathers, which represented the tail; they carried shields decorated with red cloth, and long, beautifully ornamented lances.¹ A reproduction of Bodmer's drawing of the Bull dance in Maximilian's Atlas is presented in Fig. 12.

Wounded-face had heard that long ago a Mandan, who had a buffalo front leg in place of one arm, founded the Bull society. My informant said that only a few wore the piece of buffalo head skin with horns, some others merely dressed their hair in bunches in front. Still others covered their face with a mask, formed by fastening a tanned skin painted yellow over the

¹ Maximilian, II, 315.



Fig. 12. Mandan Bull Dance. (Maximilian's Atlas.)

buffalo skin, the hair of which, however, was exposed from the wearer's forehead down to his chin. The spears carried were not very long, and the head pointed downwards. Shields rested on the left arm. Members who had struck enemies, carried guns; if they had used arrows to kill a foe, they carried arrows. Wounds received in battle were symbolized by red body paint. While dancing in the village, the Bulls jumped around. They pointed spears and guns at anyone approaching them, and thereby frightened young people. Those who had slain enemies enacted their martial deeds. For music they used a *large* drum.

Calf-woman remembered seeing six women known as "Bull women" at a Bull performance; they sat behind the men singers. A woman brought in water, but only such members as had saved a woman's life were permitted to drink of it. This informant also remembers one of the mask-wearers pretending to spear people, and frightening the children, jumping up with both legs, and stamping one foot at a time.

The Bull dance described by Boller was not connected with the Bull society, but formed part of the Okiye as is obvious from comparison with Maximilian's and Catlin's accounts of this ceremony.¹

DOG¹ SOCIETY.

Maximilian describes the emblem of the society as a stick a foot or a foot and a half in length, which was ornamented with blue and white beads, and to which a large number of animal hoofs were attached. To the front of the stick there was tied an eagle feather, to the lower extremity a piece of beaded leather. The members wore a large cap of colored cloth, to which were attached a great number of raven, magpie, and owl feathers, and which was further decorated with colored horsehair and weasel skins. Their whistle was large, and made from the wing bone of a swan. Three of them wore in the back sashes of red cloth similar to those of the Crazy Dog society. A bunch of owl, raven, or magpie feathers — and frequently a combination of all three — was attached to the head so as to hang down in the back. The three officers referred to were regarded as Real Dogs. People would throw a piece of meat into the ashes of a fire, or on the ground, and say, "You Dog, eat!" Then they were obliged to fall foul of it and to devour it like dogs or beasts of prey.

¹ Boller, 102-105; Maximilian, II, 174, 178; Catlin, I, 164 f.

² The native name is *mini's ō'xatoc*. What was said above (p. 306) as to the translation of the word *mini's* applies in this case also. The equivalence of the Hidatsa Dog society cannot be doubted, and Maximilian's rendering of the Mandan name supports this view.

A dance of the "Dog society" of Ruptare village that was witnessed by Bodmer is described by Maximilian. After a performance in their lodge, the members, twenty-seven or twenty-eight in number, advanced towards the Fort. Some were clad in beautiful robes or bighorn-skin shirts, others in red cloth shirts, or blue and red uniforms. Some exposed the upper part of their body, on which coups were indicated in reddish-brown paint. In this connection the Prince speaks of *four* Real Dogs, all wearing huge bonnets of raven or magpie feathers, tipped with small white plumes, while in the center there was a fan of the tail feathers of a wild turkey or eagle. Round the neck each of these officers wore a long strip of red cloth, which extended down the back as far as the calves and was knotted in the middle of the back. Two additional officers wore similarly colossal bonnets of yellowish owl feathers, with dark oblique stripes, and one had a large, horned war-bonnet with a feathered streamer hanging down in the back. All others were ornamented with a bunch of thickly-set raven, magpie, or owl feathers, which was considered emblematic of the society. All members wore long whistles, and carried in their left arm some weapon, while the hoof rattle was held in the right hand. A circle was formed. In the center there was a large drum, which was beaten by five poorly clad musicians; in addition to these men, who were seated, two drummers stood on the side, beating hand-drums. After whistling in their places in accompaniment to the rapid and violent beats of the drum, the Dogs suddenly began to dance, dropping their robes to the ground. Several of them danced in the middle of the circle, leaning their bodies forward, jumping up some distance with both feet and coming down firmly on the ground. The other Indians danced without any attention to orderly arrangement, crowding one another, turning their faces towards the circle, and occasionally joining in lowering the head and upper part of the body.¹

Wounded-face says that the rattle (wí'o oxerō're) consisted of a stick covered with buckskin, to which the hoofs of young buffalo were attached. There were two men with sashes, which were half green and half yellow, and which were decorated with feathers. The skin cap had magpie feathers tied to it in a large bunch, and a white plume was fastened to every feather. Two eagle feathers, together with owl feathers, were also used for a head ornament. A large whistle was suspended from a wide strip of skin decorated with quillwork. The body was painted red. All the members carried the hoof-rattles, and sometimes they beat a drum or a log with them. All the Dogs were portly old men, slow in their dancing. Wounded-face thinks the society originated with the Hidatsa.

¹ Maximilian, II, 309-311.

OLD DOG SOCIETY.¹

Maximilian, while not including this society in his list of age-classes, states that the Old Dog dance was one which the Dogs might buy of the Bulls before they were permitted to become Bulls. The Old Dog dancers painted their bodies white, and their hands red and black. They wore a grizzly skin round the body, and on the head feathers which hung down in the back.

Wounded-face knew nothing of the organization save the name. He had heard that they dressed similarly to the Dogs.

COARSE HAIR SOCIETY.

Wounded-face had only heard of this society (*bacā'ca ō'xat'e*) from his grandfather. There was something sacred about it. A young man going on the warpath promised the members to give them a dance provided he performed some brave deed in battle. When dancing, the members dressed up. On the head they placed a piece of scalp from a buffalo head of the size of a human scalp. Hair was attached to the scalp so as to hang over the members' faces. They put honor marks on their clothes. The left leggings were painted red up to the knee, and black marks were put round the lower legs as a sign that the wearer had struck many enemies. Leaders in war who had killed enemies tied human hair to the leggings. For each enemy struck in war, a member put one feather on his head. If he had been wounded by an arrow, the split feather from an arrow, dyed red, was worn on the head. A gun wound was indicated by a stick about 9 inches in length, and whittled at the lower end so that the shavings remained on the stick. The young warrior providing for the entertainment of the performers filled a pipe for them, and, if possible, presented them with horses or eagle feather bonnets. He asked them to pray for him. All the older men rejoiced in such a feast.

It is possible, but by no means certain, that this society corresponds to Maximilian's *As-Cho'h-O'chatä* (*Ascho'-O'chatä*). On the 23rd of December, 1833, a large number of Indians visited the Fort, led by fourteen members of this society from the village of Ruptare. The entire head was covered with a wig of long, flat braids of hair, which fell over the face, completely hiding it. Feathers of the owl, raven, and of birds of prey,

¹ *minis' xixe ō'xat'e.*

each tipped with a thick white plume, adorned the head. One member carried a beautiful fan of white feathers, and wore on the head a complete swan's tail, each feather of which was decorated with dyed horsehair. The members wrapped themselves completely in their robes, and carried bow-lances trimmed with feathers, colored cloth, glass beads, and the like; most of them had fox skins attached to their heels. Several men beat a drum, while the rest formed a circle and imitated the sound of buffalo bulls. After they had danced for a while, the spectators threw a quantity of tobacco down for them, whereupon they departed for the village in the woods, taking off their wigs on the way. In another place, the Prince mentions rattles as well as drums, and states that the bow-lances were also decorated with bear guts.¹

BLACK-TAIL DEER SOCIETY.

All the old men above fifty were, according to Maximilian, members of the Black-Tail Deer organization (cu'psi ô'xat'e). Two female attendants cooked and served fresh water during a dance. All of the men wore a wreath of grizzly claws round the head, and displayed their honor marks in the form of feather head ornaments, braids of hair on arms and legs, scalps, painting, etc.

Wounded-face says that the organization originated on the Bad Creek, near the Heart River. One day two young men with arrows stayed on a high wooded hill by the Creek. They dug a deep pit, put sticks across, and covered them with grass. They wanted to snare some animals. One morning one of the men went towards the trap. As he drew close, he heard signs of a trapped animal. He was glad, looked inside, and saw that he had caught a large and very fat black-tail deer. He fitted an arrow to his bow, but the deer said, "Don't shoot me." "Why not?" "You are my son, you must not shoot me. Make a path for me to get out." The young man obeyed, and the buck got out. Then he said, "You are a young man, and I know what you desire: honor marks. I have the power to give them to you, but you have many other fathers, who will instruct you later." He stretched his legs, jumped away, and went some distance. Then he stretched his legs again, and sang a song. When his song was ended, he went towards a wooded hill. The young man knew there was a house there. It belonged to the Deer, and the door closed with a thud. The house was the Black-Tail lodge.

¹ Maximilian, II, 145f., 281f.

The young man returned to the village and told the people that he had caught and liberated a deer, but he did not tell them anything else. He waited for the good wishes of the Deer to come true. His father, whom he told about it, bade him fast. Accordingly, he went into the Deer's wood, fasting and crying for two nights. A boy came to him and said, "They are calling you." This boy led him into an earth-lodge, where the young man beheld many men sitting around. In the center were two girls, each carrying a pipe pointed towards the door. The Deer sat by the door of his lodge, and tobacco was heaped up before him. The stranger was asked to sit near his host, who thus addressed him: "Now, my son, I told you that you had a great many fathers. They wish to talk to you now." Then each old man said in turn, "My son, look at me, and see what honor marks I have on my clothes. These marks are yours." When he at last came to the Deer himself, he was addressed thus: "You see what honors we have given you. I will add one thing more. If you get wounded, no matter where, you shall not die from your wounds. You will get all the honors given by your fathers." Then the Deer asked the others, how long their son was to live. They allowed the girls to decide. The girls discussed the matter, and one of them said, "We want him to be very old and to die from old age in his sleep." All the men assented. The host then said, "My son, you see this society, but you must not found it immediately, wait until you are very old." The girls wore eagle plumes above the ears. All the men began to sing, and the young man learned every one of their songs. Finally, the Deer said, "When you wish to fight, paint your body yellow, put black on both arms as far as the elbow and also from the knees to the feet. Here [giving him his own black-tail necklace] is your necklace. If enemies get close, they will miss you, for your fathers were never wounded by arrows."

The young man returned to the village, and became a great warrior. When very old, he sent for men distinguished for martial deeds. They came, and he explained his vision to them. He told them he wished to found the society; all were willing to join, and learned the songs. Then he said, "We will get two girls loved by their fathers." They selected two such girls, and let them sit in the center, carrying pipes and wearing plumes on their heads.

When very young, Wounded-face saw a very old woman who had been one of the Black-Tail Deer girls.

BADGER SOCIETY.

This society was not mentioned by any of my Mandan friends, but was described by Wolf-chief as a Mandan (not an Hidatsa) institution. The members were old and but few in number. They did not dance, but assembled to go into a sweat lodge together, on which occasion they tried to fight like badgers and otherwise imitate these animals. In leaving the sweat lodge they always proceeded backwards. The sweat bath could never get too hot for them. Only those who had sold all other societies took part in these proceedings. Like other groups, however, the Badgers attempted to sell their membership. Some years ago a single Badger remained, and offered to sell his membership rights to my informant, who, however, refused to purchase them.

MANDAN AND HIDATSA WOMEN'S SOCIETIES.

According to Maximilian, the Mandan women were grouped in four age-societies, and the Hidatsa women in three. Beginning with the youngest, the Mandan had a Gun society (Eru'hpä-Mih-Ochatä), a River (Passan-Mih-Ochatä), Hay women (Chan-Mih-Ochatä), and White Buffalo (Ptihn-Tack-Ochatä) society. His Hidatsa societies, listed in the reverse order, are the Wild Goose (Bi'hda-Ächke), Enemy (Ma'h-Iha'h-Ächke), and Skunk (Cho'chkäiwi) societies.¹ Of these, the Hay society was not mentioned by any of my informants.² On the other hand, a Cheyenne Women society was said to have been introduced among the Mandan in recent times. The River and the Buffalo organizations are generally admitted to be Mandan societies of old standing, while the Enemy society is unanimously considered of Hidatsa origin. In recent times the tribal lines were not strictly drawn, so that Mandan women belonged to the Hidatsa Enemy society, and Hidatsa women bought the Mandan Buffalo membership.³ The case of the Skunk, Goose, and River societies is rather different, as there is evidence that each of these organizations existed independently in both tribes, though the Skunk society is said to be of Hidatsa, and the River society of Mandan origin, both by Maximilian and by native informants now living. As to the Goose society there is conflict of opinion. Maximilian lists it only among the Hidatsa organizations, while all of my informants are of opinion that it developed among the Mandan and was borrowed by the Hidatsa. Hides-and-eats specified that it originated in the Eastern Mandan village (Maximilian's Mih-Tutta-Hangkusch). Either alternative has interesting implications. If the Goose society originally belonged to the Mandan, then all the women's organizations of a sacred character are distinctive of that tribe. If, on the other hand the Goose women originally formed the highest of the Hidatsa organizations, it is worth noting that they were in later times subordinated to the Mandan White Buffalo women, there being general agreement as to the relative rank of the two organizations.

Matthews⁴ speaks of an Hidatsa Fox Women society of which I did

¹ Maximilian, II, 145, 219.

² Maximilian tells us only that they wore their best clothes when they danced and sang scalp songs.

³ This has also been noted by Matthews, 47.

⁴ Matthews, 155.

not even obtain the name. As his spelling of the words for "fox" and "skunk" is almost identical, I am sure that this similarity in sound misled him. His statement that members were from fifteen to twenty years old fits the facts of the Skunk society fairly well.

The mode of entrance into at least the majority of the organizations was evidently similar to that in the men's organizations, but though purchase of membership was collective, there are indications that sometimes age-mates of the buyers did not participate in the purchase. The Skunk and Gun societies are said by Hides-and-eats to have had no formal adoption whatsoever.

The ceremonial relationship between buyers and sellers has already been explained (see p. 226). Clan aunts became the buyers' mothers. If an Hidatsa buyer could not find a clan aunt in the sellers' group, the latter would appoint some member of another clan to act as aunt and mother for the occasion of the purchase (Buffalo-bird-woman, Hidatsa). When buying the Goose society, Buffalo-bird-woman had an aunt among the sellers, but as she was the sister of my informant's husband and lived in the same lodge, it did not seem proper to buy the membership from her. Sometimes several girls took food to the same clan aunt, who would thus become the mother of several buyers.

That membership meant primarily ownership through purchase seems clear from several statements. Thus, Young-beaver still regards herself both a Cheyenne and a Goose woman, and Hides-and-eats holds both the Goose and the White Buffalo membership, because these informants never sold their membership.

Three of the women's organizations — the River, Goose, and White Buffalo societies — are rather sharply separated from the others by their clearly sacred character and the cleansing ceremony that concludes their performances. The Goose and White Buffalo societies are associated with securing food through magico-religious means. It should be noted, however that in both cases the women acted under the direction of a male singer. Thus, Calf-woman declared that it was the privilege of the Goose women's singers, Wounded-face and Poor-wolf, to tell the tale of the society's origin. The Skunk, Gun, and Enemy Women societies were obviously associated with war. To what extent any of the women's organizations had developed the social factor, is not clear. Rev. Wilson learned that the Skunks occasionally prepared feasts for themselves and their "friends." If members of the other Hidatsa societies were sick and unable to do their own planting they would prepare a feast for their fellow-members, who would come and plant all the sick woman's garden for her.

SKUNK WOMEN SOCIETY.

According to Hides-and-eats, this society (Hidatsa: xu'xke mi'e i'ké) differs from several of the others in not requiring an adoption for entrance. When the Mandan had killed an enemy in war and rejoiced over it, the young girls' parents painted them and bade them dance. The face was painted black with charcoal except for a triangular area tapering from the center of the forehead towards the nose, which was daubed with white clay. An eagle plume was stuck upright in the back of the head. There was a single male singer with a drum. A song referring to the enemy was worded as follows: "The man formed like a wolf that came must get back home. He must be sorry for it. He himself sits bent down."

Calf-woman, a younger but equally trustworthy source of information, confirmed Hides-and-eats' statements regarding the painting of the face, which was meant to suggest the appearance of skunks, and also with regard to the occasion for the public dance. On the other hand, she contradicted her as to the absence of adoption proceedings. According to Calf-woman, the privilege of membership in the Skunk society was acquired in the same way as in other women's organizations. For thirty days, or rather nights, the prospective Skunks, while learning the appropriate songs and dances, entertained those who sold their membership to them,— their "mothers." At the close of the thirty nights' feasts, the young girls piled up property as a payment for the acquisition of the society. In this they were assisted by the correlated Stone Hammer organization of the young men. In addition to this collective payment, each novice, on receiving the plume ornament, gave her "mother" a dress or robe, sometimes receiving in return an entire suit of clothes. Further, any one who could afford it presented her mother with horses. After this final gift, the newly adopted Skunks performed a four nights' dance, at the close of which their mothers addressed them as "daughters" and provided them with a good supper. In this society there was a leader and a rear officer; the former was always the oldest woman in the village. The Skunks requited the favor done by the Stone Hammers by helping the young men buy the next higher men's society. The Skunks were in the habit of going to a famous warrior and singing his praise outside the lodge in expectation of some gift from the man thus honored. In this way they would proceed from lodge to lodge. The other societies — with the exception of the Geese — *might* do the same, but with none of them was it an established practice as among the Skunks.

Buffalo-bird-woman, an Hidatsa informant, also stated that the Skunk society was bought like those of higher rank. The women of whom her

own group bought the organization are the group now holding the Goose membership. Her "mother" was Crow-woman, whom, previous to her adoption, she had addressed as *baca'wi*, "my aunt," a term of relationship applied to a father's sister or a father's sister's daughter. From the same woman my informant purchased, in later years, the privileges of the Grass Crown (= River Women) society and the Enemy Women society. Had her "mother" died before Buffalo-bird-woman's purchasing of membership in these organizations, she would have selected for her mother some woman in the sellers' group who happened to have no ceremonial daughter. According to Buffalo-bird-woman, the mothers were entertained for only ten nights and the "friends" of the Skunks participated in the feast. On the tenth night individual presents were given to the mothers. In return Buffalo-bird-woman received an eagle plume tied so as to hang down the back of the head. The mothers also presented their daughters with good clothes. For the fun of the thing two members of the Old Women society, which had aided in the purchase of the organization, joined the newly adopted Skunks in their four nights' dance. This informant limits the use of distinctive paint to the very small girls in the society. These painted their faces black, save for a white streak extending across the nose and the forehead, and occasionally prolonged as a band up the head and down the back of the head. The older girls painted as they pleased, but when an enemy had been killed all the members used black paint. There were one or two male singers, who used drums.

The difference of opinion between Hides-and-eats and other informants, as to whether the Skunk society was purchased or not, is perhaps explained by statements made by Buffalo-bird-woman to Rev. Wilson. According to her, many girls would not care to join in the purchase of the Skunk membership, but as there was nothing sacred about the society any of them might come and join later without pay if they so chose. She was then regarded as a full-fledged member and was entitled to part of the price paid by the next lower group when the society was sold to them. Even if a girl had not joined in this way, she was not barred from purchasing the next higher society.

ENEMY WOMEN SOCIETY.

In order to join this society (Hidatsa: *mā' ihā' mī'e i'ke'*) Hides-and-eats paid one blanket and two or three buckets of food. The performance of the organization was in commemoration of the warriors who had fallen in a recent engagement, and all the songs, chanted by four singers, were

victory songs. The dresses worn by members were furnished by their relatives. The hair was worn streaming loose down the back. A crier called all the women together. The members marched two abreast. Two long hooked poles were stuck into the ground by a man, and two such sticks were afterwards carried by the two leaders, and a similar pair by the two women in the rear of the procession. The poles were wrapped with otter-skin and decorated with eagle feathers. All the women wore a head band decorated with crossing eagle feathers and a bunch of feathers dyed red.

Hides-and-eats said that this society ought to be entered before the White Buffalo organization, but she joined after being a member of the latter.

Calf-woman joined this society at the age of 23. She described the dance as a victory dance. The performers went to the house of different warriors of distinction, danced there, and received presents (see p. 325). According to this informant, there were only two hooked sticks, one borne by the leader, and the other by the rear officer. Two little girls who stood in the middle had no badge of office. The members wore ordinary cloth head bands, with eagle feathers stuck in horizontally on the left side, just as in the head band of the River Women's society. The hair was parted in front and dressed like men's, being decorated with hair-pipes, with horn shells above, and still higher with a feather on either side. The dance was performed in four successive nights. Two of the eagle feathers on the pole depended from the end of the hooked section, and a pair of feathers was also attached at each of two points on the shaft. These poles exactly resembled those of the men's Fox society.

Buffalo-bird-woman says that all the members except two were married women, the two being small girls who were always supposed to be in the society. My informant herself was one of these, so that she was an Enemy even before entering the Skunk organization. When the Enemy Women society was sold by her associates, Buffalo-bird-woman was of the proper age to enter the Skunk society, which she did, being adopted by her aunt Red.¹ The Enemy Women society was a very old Hidatsa institution, but was not considered sacred. The dance took place originally as a jubilee over a slain enemy; in later times it was performed whenever some member, or outsider, provided a feast for the society. In dancing the performers approached the fireplace and then moved back again. There was no uniform step; some danced faster, others more slowly. A performance lasted four nights. Two leaders carried hooked sticks, the other members wore head bands. Sometimes the members marched out of their lodge, two

¹ Contradictory statements were made by the same informant in describing the Skunk society. See p. 326.

abreast, and walked through the village, halting at different places. They received gifts at each of the stopping-places. If they so desired, they might enter a men's society lodge and dance there. Five musicians were selected from among the best singers in "friendly" men's societies.

Before buying the society, Buffalo-bird-woman's group came in to watch their prospective mothers perform a dance. Thus, the two groups met, collectively, for the first time. The buyers accumulated property, which was piled up in a heap. Their male "friends" brought a pipe and placed it before the mothers, whose male "friends" smoked the pipe. On the next evening each daughter brought some food for her mother. This offering of food was repeated every evening until the fourth. Then the sellers dressed up a male "friend," who wore one of the head bands emblematic of the society and held the two hooked sticks in his hands. As the singers intoned a song, this man danced without moving from his place. Blankets, and other property, were then piled up by the buyers. The heap was supposed to equal the man's height. Accordingly, the sellers' "friends" repeatedly jumped on the pile to make it as low as possible and cause the surrender of additional property by the purchasers. The man with the hooked sticks continued dancing. When his body and head were no longer visible, the buyers departed and the mothers distributed the property. On the fifth night two little girls, about eight years old, were taken into the lodge, and dressed up in fine leggings and moccasins, skin dresses, and buffalo robes. They also received several belts, beaded necklaces, finger-rings and bracelets. Each of these girls was requested to remain in the center of the rear and told not to run away. Then they were divested of all their new clothes, finger-rings, leggings, other garments and ornaments, to the very skin. The girls were greatly embarrassed and sought to cover their nakedness, to run away and hide themselves, much to the amusement of the older women. On the tenth and last night, each buyer filled a pipe and carried some present to her mother's lodge. The mother had prepared a feast for her daughter, and also gave her fine clothes for a present. It happened at times that a woman had two or three daughters, each of whom had to be provided with a new suit. In such a case a woman called on one of her male "friends" to provide sufficient clothing, and this man was then entitled to a portion of the property given by the buyers to the sellers. On the same occasion each novice received her head band (*itawarū'wixē*). Rich "mothers" furnished elaborately decorated head bands. An eagle feather was placed on the left side of this crown, and below it five wing feathers of the *kawika* bird¹ supported on a stretching-stick. The right

¹ The quills of the feathers were used to make quillwork.

side of the head band was decorated with plumes. The ordinary form of crown was of grass, more rarely of black cloth; two strings of horn shells and bead pendants were attached for decoration. A woman owning a white buffalo skin might wear a crown of this material.



Fig. 13 (50.1-4330). Head Ornament of Enemy Women Society. Length, 57 cm.

Maximilian describes the headdress as consisting of pendent shells and glass beads secured to the forehead, with a feather extending crosswise. A model made by Calf-woman is shown in Fig. 13.

Hairy-coat said that the Enemy Women society was originated among the Hidatsa by Itsi'kawā'hiric, the mythical hero. This informant also sang the two following songs as belonging to the society:—

(a)

mī'racē'ruc batsē' waki'rits, hi'ro hūts.
I myself a man I look for, here he comes.

(b)

Mākooxpa', na'kirac i'ru mi i'kata'ruc, hiri'ts.
Woman friend, your husband fixedly (?) me he looks at, he did it.
na'cirihiṭō'k?
Will you throw him away?

GOOSE SOCIETY.

Hides-and-eats joined the Goose society (mī'ra i'ke') when she was about 30 years of age. Calf-woman gives the same for the members' average age, though she herself joined at 13, there being two young girls in the organization. Hides-and-eats said there was always *one* young member; in her day it was Calf-woman. The Goose women would cast about for a girl well beloved by her parents, and when they found one tried to make the parents consent to her adoption into the society; thus Calf-woman was adopted, and her parents paid a large amount of property for the privilege. Calf-

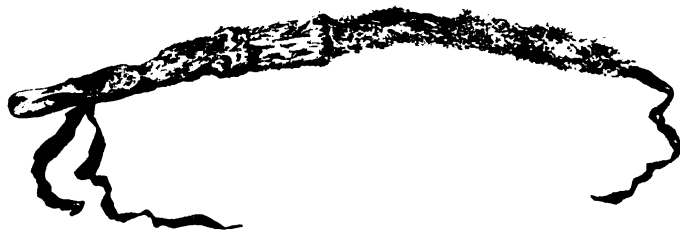


Fig. 14 (50.1-4360). Duckskin Head Band of Goose Society. Length, 54 cm.

woman herself said that she had been selected by Bells-look-round, one of the male singers, who also served as musician for the White Buffalo Women society. Calf-woman's father paid a great deal of calico and other property to the society. As a badge Calf-woman, as well as the other young member, received a head band of a duck skin with the bill (see Fig. 14), while the older members all wore narrow head bands of goose skin. The normal method of entering the society was for the entire River Women society to buy in a body the regalia and other appurtenances of the Goose society.

A mother who had thus surrendered her regalia no longer belonged to the society, her place being taken by her daughter. Hides-and-eats' group was the last to buy the Goose society, for the next lower group never applied for the purchase of the organization, so that Hides-and-eats still retains her headband. Accordingly, she still considers herself a member of the Goose society; she does not consider herself a member of any of the lower societies because she surrendered the privileges of membership to her adoptive children when these acquired membership in the usual way, by purchase.

Before the great ceremony of the society could be performed it was necessary that someone should have had a dream to that effect. Then the members prepared dried meat. Calf-woman says that in the winter some woman would always get up, saying, "In the spring, when the snow is off the ground, we are going to have a ceremony, we shall have to hang up offerings on posts." Then the necessary preparations were made. When the geese made their first appearance in the spring, meat was suspended from a tripod meat-rack set up on the borders of the village. When everything had been prepared, the members paraded through the village, halting four times on the way to the meat-rack. Each woman carried on her left arm an armful of sage enclosing an ear of corn. Calf-woman used to carry a pipe, as well as some dried meat and fat impaled on a cottontree branch. This pipe and the stick she afterwards placed before one of the singers, who lit the pipe, seized the dried meat, and returned it to Calf-woman. This was done four times. When the procession had arrived at the place of the meat-racks, the members performed one dance. Then there came from the village two representatives from each of the men's societies in their full regalia. These men were the bravest of their organization; they approached the meat, afoot or mounted (according to the nature of their martial exploits) and appropriated the dried meat, in place of which each warrior left one of his best blankets or a horse for the Goose woman who had prepared the food, i. e., the woman who took the initiative in getting up the ceremony. After the performance of the first dance, this woman distributed a great deal of meat to the spectators, who must remain on the west side of the lodge. After each of four dances this distribution took place. After the last dance those who had been newly adopted gave presents to their mothers. Then each new member took up her sage and corn, and raced at a dead run as fast as possible and back again. The woman who got back first would be instructed by the spirits as to the right way of living. The singer to whom Calf-woman offered the pipe and meat then turned his robe so that the hairy side faced outside, tied a red-fox skin round his head, took the pipe to the east, and touched with it whatever dried meat still remained.

Then this dried meat was appropriated by the mothers. When the runners had come back, they cleansed themselves by brushing themselves with sage. Then all returned to the village. There a sweat lodge was made. After all the women had entered the sweat house, the chief singer also went in, chanted, dipped some sagebrush into water, and sprinkled all the women with it. Next the mothers prepared food, and gave it to their daughters, whereupon a general feast followed.

While the two middle officers wore the duck-bill head bands, the leader and rear officer wore no distinctive badge. The members on the left side of the lodge painted their faces black between the mouth and chin, while those on the right side used blue paint. The musicians had drums, but no rattles.

The object of the ceremony was to make the corn grow. The geese and the corn were supposed to be one and the same thing.

Owl-woman's social career is well-nigh unique in that she never joined any organization until she was of mature age, when she entered the Goose society. She knew of only one other Mandan woman who had not joined other societies. When the River women collectively bought the Goose society, Owl-woman went along and purchased the membership with them. A candidate had to prepare a large quantity of dried beef for her mother, and also presented her with a horse. When receiving the bundle of sage with the corn, the novice paid her adopter another horse. According to Owl-woman, anyone, man, woman, or child, might volunteer to make an offering to the geese, and would then have to prepare the requisite food for the ceremony. The society marched out in regular order towards this person's lodge, the singers going ahead of the rest. The middle officer nearer to the Leader had her face painted blue from the mouth downwards, while her mate used black paint. The members halted and danced four times on the way. In entering, the rear officer went in first. One of the musicians smoked sage for incense near the central fireplace, and all members approached in order to scent their blankets. When all had taken their places, the person who had pledged the ceremony brought in the calico, or other property, to be presented as an offering, and also paid the incense-burner and his fellow-musicians. Then the singers began to sing for the dance. They sang four sets of four songs each, with an intermission between each set. After the dance, one of the singers took a stick, impaled some of the food on it, and offered it to the four quarters, finally throwing it into the fireplace. Before the commencement of the feast, the pledger went to the singers and induced them to utter a prayer in his behalf, asking for prosperity, victory in war, and the other good things of life. He also went about to the several members, and anyone owning personal medicines gave them to

the pledger. Then the pledger's property and food were distributed among the members, and a general feast followed in conclusion of the ceremony.

Young Beaver said that when she and her comrades bought the Goose society they assembled outside the village and erected a long meat-rack. Along this each member had a place allotted to her, where she could hang up the dried meat and fat prepared by her. Then they called their mothers, and presented them with the food suspended from the rack. In addition, those who could afford it gave their mothers a horse apiece, while the poorer ones made gifts of calico cloth. On receiving these presents each mother put some "black medicine" (a root) into her daughter's mouth. In the fall the members put up a similar rack. One man, the corn-singer had the power — acquired by purchase — of passing along the rack from end to end, touching each portion of meat and singing mystery songs. In the spring or autumn any man or woman might give a feast to the society and otherwise pay them to perform for the benefit of his or her cornfields. On such occasions the host rose and passed from one member to another, and any one that owned some medicine put a little into his mouth, at the same time praying to the Corn in his behalf:—

"tawi²'hakehak', tē'ha hā'keharā makū'nista. nimā'mihe
 "This is my grandson, long life for me give him. Your blankets
 i'wakise ki'ritkāksō'ore."¹
 I made for you.

The last part of this prayer refers to the custom of piling up all the corn in one place and covering it with calico as an offering to the Corn. Then some boy would run up, strike the calico as though it were an enemy, and snatch it away.

The two or three hand-drums employed by the society were, according to the same informant, painted with representations of goose tracks.

Yellow-hair said that the women who initiated her and her associates into the Goose society were the comrades of the surviving White Buffalo women of today. At the transfer of the membership privileges, which took place, as stated by other informants, close to the meat-rack previously set up, the mothers sang four times. During the intermission between the songs, the food was given to the sellers. The horses to be paid were tied in a near-by coulée. After the fourth time, all the novices rose, and approached their aunts, who were holding sagebrush in their arms. The buyers took the sage and paid calico for it. Then they also received their Goose society head bands. When this performance had been completed, the women went back to the village. On the following day the novices danced from morning

¹ This prayer is in Mandan.

till evening. The mothers came to the dance ground, and each one called her daughter to her lodge, feasted her, and presented her with a fine tanned robe and a sheepskin dress. Four days were spent in this way, then the new members stopped dancing. According to Yellow-hair, the Goose women were divided into two divisions, the members being distinguished by the use of white and dark head bands respectively, and having seats on opposite sides of the dance lodge. Each of the two young middle officers belonged to one of these divisions. Those wearing white head bands occupied the right-hand side for one entering the lodge, while the women with dark head bands sat on the left. One special officer, Calf-woman, served food to the Corn at every feast. She took a piece of meat and offered it to the Corn, saying, "You, Corn, eat this. I pray to you in order that the members of my society may live long."

In the winter preceding the attempt to purchase the Goose society made by Buffalo-bird-woman's group, Yellow-woman — possibly on account of a vision — desired to prepare a feast for the members of the Goose society. All the other members of her group assisted her by preparing some meat and fat. In the spring, when the geese came back from the east, the women set up a meat-rack. Then the woman whose prospective mother was leader of the Goose women hung up her meat, followed by the other women about to buy the society. Anyone that desired to give her mother a horse pledged herself to do so by fastening a stick to the meat. When the food had all been suspended, the men's societies were heard approaching. The Dogs came, blowing their whistles, and the Foolhardy Dogs, Foxes, and other organizations likewise appeared. The women cheered them in the manner termed *ī'ra'a'xke*, that is, by repeatedly pronouncing the syllable "la, la, la, la" with a rapid movement of the tongue. Each society appropriated one portion of side-ribs, leaving a blanket in its place. The buyers took pains to hide the best pieces of meat until after the men's societies had departed, in order to reserve them for their mothers. In the meantime the Goose women drummed and danced inside their lodge. The starter of the feast took a pipe and a piece of fat on a cottonwood stick, and ran all alone to the Goose society lodge. Each of the Goose women was holding in her left arm sagebrush about 5 feet long and wrapped round a long stick on which was impaled an ear of corn. The representative of the buyers placed the pipe before the singers. The pipe was smoked and returned, whereupon the delegate returned to the meat-rack. This procedure was repeated several times. All that day the buyers refrained from eating and drinking. The Goose women approached the meat-rack, halting several times and dancing each time. When they arrived at the place where the meat was suspended, they sat down in a circle and placed their sagebrush on the

ground. The buyers then presented them with portions of cooked meat. Each mother thereupon opened a little bag, took from it one seed of corn or squash, and gave it to her daughter. To distribute these seeds was a privilege of the Goose women. Buffalo-bird-woman and her comrades continued to distribute all the cooked food. In the meantime all the people had come to look at what was going on, but they were obliged to watch from the south and west side, the north and east side of the circle being considered sacred. The spectators also received a seed each. The mothers rose to dance. Only one man in the village, the Corn-singer (*kō'xati akupā'+i*), was permitted to sing. He wore a foxskin crown, and carried a pipe and a cottonwood stick with fat and leaves on it. He walked off towards the east. Then all the buyers went to their mothers, took the sagebrush out of their hands, and ran, as fast as possible, towards the Corn-singer, went past him, and returned to the Goose women who were performing their dance. This was done four times. The runners kept the sagebrush; for this they made a payment of horses, receiving as a return gift a new suit of clothes. Only Buffalo-bird-woman received a calf robe, with the hair outside, to be worn during the performance and returned after its close. According to my informant, the Hidatsa Goose society, though derived from the Mandan, differed from its prototype in that the members did not wear duck or geoskin head bands, but merely carried sagebrush in their arms.¹ Towards the close of the ceremony the Corn-singer approached the rack, took off two of the best pieces, ceremonially brushed off all of the portions, and threw down whatever pieces he liked for his female relatives to pick up for him. When he had selected what he wished, the mothers came, appropriated the rest of the meat, and took it home. These proceedings were gone through for three seasons, and the fourth year the Goose society would have been definitely acquired by the buyers under normal conditions, but that year the Government put a stop to all the old dances.

An account of a Goose ceremony by one of the earlier travelers in the West may be appropriately reproduced here, since it is not generally accessible and confirms the statements of my own informants:

After the corn had all been gathered in, the Mandan and Minnetaree squaws made their Goose Medicine on the level prairie behind the village. This dance is to remind the wild geese, now beginning their southward flight, that they have had plenty of good food all summer, and to entreat their return in the spring, when the rains come and the green grass begins to grow.

¹ Maximilian, who lists the Goose society only as an Hidatsa organization, does not mention birdskin head bands, but merely states that the members wore a feather transversely across the forehead (II, 219).

The charms of most of the squaws in this "Goose Band" appeared to have faded long ago: they were evidently past the bloom of youth, and their voices and tempers had not improved in consequence. However, on this occasion they endeavored to look their best with the aid of paint and finery, in which respect they are not far behind their white sisters of more civilized climes. A row of poles resting upon forked sticks is put up, over which are hung in profusion pieces of fine, fat, dry meat, which have been carefully saved for this occasion. A band of four or five drummers take their seats close to one end, and a double row of squaws next to them facing each other. Each woman carried a bunch of long seedgrass, the favorite food of the wild goose, and at intervals all get up and dance in a circle with a peculiar shuffling step, singing and keeping time to the taps of the drum.

The spectators keep at a respectful distance and enjoy the fun, which consists in the attempts of some of the young men to steal the meat from the poles, in which however they are often thwarted by the vigilance of a few wise old "geese" who are constantly on the alert to prevent theft. If successful, the meat is carried off in great glee to some lodge, where they cook and eat it at their leisure. These exquisites are elaborately gotten up with bunches of raven plumes fluttering from their scalp-locks, and stripes of white and yellow clay upon their bodies, comprise their only covering.

Finally, one of the old men (who have been thumping assiduously on the drums all the while) takes his place a few hundred yards off on the prairie, and a grand race by the whole goose band follows. All form in line together, and run around the old gander before returning to the starting point.

The race over, the scaffolds are taken down, a feast prepared, and the meat remaining on hand cooked and eaten. For the rest of the day the band danced around among the different lodges, and of course paid a visit to the fort before concluding. On these occasions a few yards of calico or some trifling gifts are always expected to be thrown to the "Medicine" by the traders.¹

It is probable that the Hidatsa and Mandan had several corn ceremonies distinct from one another and from the performances of the Goose society. Catlin describes a green-corn ceremony involving a dance of four men with corn stalks round a kettle with boiling green corn, followed by the ceremonial friction of new fire, but his account has been discredited by Matthews.² An Hidatsa ceremony performed in honor of the mythical Old-woman-who-never-dies, for the purpose of securing abundant corn crops is described by Mr. Curtis.³ The corn singer figures prominently in this account but nothing is said of a women's society. However, we are told that those were invited to participate whose medicines consisted of various birds supposed to be children of Old-woman-who-never-dies and therefore peculiarly appropriate to the occasion.⁴ Say describes a corn dance in which women play an important part, but does not identify them with any particular society:

¹ Boller, 147-149.

² Catlin, I, 188-190; Matthews, 47.

³ Curtis, IV, 148-152.

⁴ Ibid, 150.

Amongst the Minnetarees, is a ceremony called the corn dance; which, however, has but little claim to the title of a dance. Notice being given of this ceremony, by the village criers, the squaws repair to the medicine lodge, in which the magi are seated, performing their incantations, carrying with them a portion of each kind of seed which they respectively intend to plant the ensuing season; as an ear of maize, some pumpkin, water-melon, or tobacco-seed. These are attached to the end of small sticks, which are stuck in the ground, so as to form a right line in front of the magi. The squaws then strip themselves entirely of their garments, and take their seats before the spectators. The magi then throw themselves into a violent agitation, singing, leaping about, pointing to the sky, the earth, the sun, and the north star, successively. After these paroxysms have subsided, the squaws arise; and each one taking her respective sticks, holds them up with extended arms.

One of the magi being provided with a large bunch of a species of bitter herb, dips it in a vessel of water, and sprinkles copiously the seeds and persons of the squaws, with much grotesque gesticulation. This concludes the ceremony; when the seeds are supposed to be fertilized, and to be capable of communicating their fertility to any quantity of their kind.

The women then assume their clothing, and return home, being careful to deposit the fertilized seed with their stock; after which they may proceed to planting as soon as they please.¹

Finally, Maximilian has described a corn dance common to both Mandan and Hidatsa. Though he mentions the Hidatsa Goose society, he does not connect it with the corn ceremony, which is described in an entirely different connection as one of the principal tribal ceremonies, after the Okipe and the buffalo-calling ceremony. Maximilian distinguishes a spring and an autumn ceremony. The spring festival was a consecration of the plants to be sown, which were symbolized by certain birds sent by Old-woman-who-never-dies, the wild goose representing the corn; the swan, squashes; and the duck, beans. A great deal of dried meat had been prepared and was suspended from racks in from two to four rows as an offering to Old-Woman-who-never-dies. The elderly women of the tribe, as representatives of this deity, assembled near these racks on a specified date all of them carrying a stick on which a corncob was impaled. They sat down in a circle, planted the sticks into the ground, danced round the racks, and again took up the sticks, while some old men were beating drums and shaking their rattles. Contrary to Say's statement, Maximilian holds that the corn was not sprinkled or moistened, for this was regarded as producing a harmful effect on it. While the older women were busy with their performance, the younger ones approached them and put into their mouths some dried and pulverized meat, each receiving in return a seed of the consecrated corn. In addition three or four seeds were placed into each younger woman's bowl, and afterwards these were carefully mixed with the corn

¹ James, II, 58-60.

sown in order to enhance its fertility. The food on the rack fell to the old women's share because they represented Old-woman-who-never-dies, but frequently some members of the Dog society appeared and appropriated large portions of the meat (see p. 288).

The autumn ceremony was celebrated in order to attract the buffalo herds. Then the women performers did not carry corncobs on sticks, but entire corn plants. Both the corn and the birds symbolizing the plants were called by the name of the female deity, and addressed in prayer as the women's mother. They were requested to pity the suppliants, to postpone a severe cold, and prevent the game from moving away lest the people should be in want of food. When the birds in question began their migration southward, or, as the Indians believed, returned to Old-woman-who-never-dies, they were supposed to take with them gifts suspended for that deity outside the village, — more particularly the dried meat, which Old-woman was believed to eat herself. Some poor women unable to make other offerings would wrap up and suspend the foot of a buffalo, but these gifts were even more acceptable to the deity than any of the others.¹

While it is impossible to speak with assurance on this point, we can readily understand how the Goose society might have become secondarily associated with a corn ceremony when we recollect the identification of the wild geese with corn and Old-woman-who-never-dies.

It is evident that the Goose society is of a distinctly more religious character than either the Skunk or the Enemy society. According to Buffalo-bird-woman, the Goose ceremony shared a feature with the ceremonies of two other sacred women's societies of the Mandan, viz. a final brushing-off of the performers to divest them of their sacred character (see pp. 343, 344). My informant added that there are worms in the corn and that these might have got into the performers' bodies unless they had been brushed off.

OLD WOMEN SOCIETY.

The Old Women society (kā'ru parū'wa+i'ri) is said to have been an Hidatsa institution, and Buffalo-bird-woman was the only informant that described it in this connection. Though she mentioned it in the same breath with the other women's societies and explained how it helped "friendly" groups, it was clearly one of the totally different unions of people performing sacred bundle ceremonies. It seems that membership was

¹ Maximilian, II, 182-184.

secured by Buffalo-bird-woman's father, and that she herself and her brothers bought it of their father, whence she derives the right to tell about the society.

There were about twenty women in the organization. All of them painted a red oval on both cheeks, sometimes adding a red oval on the forehead; they also put red paint on the shoulders of their dresses. Each carried in her right arm a stick of ashwood, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length, to the top of which had been fastened a small bunch of sagebrush. The stick was painted red. The women carried their robes rolled up under the left arm. When dancing, they rested the sticks on the ground, and worked their right arms back and forth. A male singer had braided sweetgrass¹ hanging down from his shoulder; his robe, which he used as a drum, he carried like the women. His drumstick was painted red. When enemies had been killed, the society proceeded to the house of a man who had struck an enemy. The singer called out the hero's name and the nature of his exploit. Then all the women danced. In this way they proceeded from lodge to lodge, receiving valuable presents from the persons eulogized. This dance was only performed when an enemy had been killed. The society also met when Small-ankle, the informant's father, performed a sacred ceremony. In this case the ground was cleansed and consecrated. The women leaned on their sticks, panting, pretending great fatigue, and uttering such sentences as, "I have come from the mountains," or "I come from the north." Buffalo-bird-woman, when small, believed that these women were spirits. They danced in the lodge. Small-ankle gave each performer a tanned robe and some other present, such as a gun. Then they danced back towards the door, and rushed out. One of them, a berdache (*mā'ti*) jumped up and tore down some meat suspended in the lodge before dashing outside. As soon as the members were outdoors, they acted as though demented, dropping their blankets and straying off in all directions. After a while they regained possession of their senses, and picked up the discarded garments. Once one of the women did not return before the next morning, but wandered off into the mountains, led by a sacred spirit-woman (*mā'xupa mī'ē*).²

¹ This, my informant had heard, once turned into a bull-snake.

² A more complete account of the society was secured from Wolf-chief and shows clearly that it must not be classed with the other women's societies. Buffalo-bird-woman's brief statement is presented here simply because of her insistence that the Old Women aided their "friends" among the other societies and in that sense belonged with them.

GUN SOCIETY.

Hides-and-eats says that in the Gun society (Mandan: *i'rupe ō'xat'e*) there was no adoption. Three men who had guns for their personal medicine went round the village, selecting young girls for the dance. The girls combed their hair loose, stuck feathers in the back like the Skunks,¹ put on their beaded belts and mountain-sheep dresses, and entered an earth-lodge, where they ranged themselves in the arc of a circle. The three men were seated between the fire and the screen between the two main poles facing the door; they were the singers and drummers. The girls danced up and down in their places, seating themselves when a song ended and rising to dance when a new one was intoned. At the close of each song one of the three men expressed the following prayer: "My sacred gun, I pray to you, I wish to conquer my enemies." One of the men rose, impaled food on a stick, and cast it into the fire as an offering to the guns. After a prayer, food that had been previously prepared was distributed among the members. This food must all be eaten on the spot; it was not permissible to take any of it away. At the close of the performance sweetgrass was placed on a potsherd with some charcoal and burnt for incense. One of the men went round with the sherd, beginning at the right side of the door, and smoked each member in turn.

Sometimes the dance was performed, not in an earth-lodge, but outdoors in the village. The Gun women danced only during one month in the summertime. The next year the three men selected other young girls or young married women for the performance.² The object of the ceremony was to prevent the recurrence of losses from the enemy.

From the statements quoted it appears doubtful whether the Gun "society" was really a society, though the same term *ō'xat'e* is applied to it as to the other organizations.

RIVER WOMEN SOCIETY.

The River Women society (*pasa'mi'he ō'xat'e*) is called "Grass Crown society" (*mikā'kiki'*) by the Hidatsa.

The following origin legend had been heard by Hides-and-eats:

¹ Maximilian says they wore eagle plumes.

² Big-cloud, Bull-horn, and White-young-bear are said to have reorganized this society before the time of the smallpox.

Once the Mandan lived underground. A small mouse went about and discovered a little hole in the ground, through which he crawled up and thus came to see the surface of the earth. He liked the light and the grass. He returned, and told his people about it. They said to Fox, "You are small enough to get up through the hole." So Fox went up. He got to the ground, looked about, and found everything good there. He liked it, and told the three chiefs¹ and their sister. The hole was still too small, so the Elk was called. "You have wide horns, make a little passage for us to get through." The Elk did as he was bidden, got above ground, and enjoyed the sight. He returned, and told them how good the country above was. Then the youngest of the three brothers went up through the opening, and found plenty of buffalo and elk. He hunted them, killed a buffalo and took the sinew and paunch, which he gave to his brothers on his return. They were very glad to get sinew, for underground they had been obliged to use sunflower threads for cordage. All the people wished to go above ground. They went to the hole, and found a vine passing from their country to the earth. The chiefs climbed up first on the vine. They found an abundance of game, and camped near the hole. The people went up, one after another, until a pregnant woman tried to climb up and broke the vine. It was impossible to readjust the vine, so those behind the woman were obliged to remain below. The chiefs' sister had forgotten to take along her elk robe, and called down for it to her mother, who was still underground at the time when the vine broke. But the woman answered, "You cannot get it now; however, you will find one just like it above. When you die, you will come back, and then you will be able to get your elk robe again." The girl, accordingly, got a new elk robe above ground just like the one left behind. It was tanned soft, without the hair on, and painted black on one side; fleshed bluebirds were attached to it. This robe was passed from heir to heir until the time of the Ft. Berthold settlement, where Moves-slowly, a Corn-singer, kept it by his shrine.

The Mandan ascended the River and built their villages. They came to a big clay hill named Bare-Hill, where no grass grew. Near this hill they built one village. A young man went up the hill in order to get a vision. On a high hill, on the opposite bank of the Missouri, he saw many women dancing. Every time he went up the hill he saw the same vision, but each time the women got closer. The fourth time they came closer still, they came across the Missouri. When they approached the man, he saw how they were dressed. They were all mysterious beings. At the same time, some women just like them rose from the Bare-Hill itself, and began to dance. They wore crowns of live snakes,² whose necks were striped with different colors. Their heads were on the left side of the dancers, the tails on the right. The visionary was also able to hear the mysterious women's songs. In accordance with this vision he started the River Women society. In the place of the snake crowns, he took blue-grass about three feet long and from a triple braid of this material he made the head band emblematic of the organization (Fig. 15). Into the left side of the head band he stuck in obliquely the tail feather of an eagle. The ends of the crown were tied in the middle of the forehead. Kínunakci came to the visionary, and was

¹ The skulls of these three chiefs, according to Hides-and-eats, were still kept by Poor-wolf at the time of my visit. Cf. Maximilian (II, 161): "Noch gegenwärtig heben die Mandans in ihrer Medicine-Tasche oder Beutel 3 heilige Schädel auf, von welchen der eine der des genannten Chefs und die anderen die dessen Bruders und Schwester seyn sollen."

² Garter-snakes, according to one informant; according to another, brown snakes about 3 feet long, which the Indians call "grass-eaters."

delighted. He said, "I like this society. I wish to add something to your feather." Then he broke off some (unidentified) grass, and tied it to the feather. In the dance these feathers were meant to shake. K'numakci said, "I will give you one of my songs." And he gave the man a song quite different from other songs. When K'numakci had done singing, the visionary told the women whom he had organized



Fig. 15 (50.1-4329). River Society Head Ornament. Length, 61 cm.

to take their head bands, untie them, smooth them out, and put them down on the ground. The women obeyed, and the head bands turned into snakes and crawled away. From that time on the society was kept up.

Two-chiefs adds to the account as just given that several other beings made contributions to the dance regalia. The eagle feathers were distributed among the original dancers by the Eagle. The Bear gave them his claws to be strung for a necklace. The Mink allowed them to use his skin and claws: the two leaders and the two rear officers were to wear mink-claw necklaces, while the four middle officers were to wear a minkskin necklace, to which were attached bluish shells.¹ The organizer of the society selected four male singers and picked out for membership a number of women ranging in age from twenty to thirty. Calf-woman substitutes the mythical character I'tsi'kawa'herec² for Ki'numakci, and the Otter for the Mink.

One day Hides-and-eats was called by her friends to attend a meeting. This was shortly after the time of the smallpox. Very few of the River women had survived the epidemic; all of them had been very old women, about Hides-and-eats' present age. The young women called the survivors, heaped up property before them, and expressed their desire to purchase the society. The older group consented to sell. In this instance the sellers for some obscure reason were not considered the purchasers' mothers. Hides-and-eats and her comrades remained in this society for ten years. Then

¹ Two-chiefs gives twice the number of officers fixed by Hides-and-eats.

² This is probably the Hidatsa equivalent for Ki'numakci.

younger women called them and offered them property. "Then we adopted them and called them our daughters." Sometimes it happened that a single individual wished to join. In such a case she might buy a head band from a father's sister and become an additional member without replacing anyone. This, however, was not the regular way of entering the society.

In Hides-and-eats' time, there were two male head-singers, who called in five young men and taught them to sing, for which they received a compensation and were called "fathers" by the young men. From another statement by the same authority it would appear that the five men bought the right of singing and drumming from their predecessors in very much the same way as the young women bought the right to membership.

The officers of the society included a leader wearing a necklace of bear claws attached to otterskin; a rear officer with the same badge; and two middle officers with a loose-fitting white-shell necklace hanging down a few inches below the neck in front. There was one special member who surrendered to the society her earth-lodge to dance in; in Hides-and-eats' time this member's name was One-corn-seed. Calf-woman, who was one of the officers wearing a shell necklace, kept the dance-lodge, because her parents loved her dearly and never refused her anything. The ceremonial dance lasted four nights, the actual dancing beginning before sunset. The members were expected to remain in the earth-lodge during these four nights.¹ Some women, however, would clandestinely absent themselves and go home. As soon as the other members discovered their absence, they went to the woman's house, and sang outside, "Our friend, get up and come out here again." The drummers beat their drums, and the members, if necessary, seized the truant and brought her back to the dance lodge by force. The close of the performance was marked by a cleansing ceremony. The musicians tied together peppermint (?) stalks, and with these they brushed the members' bodies, from the shoulders down. The object of this was to remove the mysterious (xo'pinic) properties with which the members were endowed while dancing. In Calf-woman's time only one man, Bad-shirt performed this ceremony; he was paid with calico goods and food. Painted-up said the brusher was the singer of the Bird ceremony. The ceremonial cleansing took place only after the performances of the three *sacred* women's societies, that is, the River women, Goose women and White Buffalo women organizations.

Two-chiefs said that during the four nights' performance the head bands were suspended from a rawhide rope passing round the earth-lodge, and

¹ That is to say, they were not to sleep with their husbands. But if any member had a little child at home, she might go there to attend to its wants. In this case she was brought back to the lodge before daybreak.

members were expected to sleep below these headdresses. During part of the dance the women wearing bearclaw necklaces, (that is, the leaders and rear officers) performed alone, and were then supposed to present gifts to their own aunts or uncles. The middle officers also performed when a special song was sung, and they were expected to make a similar distribution of gifts. At the conclusion of the whole ceremony, the members sat down in a circle and placed their crowns in front of them. A man whose personal medicine was the Eagle or the Thunder was summoned to purge first the headdresses, and then the women themselves. Then, after the removal of the eagle feathers, which were saved for another occasion, the head bands were taken to the outskirts of the village, and abandoned there.

Buffalo-bird-woman gave the following account of the purchase of the River Women, or, as she called it, Grass Crown, society. Her statements, she said, also applied to the Skunk society. A male "friend" led the procession of purchasers, carrying a pipe¹ to the lodge of the sellers. The girls or women pretended to weep in feigned expectation of the possibility that their offer to buy the society might be declined by their mothers. On the first evening they merely stated their request, saying "Mothers, we desire to get this society, we do not know how to get it." As soon as the mothers had consented to give up their society, they pretended to cry, saying, "We have lost our songs." Then there followed ten nights during which the "mothers" were entertained by the purchasers. On the first of these nights the aunts² danced four times, whereupon each buyer brought a kettleful of food to her aunt. This was repeated every following night. On the tenth night, each daughter gave a special present to her mother and put a pipe before her, which was smoked, as before, by a male friend, and then returned. On the next evening each mother called her daughter to her own lodge and gave her a new suit of clothes, including head band, dress, and robe. It is not clear whether it was on this or another occasion that the mothers served food for their daughters, the statement being that this took place after the first dance by the new Grass Crown women. If two or three candidates had the same woman for their mother, the latter was not a real aunt of all of them. If the mother, in such a case was an officer, only one of her daughters received the office. When Buffalo-bird-woman bought the society, there were four women having a joint mother, who had considerable difficulty in getting together the requisite amount of clothing for the four novices. The officers were not selected. It depended merely on the novice's mother whether a novice became an officer. If the mother

¹ This pipe was smoked by a male "friend" of the sellers.

² See p. 227.

happened to be an officer, her badge and office were simply transferred to the purchaser.

The Hidatsa derived this society from the Mandan, but did not consider it so sacred as the Mandan did. Thus, as stated above, the Mandan rule was that women must not sleep with their husbands but must remain in the dance lodge during the four nights of the dance. Among the Hidatsa only the unmarried members regularly stayed in the dance lodge overnight. The married women went home, unless their husbands consented to let them follow the Mandan regulation.

Although Buffalo-bird-woman denied that the dance was regarded as sacred by her people, two features seem to have a religious character. In the first place, the annual performance took place after someone having had a dream to that effect had given a feast to the organization. Secondly, the performance closed with the ceremonial sweating and cleansing. The women took off their grass head bands, removed the feathers from them, piled up the crowns on the top of the sweat lodge, and went in to sweat, a few at a time. Then a man approached, holding in his hand some sage-brush with which he brushed off the sweat lodge, singing a song. All the women rose and faced him, and he brushed off the women, one by one, singing a song for each member. This power, my informant imagined, had been acquired by purchase.

CHEYENNE ¹ WOMEN SOCIETY.

Young-beaver who had entered the River Women society when not quite 20, bought the Cheyenne Women membership, with some thirty of her comrades, at the age of a little over 30. She still considers herself a member of the Cheyenne Women society.

The name of this organization (*cō'ota mī ō'xat'e*) indicates the source from which it is said to have been derived by the Mandan. Buffalo-bird-woman said that she first heard of the society about 56 years ago (1911), and that she joined as the only Hidatsa woman, her father having been asked for his consent. Any member who chose might assume men's garb. Some dressed like the Dakota, tying their front braids with otterskin, while others affected the long switches of the Crow. From two to four male singers were also chosen. At a dance of the organization a man carrying an eagle feather fan acted as leader, followed by the women in single file. At the intonation of a certain song, the leader held his fan close to his face,

¹ One interpreter translated the native word "singer."

and turned about. The women also faced about. Then all advanced with a kind of shuffling movement the right and the left foot alternately, without moving from their places. The musicians, who carried drums, remained in the rear. All the women painted their faces and wore feathers in the back of the head in imitation of men. They formed a circle, and danced forward. A few women cut out strips of rawhide, decorated them with beads, and placed them on their heads as though they were horns. This is said to have been in imitation of the Cheyenne women. Some young men used to watch from the roofs of their lodges. Each member selected one of these men to dance with her. After a while his relatives brought calico and other goods for his partner in order to ransom him and absolve him from the necessity of continuing to dance with her.

In purchasing the society, the aunts or mothers presented dresses to their nieces or daughters while they received horses in return.

WHITE BUFFALO COW SOCIETY.

The White Buffalo Cow society (pti'take 5'xat'e) was the highest of the women's societies known to the Mandan and Hidatsa, the Old Women's organization (p. 338) really belonging to another category.

Maximilian says that the members painted one eye any color they pleased (most generally azure) and had black tattoo marks between lips and chin. Their headdress consisted of a broad strip of white buffalo cowhide worn in hussar-cap fashion and topped with a bunch of feathers.¹ In Maximilian's day each Mandan village had its own White Buffalo organization, and he had occasion to observe the performances of both. In the performance of the Mih-Tutta-Hangkusch society, seventeen, for the most part elderly, women and two men with rattles and drums took part; one of the men was holding a gun in his hand. The leader was an elderly woman wrapped in the skin of a white buffalo cow. In her right arm she carried cornucopia-fashion a bundle of twigs, tipped with plumes, with an eagle wing and a tin drinking vessel secured to the grip. Another woman also carried a bundle of this type. The men wore no headdresses. Of the women, two had skunk-skin head bands, the rest wore headdresses of white buffalo skin decorated in front with owl or raven feathers, which were partly dyed red. All women had the same face paint,—vermilion on the left cheek and eye, with two blue spots on the opposite temple, close to the right eye. The leader was wrapped in the skin of a white buffalo cow. All the others except two, who

¹ Maximilian, II, 145-146.

wore robes with the hairy side out, wore painted women's robes. They formed a circle, the men began to sing, and the women danced, taking up the tune at the same time. They waddled like ducks from side to side, raising each foot alternately higher than the other, but not moving from their position. After a while there was an intermission, which was again followed by a dance. Only the older members had the tattoo marks between mouth and chin that were distinctive of the society. When Maximilian saw the society from Ruptare perform, there were three male musicians, who also wore white buffalo skin headdresses, and none of the women carried bundles of twigs. Otherwise the equipment was the same as in the other dance.¹

An illustration of the dance of this society, reproduced from Maximilian's Atlas, is shown in Fig. 16.

Boller's account, which is of considerably later date, contributes the important fact that in case of a famine the White Buffalo Cow women were expected to make buffalo herds come nearer to the village. A similar function is attributed by Catlin to *male* Buffalo dancers wearing masks of a type described in this paper in connection with the Bull society (p. 315). Catlin, however, does not connect his Buffalo dance with any organization, for though only about ten or fifteen men are said to have joined in the dance at one time, he states that every Mandan was obliged to keep a buffalo mask for possible use in the buffalo-calling ceremony on the request of the chiefs.² Oddly enough, both Catlin and Boller say that their respective Buffalo dancers never failed to bring in the herds for the reason that they continued their performance for weeks if necessary, until buffalo were actually sighted. The dance of the society is thus described by Boller:

The different members of the White-Cow band began to assemble, and soon the regular taps of the drum notified the camp that the great and important ceremony was in full progress. At one end of the lodge sat the musicians or drummers, three in number, who were untiring in their efforts, and aided their instrumentation by singing in a monotonous chanting strain. The women, comprising some forty or fifty matrons of the village, most of whose charms had unmistakably faded, were all attired in their quaintly garnished deer-skin dresses. Each had a spot of vermilion on either cheek, and their long black hair, which was carefully combed out and dressed with marrow grease, fell full and flowing over their shoulders, confined around the forehead with a fillet of white buffalo cow-skin. One of them had a white robe (which is very scarce, and held in the highest esteem) wrapped around her. This white robe was the common property of the band, and in its great power as a "medicine" were centred their hopes of bringing in the buffalo.³

¹ Ibid., 283-284, 297.

² Catlin, I, 127-128.

³ Boller, 218-219.



Fig. 16. White Buffalo Cow Women. (Maximilian's Atlas.)

I will now present my own field notes concerning this society.

Calf-woman joined the White Buffalo women when she was only two years old. Two years later she began to take part in the performances. Some old women went round the village looking for a female child whose parents loved her dearly and had given away a great deal of property in her honor. They came to Calf-woman's parents, and these consented to have their daughter adopted. Calf-woman's mother gave Brave-woman one pony and several blankets on this occasion. Whenever there was a dance of the society, a member named Berry carried the newly adopted infant on her back. There were about fifty women members, and five men acted as singers. The most important dance, or ceremony, of the society took place once a year, in the winter, on four successive nights. Sometimes the dance was kept up every other night for a month.

In preparation for the great ceremony the Indians of the village gathered an abundance of food and property for the society. Each member had a red line painted on the right side of her face, from temple to eyebrow, and a corresponding line in blue on the opposite side. All wore the buffalo skin caps emblematic of the organization and put on only on this special occasion, and moreover each member wore a buckskin dress and a robe. Three officers were distinguished by wearing their robes hair side out. The leader of this trio had a *white* buffalo skin robe; Calf-woman, who walked in the center, wore the best *calf* skin robe obtainable; and the third officer donned a *coarse-haired* robe. In approaching the earth-lodge where the ceremony was to be performed, the members halted four times on the way. At each stopping-place they formed a circle and danced in the same way as they were going to do in the lodge. The leader entered the lodge and made a circuit walking to the right (for one entering). A buffalo cow skull had been placed at the foot of the northwestern main pole in the center of the lodge, and *âtûre* was burnt for incense in front of it. A special incense-burner conducted the leader to the skull, letting her stand there so that she might be smoked, and then led her back again to her place. The two other officers mentioned above were similarly treated. North of the door, in a line in front of that joining the two southern center poles, sat the five men singers. As soon as these musicians began to sing, the leader, the middle officer, and the rear officer danced forward to the fireplace, where they met, and then danced in position, facing the fire. After they had returned to their original places, a special song was chanted. This was a signal for the incense-burner to go dancing from member to member and remove their robes. Then the dancing began. Every song and dance was repeated four times. Towards the close of the first night's performance a particular song was intoned, indicating that the paint was to be rubbed off

the members' faces. Each performer carried a bunch of peppermint (ca'xkuxke); at the sound of the special song a motion was made with this peppermint as though to remove the paint. Then the paint was actually rubbed off with the end of the robe. When the dance was all over, the women lay down to sleep in the lodge. Some members fasted all night. Before dawn one of the musicians took a long cottonwood pole and attached all the headdresses and the middle officer's robe to it. The staff was then fixed above the doorway. This was a sign for a big wind and snow to drive the buffalo close to the village. At the foot of the pole a buffalo skull was deposited. A branch of a tree was painted red, and numerous offerings were tied to it and laid on the skull. Thereupon all the members rose, went out of the lodge, and passed through the village. They approached the lodge in exactly the same way as on the previous day, making four stops and dancing at each before reëntering the dance-lodge. During the day one of the officers prepared all the food required. In the evening the performance was repeated, the three officers dancing up to the buffalo skull, whereupon the entire society followed suit. In front of the skull they placed a ball of mashed corn and a pipe. The leader took the pipe and the corn-ball. First she offered the pipe to the musicians, who lit and smoked it. Then she distributed the corn among the members, beginning with the one nearest to herself and appropriating what remained in the end. Next, the rear officer distributed corn twice, and finally the middle officer made two distributions. The entire society represented a buffalo herd; the middle officer represented the best buffalo and was supposed to get all that remained of the corn. The second, third, and fourth nights were all similar so far as the feature just described was concerned. Throughout the performance there were numerous spectators.

For the last night each member had to prepare a basketful of mashed corn; sometimes this was attended to by the members' mothers. Additional food was also brought together. This night was distinguished by the use of gourd rattles. All the baskets of corn, as well as the robes and headdresses were placed round the skull. Next a song was sung four times, and incense was burned to smoke the robes. Then mashed corn was given to the spectators until the supply was exhausted. Some peppermint was tied to a short pole. The incense-burner dipped it into a dish of water, and sprinkled all the members beginning with the leader and stopping with the rear officer. The buffalo skull and the musicians were also sprinkled. A little of the food was attached to the end of a short stick and placed in the nasal cavities of the skull, then pointed to the four quarters, and finally set down on the fireplace. A feast terminated the performance. On this last night newly adopted members made valuable presents to their adoptive mothers.

Throughout the ceremony two women whose normal position in the circle was on the right side of the rear officer preserved order in the lodge; the distinctive badge of their office consisted of a skunkskin head band (Fig. 17).

The object of the ceremony was to lure the buffalo near the fireplace. Once, when the performance took place in a clearing in the woods, one buffalo came directly to the doorway, and was killed on the spot. During the same season a great abundance of buffalo were found in the timber. Apparently, anyone who was desirous of making the buffalo come could take the initiative and ask the society to undertake the performance.



Fig. 17 (50.1-4815, 50.1-4331). Skunkskin Head Band of White Buffalo Cow Society and Head Band of Kit-Fox Society. Lengths, 79 cm. and 85 cm.

Any old member could adopt as many new ones as she wished, and was obliged to provide each tyro with a headdress. Calf-woman obtained one of these headdresses at the time of her adoption, though she was only two years of age. She became the middle officer because her adoptive mother gave her the appropriate calfskin robe. The musicians adopted new musicians who were obliged to pay heavily for the songs. Four of them had drums for instruments, while the remaining one used a rattle of buffalo skin.

In Calf-woman's day¹ the number of Mandan and of Hidatsa women in the society was about equal. The performances ceased, under Government pressure, when she was about fourteen years of age.

Hides-and-eats, who had served as rear officer, added a number of details. It was necessary to join in the wintertime because that was the season of the dance. The person who called for the performance of the great ceremony must have dreamt to that effect and was expected to prepare a great deal of food for the society. If, during the dance, a member went outside from necessity and a young man pulled her blanket, she was obliged to say, "A wolf has bitten me." If she failed to say this, she was in danger of actually being bitten by a wolf. The members were middle-aged, while the two women with skunkskin head bands were elderly. Hides-and-eats set the number of singers at four; their age was immaterial, but as a matter of fact they were about fifty or sixty. They were not identical with the musicians of other women's societies.

Buffalo-bird-woman says that the White Buffalo women were in the habit of going round the village in the morning, passing every lodge. One member would enter a clan daughter's lodge, and say to her, "So-and-so's daughter, give me light" (that is, fire). The clan daughter sometimes answered, and sometimes remained silent. Once the informant's aunt addressed her as stated above, and she replied, "Yes, I will do so." This signified her willingness to provide a feast. The next day, accordingly, she brought large quantities of food, invited all the White Buffalo women to her lodge, and entertained them. Further, she gave the society a new gun as a present, and a piece of calico to be smoked with incense. The incense-burner, who also had the privilege of taking off all the members' robes and hanging them up, took charcoal, made incense, seized the head of the rear officer's robe, shook it, proceeded to the middle officer's,² and repeated the same performance, as she finally did with the leader also. She made incense as she passed along the circle of members. Then the dance began. All wore their crowns of white buffalo skin on this occasion. When the singers commenced to sing, the leader and the rear officer rose and danced forward, crossing each other's path. They returned to their places, and repeated the performance at the next two songs. At the fourth song, the middle officer also rose, and all three danced, facing alternately the fireplace and the door, and finally returning to their places. At the following song everyone rose and danced. After the dance was over, the little girl approached the rear officer with a corn-ball, and put a little of the corn

¹ This informant is about 56 years old (1910).

² This informant, like Hides-and-eats, speaks of but one little girl in the society.

on the nose of the rear officer's skin robe. She did the same with the leader's robe, then she walked back to her place and went through the same performance with her own robe. This procedure which was regarded as an offering to the robes was called *ō'xkipati*. It was repeated three times. At the last song the incense-burner went to the rear officer, and untied her

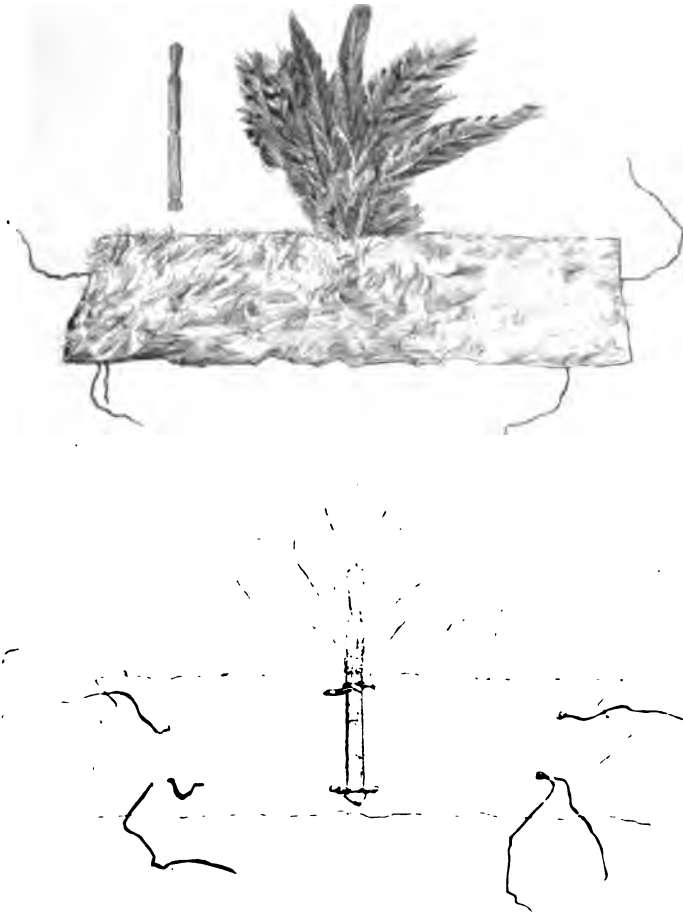


Fig. 18. (50.1-6020, 50.1-4350). Head Band of White Buffalo Cow Society, front and back view. Length, 62 cm.

robe, causing it to drop to the ground. She proceeded to the middle officer, and thence to the leader, untying all the robes. This dropping of the robes symbolized the shedding of the buffaloes' hair.

Apparently anyone interested in the success of the buffalo chase might

give a feast to the society and make offerings. Buffalo-bird-woman remembered one instance when a white man made offerings to the buffalo spirits before a hunt. He gave the society a butcher knife and other property and thus addressed them: "You, Buffalo women, I give offerings to you. I will give you a butcher knife when you cross in the dance. I wish to save all these men from getting injured and I desire to get all the meat."

The Museum owns several White Buffalo headdresses actually used by members and collected by Rev. Wilson and the present writer. One of these is represented in Fig. 18, together with the small notched wooden feather-straightener. In the skunkskin head band (Fig. 17) the feathers are attached in similar fashion.

MANDAN TEXTS.

I.

mí'sipàsa ò'wakarax mí'hò'xat mārū'cec. ò'warucèkì, icákhi"
Yellowstone River mouth Goose society I bought. We got it, then

nū'waxkùpini mí'haⁿ ò'cahe énuke àxkupíni, numā'napekàc. mérex
our crowns goose cut strips that we put on, we danced. Kettle

oki'heranì marátek íseǵki mā'skuhinì, mō'+ipke, éokarèc. í'wa-
cooked feast making sugar (coffee or tea) dried meat, these (they made). I

kapèkac híⁿ mā'+íǵte nōwā'teki "néwak káuna." í'wakapèkac,
distributed and calico if there is any "This keep it." I distributed,

gawí'wakapèkac.
I was the distributor.

II.

mí'xgereki u'uⁿ mā'akcì hēra mahí'migak ò'ohèrani sùxgarikā'-
Woman some and pointed hill clay-hill they came

sēeroc. mí'si u'uⁿ mā'kiruxka ā'xkupkerc, híⁿ ò'oherenì taka-
out from there. Woman snakes crown put on, and then

wáxgarākc máxana núpxe í'na^akā'aruc. ínúp mána meréx ká'kerc.
singer one skin rattle had. Two drum they had.

nū'maaké hera mā'mini hí'rixirì. herō'makōc. líⁿ ò'oherenì nū'maⁿ-
A man water not drank. He saw it. And then people

kā'kisen nā'akuⁿ ò'xat íseǵkèrec. hiaⁿ'ska hū'na nucā'ni éréǵkòroni.
afterwards society made. And that way coming they wanted to get it.

mā'oka kicō'kèregèc. kō ò'xatkarès utkū'karec. híⁿ ò'oherenì ā'we
Property they gathered. This society to they give it. And then all

kohū'ne tū'tuhoc nā'askahàna. híⁿ ò'xat keresō'onik mā'a' s'ina
mothers they got that way. And society when they were(?) Eagle

híromakōc. "ò'minatatinistore," éheni. káni í'pe okirúskani. ā'we
came. "I want to join," he said. Then tail feathers he pulled out, all

máxananā' kehē'reromakōc. Kínumakci hí'romakō'c. káni ícak
one by one he gave to them. Kínumakci came. Then he himself

mō'okíre kahéreromakōc. xa'tā'rák éotahíⁿ mā'ⁿsi ínús éota ò'ki
head ornament he gave to them. Grass with them Eagle that with them head
ornament

kéromakōc. mā'kiruxkas u'uⁿ ā'xkupini mō'oki'keres ō'ota néhe-
he put on. Snakes crown put on feathers with them all

rekère nō'makoc. hí matō'na híremakōc. hi uⁿkáahe kínućāni,
together he did. And Bear came. And claws he took off,

kahére nomakō'c, mīⁿi'keresē'ra nāpini íkererowakō'c. hiⁿ péxtakē'na
he gave to them he did. Those women necklaces ?. And Otter

híromakōc. péxtakēnus uⁿ'ut matō'+uks nēherekerēc. hinā^askahere
came to them. That Otter on bear's claws they put on. That way then

kiliⁿ óxat nucékilihi mató uⁿkáas. nupápirek ta+istúhe āⁿtāroc
they did (?), society they got when bear claws. Twenty nights that is all

ō'xatat hi uⁿ'a marátek ní'síxkac, hiā'terðhereni numā'akupenas
that society that number feast we made. And then our crowns

éheni matō'uⁿks éheni nukíxkukerē'c, minís nukáherEk. hi ō'ohereni
bear claws they gave to us, horse we gave. And then

istúhare níxgā'rek nukí'inā'pec, nukíxasúxgerekat matí'ixta dikū^u'eta.
In the evening about this time we danced, in a circle we go out outside inside (?)

karúpxari érexkiniki inúnūp néxkerèki matō'+uk napínís inúp
When they wish to go in two by two as they follow bear claws necklace two of them

kiuⁿtōc ná'ska kikō'kikahaⁿ karúpxekirikāc, dikū'usta
leaders ? two go in, inside

kínaapékerikac. matō'+uk nāpini nené itō'opuc mā'ata inák
they dance there. Bear claw necklace those four of them shell

kānapini tō'opuc. hiyō'háreni matō'uk napínís itō'pca tawáhe
necklace four. And then bear claw necklace four (each) songs

túkeree. hiⁿ ganā'ktikihi itō'ps nā'apec kirikac. mū'u'perí'kerekaç,
they had. And when singing four danced. They give presents,

mī'iharaciri, inupereçiri, mā'+ixtereciⁿ uⁿperéxkerekaç, mā'takara-
blankets, guns, calicoes they give away, shell

pinikas tā'wahe tū'kerec. icakí'raapékikerekaç. hiⁿ nā'apec kixē'k-
necklace some they had. They made them dance. And dance when

teki, hí'inak mū'upèrekerekaç. hiⁿ kixē'ktiki, mā'axkupkères mō'oca
they stop, they give away presents. And they cease, their crowns rope tied

nutíte hèreni mā'a'kups í'kaskikerec kakini'na. mā'peha ā'we
string they did (?) crowns they tied one after another. Under the crowns all

mī'íxkères hā'nakèrekac. kawáxkanā'kes ō'hanakìrekac. itō'pana
women sleep. Singers slept. On the fourth night

ō'maxa húnakìrec, ō'kape ō'tita keréxkerekaç. kacékarèxteki ō'keres
together they slept, some of the rest home they went. Near daybreak those that
went home

ā'we óti eeká nupká'ata, nuréé'kak. ō'tii nurō'p'xektíki, numā'x-
all their homes we woke them up, we go along (to the next house). Her house we enter,
we

kanā'kak. "ímupā, kitā'ni, mahū'na!" kawáxkanā'kes nō'ota,
sing. "Comrade, wake up, come!" Singers we are with,

hiⁿ ā'we kí'xkèrekac tíoohìta mā'axkup ónūnisū't. hiⁿ tō'pana
and all come back to the lodge crowns where they keep. And four nights

nū'mak nō'hū'ta mā'rahirexkèrekac. tō'panā'ne ecó kixē'kerec.
man near they do not go to. On that fourth night that they stop.

kixē'kehi kamā'napikes ā'we marátek íse'xkèrec. oóhereni mā'axkups
When they stop those dancers all feast they make. And then crowns

ā'we kawákirihē'rec. mā'akta mā'axkups náciha nū'ní'xkèrikac.
all they string up. On the ground crowns behind they stay.

hiⁿ ō'ohereni nū'maake máxana mā'níksùks kataníekerekà énehi
And then man one (with) bird medicine that one

kamí'nepekàs, ā'we íkaraxukōc ō'ohaktō'hereni. kixē'ktihi, mā'axkups
dancers, all he rubs off to the last one. When they cease, crowns

í'wapsituxs kirúcani, íxahanàs ā'we kirúcanāni, kieū'eukàrani. kāhósta
their feathers he takes out, those grasses all he unloosens, he straightens out.
On the prairie

ā'nahinik, patí'kōc. ā'atāroc.
he takes them out, he throws them away. This is all.

III.

cáhakèro nuⁿtēk, minísinik óxat'e nurū'cec. hiā'atere òoháreni
Across the river we were staying. Colt society we bought. And then

nūⁿkikíruhèrec. ā'we híkerec. ā'taxka' "mā'karuske hárenista!"
we invited friends. All got there. Already "Things collect!"

nuⁿtamáhe túktōc. híre íctuxki manác nā're'toc. nápte hérekerekì,
Our song we ought to have. Now tonight tobacco we take over. They will light
the pipe (?)

aⁿtaxkac mā'+usta híre íctúxki nū'tíktōc. "ā'we mará'isèke
then already that night we shall all be there. "All mixed-tobacco

huⁿ'huⁿ hárenista! maráteke ā'we óna atínitooc kūⁿnista" hiⁿhā'-
plenty have! Feast all your father give ye." Now,

askat íctúhe tétuki maráteke nūkū'una nū'wiic. nā'aka íctúxki
that way nights eight feast we gave right along. Next night

nūkirúcextō'c hináasekehì kō'ots úⁿuta hiⁿáthiⁿ híkerec hiⁿ kō'otsūt
we shall get it. That way fathers to them they have come. And to his father

híkihi. "Ptamā'-ipàxtuke makí'kùuta. ptámanisè no ā'watí'c."
he came. "My clothes give me mine. My horse here I have out here."

hiⁿ kō'otsē'na "néwa^ak márahè'réc" éheni. maráteke kū'urōc.
And to (?) his father, "This is your food," he said. Feast he gave them.

"néhak nihū'poō'c, néhak nihúⁿcic, íniwacutō'oc, manā'nihoc marára-
"This is your moccasin, this your leggings, your shirt, your blanket, your

píninuc, mō'orakeskèc, mō'onakiruc nī'itak ō'racipoc."
necklace your earring, your head ornament, your face-pendants."

**SOCIETIES AND DANCE ASSOCIATIONS OF THE BLACKFOOT
INDIANS.**

By CLARK WISSLER.

INTRODUCTION.

This paper, though part of a volume devoted to the comparative study of societies and dance associations among the Plains Indians, is in itself a further contribution to our knowledge of Blackfoot culture. The data were first gathered by the writer during visits to the Piegan, Blood, and North Blackfoot and later supplemented with data collected by the late D. C. Duvall and elaborated by James Eagle-child. The work was taken up in 1903 and has continued to the present as a part of the Museum's investigations among the Plains tribes. Many of the organizations and ceremonies described in the following pages passed out of existence a half century ago, in consequence of which very little of our information is the result of direct observation.

The discussions in the following pages assume familiarity with the results presented in Vols. 2, 5, and 7 of this series in which the mythology, tribal history, material culture, social organization, and ritualistic ceremonies have been reviewed at length. In the last of these papers were presented conceptions underlying the use of individually owned medicine rituals; in this paper we deal with organizations and associations in which there is a kind of coöperative or collective ownership. All the important collective ceremonies observed by us or described by informants have been presented, with the exception of the sun dance which we have reserved for another paper, since it presents some special problems and rises almost to the level of a true tribal ceremony instead of being merely the concern of a group of individuals. To a Blackfoot the idea of the ceremonial transfer or purchase is so fundamental that a seat in a society or a place in a dance association is regarded as procurable in the same manner. For the nature of this transfer and its manipulation, the reader is referred to Vol. 7 of this series.

June, 1913.

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MEN'S SOCIETIES.

In each division of the Blackfoot Indians there was a series of societies for men known as the *i²könnökatsiyiks* (all of the same age or experience, chums, etc.), usually translated as all-comrades.

The first notice of these organizations seems to occur in Maximilian:—

The bands, unions, or associations, mentioned when we were speaking of the Assiniboin, are found among the Blackfeet, as well as all the other American tribes. They have a certain name, fixed rules and laws, as well as their peculiar songs and dances, and serve in part to preserve order in the camp, on the march, in the hunting parties, &c. Seven such bands, or unions, among the Blackfeet, were mentioned to me. . . . New members are chosen into all these unions, who are obliged to pay entrance; medicine men, and the most distinguished men, have to pay more than other people.¹

Then follow some two pages given over to a brief characterization of each society in turn. They were first listed by Maximilian² as dances: 1. *Sohskriss*, mosquitoes. 2. *Emitähks*, the dogs. 3. *Säknipähks*, the kit-fox. 4. *Mastöhpate*, raven-bearer. 5. *Ehtskinna*, the horns. 6. *Inna-kehks*, the catchers. 7. *Stomick*, the bulls. At another place (575) he mentions “der Tollkühnen (des imprudens ou des téméraires)” and states that the above seven all danced in the same manner but differed in the singing.

In 1892 the Rev. John Maclean read a paper before the Canadian Institute on the social organization of the Blackfoot, seemingly based upon observations among the Blood division from which we take the following:—

There are several grades of warriors among the tribes. The writer found the following grades among the Blood Indians:—

Mokaikínúkí, the Brave Warriors: Heavy Shield is head of this band of soldiers.

Mastogpatúpi, the Crow Warriors.

Imitainaki, the Dog Warriors.

Etsínaki, the Horn Warriors.

Kaispa, the Sioux Warriors.

Siksinaksí, the Black Warriors.

Potaina, better known as “Joe Healey,” told me that the men must be thirty-four or thirty-five years of age before they are admitted into the ranks of the black soldiers. The highest position obtainable by a warrior is after having passed through all the military grades he receives the full rank of warrior.³

¹ Maximilian, 115, 117.

² Maximilian, German edition, 577.

³ Maclean, 255.

At about the same time Grinnell's "Blackfoot Lodge Tales" appeared, giving a full list for the Piegan:—

"This association of the All Comrades consisted of a dozen or more secret societies, graded according to age, the whole constituting an association which was in part benévolent and helpful, and in part military, but whose main function was to punish offences against society at large. All these societies were really law and order associations. The Müt'-siks, or Braves, was the chief society, but the others helped the Braves.

A number of the societies which made up the *I-kun-uh'-kah-tsi* have been abandoned in recent years, but several of them still exist. Among the *Pi-kun'-i*, the list—so far as I have it—is as follows, the societies being named in order from those of boyhood to old age:—

Societies of the All Comrades.

Tsł-stiks', Kük-kuiks',	Little Birds, Pigeons,	includes boys from 15 to 20 years old. men who have been to war several times.
Tüis-kIs'-tiks, Müt'-siks, Knäts-o-mi'-ta, Ma-stoh'-pa-ta-kiks E'-mi-taks,	Mosquitoes, Braves, All Crazy Dogs, Raven Bearers. Dogs,	men who are constantly going to war. tried warriors. about forty years old.
Is'-sui, Ėts-kai'-nah, Sin'-o-pah, Ė-In'-a-ke,	Tails, Horns, Bloods, Kit-foxes, Piegans Catchers or Soldiers,	} old men. Dogs and Tails are different societies, but they dress alike and dance together and alike. ¹ } obsolete among the Piegans, but still exists with Bloods.
Stü'miks,	Bulls,	
		obsolete for 25 or 30 years, perhaps longer. obsolete for 50 years.

The members of the younger society purchased individually, from the next older one, its rights and privileges, paying horses for them. For example, each member of the Mosquitoes would purchase from some member of the Braves his right of membership in the latter society. The man who has sold his rights is then a member of no society, and if he wishes to belong to one, must buy into the one next higher. Each of these societies kept some old men as members, and these old men acted as messengers, orators, and so on.

The change of membership from one society to another was made in the spring, after the grass had started. Two, three, or more lodge coverings were stretched over poles, making one very large lodge, and in this the ceremonies accompanying the changes took place."²

In 1905 the writer gave a list and a brief characterization of these

¹ The statement as to similarity between the dogs and tails is evidently based on misinformation, see p. 388 and 395.

² Grinnell, 220-221, 222.

societies, mentioned here for completeness, he having gathered most of the data for this paper before that date.¹ The origin myths were published in 1908.²

Of more recent literature we may first note two brief references by Schultz,³ a text by Uhlenbeck⁴ and a rather full account by McClintock.⁵ This latter is of unusual interest since it is the extended narrative of a single North Piegan informant and enumerates the kit-fox, mosquitoes, pigeons, all-brave-dogs, and braves.

The latest and perhaps the most ambitious account is by Curtis:—

The men of the Piegan tribe were organized into a series of warrior societies in which membership was based on age. Arranged in the order of the age of their members these groups were: Doves, Flies, Braves, All Brave Dogs, Tails, Raven Bearers, Dogs, Kit-foxes, Catchers, and Bulls. As a whole they were known as All Comrades. The function of the societies was primarily to preserve order in the camp, during the march, and on the hunt; to punish offenders against the public welfare; to protect the camp by guarding against possible surprise by an enemy; to be informed at all times as to the movements of the buffalo herds and secondarily by inter-society rivalry to cultivate the military spirit, and by their feasts and dances to minister to the desire of members for social recreation. This was true more particularly of the companies composed of warriors in the full vigor of youth or middle age; but the ritualistic performances of those comprising the elderly men — the Kit-foxes, the Catchers, and the Bulls — seem to have partaken of the nature of religious ceremonies. Probably the members of these three did not perform police duty.

When the various bands of the tribe first assembled in the spring, the chief invited the leaders of the societies to a feast, during which they discussed the general route of the coming summer's travel. An understanding having been reached, the chief appointed two or three of the younger societies to be the camp police for the season; and when the camp was moved again, the two leaders of each society thus honored pitched their lodges as one near the centre of the camp. These double lodges became the headquarters of the men on duty, a place of fraternal feasts and councils. Theoretically the societies chosen to control the camp were subject to the orders of the tribal chief, but their duties were so clearly defined that practically they were their own masters. The chiefs of the organizations named as guardians of the public welfare selected the camping places on the general route previously agreed upon; and differences of opinion in this matter were settled by a vote of all the police chiefs. As darkness approached, the camp soldiers shouted warnings that all should remain in their lodges after nightfall, for any man found prowling about, whether for the purpose of seeking a meeting with his sweetheart or attempting to play the wild pranks in which the youth took such delight, would be taken, beaten if he resisted, deprived of his robe, which would be slashed into ribbons, and sent back naked to his lodge. Some of the soldiers kept watch over the camp until sunrise, each man patrolling that portion of the camp-circle in which his own band

¹ Wissler, (f), 173.

² This series, vol. 2.

³ Schultz, 115, 139.

⁴ Uhlenbeck, 45.

⁵ McClintock, 441-465.

dwelt, stopping at the edge of that section and meeting there the sentinel of the next band and exchanging signals with him. . . . Guarding the camp at night was performed in turn by the societies appointed for the season's police duty.¹

In the detailed accounts that follow this author gives many dates of origin and extinction as if the exact time had been determined for each case, but he doubtless means that these are his own approximations based upon the statements of informants. The few special points raised by this writer will be considered under their respective heads.

While the preceding accounts taken in their entirety give us quite a detailed account of the Piegan series of societies, they are still far from satisfactory to such a comparative study as we have in mind for this volume; hence, we have felt justified in presenting all our data even though there is some duplication.

Mr. Grinnell seems the first to call attention to the rank and age system of the all-comrade societies, and the implication that a man must enter through the lowest rank. We have discussed many aspects of this ranking with older Indians, seeking to arrive at a consistent view of its functions. No one seemed to have formulated the principles of procedure, except that there was a definite order of rank. It was generally agreed that this rank expressed the relative ages, or dates of origin, of the respective societies. Thus, the pigeons of the Piegan would be the most recent acquisition to the series, while the bulls was the first. Should a new one originate it must stand below the pigeons. Our informants insisted that the greater worth of the bulls was chiefly due to their relative antiquity and in no wise dependent upon the ages and worth of the members. This may be but a native theory, but if such a conception is held by the leaders in society activities, it must be accepted by us as expressing the functional relations of the various ranks, even though its historical value be small. In any case we have a rank not based upon the qualifications of members but upon assumed seniority in historical origin. Yet the age qualification was not lost sight of, for our informants held to the rule that in joining a society one must secure the place of one's senior in age. This was not absolute as will be noted in the records of two Piegan Indians (p. 426) but seems to apply to most transfers.

Under such a system it is obvious that the rank, or order, of succession must be fixed like the grades in an elementary school. The Piegan and the Blood divisions were able to enumerate their societies in such a definite series, but among our North Blackfoot informants there was great difference of opinion as to the order in the list (p. 419). In consequence, the following

¹ Curtis, 6, 16-18.

table should be taken as tentative in so far as it applies to that division. In order to facilitate comparison we have arranged the lists in parallel columns.

List of Blackfoot Societies.

Piegán	Blood	North Blackfoot
Pigeons	_____	_____
Mosquitoes	Mosquitoes	Mosquitoes
_____	_____	Bees
_____	_____	Prairie-chickens
_____	_____	Crows
Braves	All-brave-dogs	All-brave-dogs
_____	_____	Bad-horns
All-brave-dogs	Braves	Black-soldiers
Front-tails	Black-soldiers	Braves
Raven-bearers	Raven-bearers	Raven-bearers
Dogs	Dogs	Dogs
Kit-foxes	Horns	Horns
Catchers	Catchers	Catchers
Bulls	Bulls	Bulls
_____	_____	Kit-fox

It will be noted that Grinnell heads his list with the little-birds. Our informants objected to this on the ground that this was but a name for boys about to join a society, they having neither organization nor regalia. Others claimed that the name applied only to those preparing to join the pigeons, whence its significance. Since the pigeons are the first in order, these statements are not entirely contradictory. His list also differs in the rank of the front-tails and the raven-bearers, but on this point the list of Curtis agrees with ours. The two brave-dogs, though not properly a society were nevertheless regarded by our informants as belonging to the all-comrades and as ranking the dogs (p. 397). The existence and significance of this pair seems to have escaped other observers.

The only attempt at a list of Blood societies we have noted, is the one by Maclean previously quoted. He includes the *kaispa* (grass dance) which is certainly an error, since our Blood informants never regarded this dance association as one of the all-comrade series. Further, there is nothing in the article cited to suggest that the rank of these societies was exactly determined by its author. For the North Blackfoot we have no previous list, but a preliminary report on them was filed in the Museum by Dr. Robert H. Lowie in 1907.

Grinnell has called attention to the police and military functions of these societies. The *innōki* (police, or catchers) is the name for one of the higher ranks, but we were not able to learn of any special functions assigned to them. Perhaps the name is of historical significance, implying a former dominance (p. 403). According to our information no society had a monopoly of police duty, but all of those containing able-bodied men were likely to be called upon by the head men to guard the camp for a stated period. For any occasion the chiefs would call upon one or two of the societies instead of calling in individuals. The pigeons, mosquitoes, all-brave-dogs, and braves were the ones most often called.¹ During the summer when the tribal camp was formed preparatory to the sun dance the societies were almost constantly on duty. While on the march, the van, flanks, and rear were each screened by a society acting under the orders of the leaders. When in camp at night one or two were assigned to stand guard and enforce the camp regulations. This applied also to the buffalo hunt. In short the specific duties, modes of punishing delinquents, etc., were the same as described in the preceding papers. It should be noted that these societies were called upon for specific duties and could not act until so commissioned. Students of democratic institutions can doubtless see in the random assigning of the societies as well as their constantly changing personnel, a nice balance or check upon arbitrary personal power. Indeed it would be difficult to conceive of a more ingenious scheme to prevent the permanent seizure of power by a police or soldier organization. However, we are disposed to regard police functions as entirely secondary and ceremonial functions as primary in Blackfoot societies.

With this preliminary statement we may take up the detailed descriptions for the Piegan, Blood, and North Blackfoot in turn.

PIEGAN SOCIETIES.

The names and ranks of the Piegan societies were given in the introductory chapter. No distinction is made between the North and South Piegan because their separation is entirely due to the accidental fact that part of the Piegan division now lives in Canada, and because the present system of

¹ The All Comrades societies were the dominating factor in the tribal organization, and indeed the power of the head-chief depended largely on his cooperation with them. At the tribal council called by the chief, not only the chiefs and head-men but also the chiefs of the societies were summoned. These were called by name by the chief's criers, who were old men with strong voices. When the tribe was on the march the members of the warrior societies rode ahead, at the sides, and in the rear, to protect the others. The Braves, consisting of the oldest unmarried men, were always given the most dangerous position.—Curtis, 6, 16.

According to our information many of the braves were married men and in their prime.

societies was in full function at the time of this separation. It should be noted, however, that the greater part of the following information was obtained among the South Piegan and is made the basis for the discussion of the data from other divisions.

THE PIGEONS.

This society is composed of eight officers, an indefinite number of members, and thirteen or more special functionaries, as follows:—

The leader (1)	Old men comrades (4)
The assistant leader (1)	Single men comrades (4)
The bear shirts (2)	The drummers (4)
The yellow pigeons (4)	Women members (1)
The pigeons (x)	

The leader wears an eagle tail-feather tied on the back of his head and carries a bullet-shaped rattle, painted red with a feather on the end. His face and body are painted red. He clothes himself in ordinary costume; that is, robe, breech cloth, and leggings but does not wear a weasel-tail or hair-lock suit. He carries a quiver of buffalo calfskin in which are four arrows and a bow. These he never takes out in the ceremony.

The assistant leader may dress like his superior but also has as his distinctive regalia a skin of a coyote. According to some informants he carries a bow and arrow which, however, he does not use during the dance. He carries a rattle, but not the whistle. His face and body are painted with yellow and red, that is, a yellow ground with a red bar across the mouth and eyes. In the dances these two leaders do not leave their places, simply rising and dancing where they sit.

The pair known as bear shirts have duplicate regalia. They wear belts of bearskin about eight inches wide on which are seven bands of red cloth and a bear tail. Their shirts and moccasins are made from the smoked tops of worn-out tipis. The shirts are slit and cut in rows. The latter are U-shaped cuts so that the loose ends hang down. The edges are fringed. There are arm bands of bearskin, each with a claw attached. The moccasins are heavily fringed around the edges of the soles and the ankles (Fig. 1). The legs are bare. The body is painted red and marked down with the finger tips. The face bears the bear sign, black marks down over the eyes and at the mouth corners. The hair on the forehead is cut short and combed straight up. They carry a bow and four arrows, two of which have blunt points.

The four yellow pigeons wear no clothes except the breech cloth and

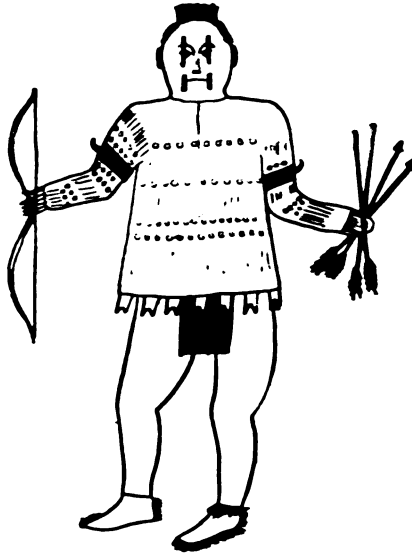


Fig. 1. Regalia of a Bear Shirt in the Pigeon Society. The wide belt of bearskin is not visible. From a sketch by Big-brave.

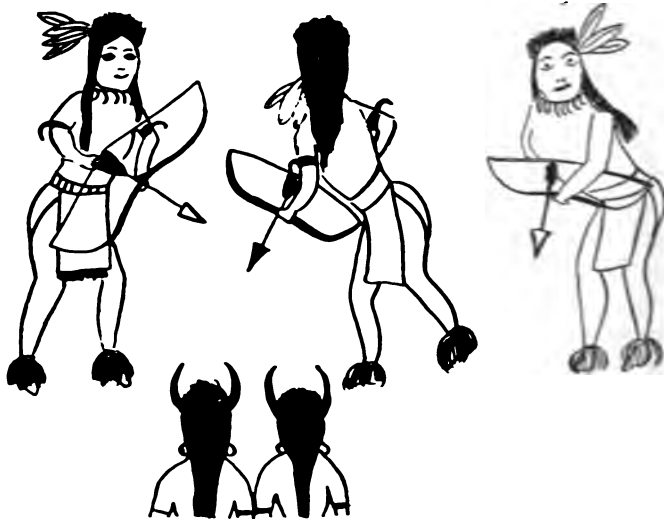


Fig. 2. Regalia of the Yellow Pigeons. There are four of these in the society, of which three are shown in the sketch. Drawn by a Piegan.

moccasins. Their bodies are painted yellow, even the hair. Some say they were marked down with the finger. They did not have the red marks on their faces like the leaders. They carried bows and arrows and wore eagle tail-feathers on their heads. Their special functions seem to have been to serve the food at the ceremonial feast, to act as messengers or sergeants-at-arms. On the back of their heads they wore eagle tail-feathers painted red (Fig. 2).

The rank and file, or the pigeons proper, are not permitted to wear clothes, except as for the yellow pigeons. Should anyone come to the dance tipi and refuse to go in the others would set upon him and tear his clothes off. Their entire bodies are painted red. They carry bows and arrows, painted red.

The four old men members enter the ceremony in regular daily dress. They carry nothing with them. As a rule, they paint their faces red. These men are taken in because of their experience in ceremonial procedure and as one expressed it, "always to have some members who could count war deeds." They make all formal announcements, harangue the camp when required in the interests of the pigeons, advise the members, adjust disputes, etc. When the society sells out they tend to go with them in the same capacity; thus they are truly old men comrades.

The four single men comrades are in this case very young boys, all the pigeons proper being unmarried men. They are taken in by their brothers or other relatives, already members, and may dance in their stead while they remain seated. These men paint and dress as the other members. Their designation is, of course, borrowed from societies of older men in which the members proper are of marriageable age.

The four drummers each has a drum in his hands. They are charged with directing the singing and during the dancing remain seated and drum and sing. There seems to be some difference of opinion as to whether it is proper to use drums or to beat a rawhide. Usually when singing and dancing, members keep time by beating upon their bows with an arrow. Some informants claim that this was the only kind of accompaniment used. The best informant, however, seemed to favor the use of four drums.

There was one woman attached to this organization. We were told that, "she had no particular function, but was taken in as a member and danced with the rest." This will be better understood after reading the accounts of other societies.

The dance ceremony of this society takes place out-of-doors, the members arranging themselves as indicated in the sketch, Fig. 3. The opening in the circle is toward the east. The four yellow pigeons sit on the north side of this opening, while the bear shirts sit facing it some fifty feet distant.

The two leaders sit at the west side, while toward the center, facing east, are the drummers. When all are in place the leader gives a signal, the drummers make four passes with the drumsticks and strike once, upon which all in unison give the call of the pigeon. (Some of our phonograph records show this to be highly realistic.) This is repeated four times. Then the songs of their ritual are begun.

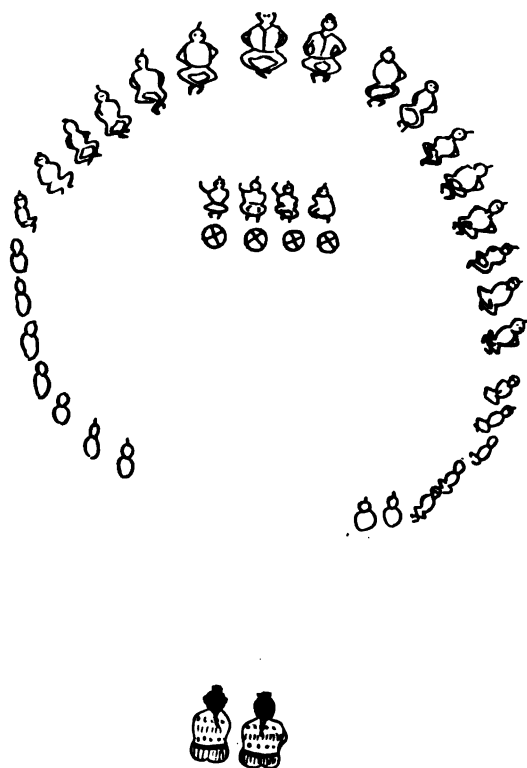


Fig. 3. Sketch showing the Position of the Pigeon Society in a Ceremony. Drawn by a Piegan.

An informant says that at the beginning of the ceremony everybody is seated, all singing and beating time on their bows with their arrows, the two bear shirts as well. This pair, unlike their representatives in some other societies, do not rest their bows and arrows on buffalo chips and sage grass. In the dance the bear shirts and the yellow pigeons do not dance around sunwise, but in the opposite direction and around the other members, bunched up in the middle. It seems that the bear shirts give the signal for the dance.

ing by rising in their seats. At this, the whole organization including the leaders rises and dances.

Another informant says that during the dance all the pigeons dance around in a circle the two leaders facing them. When the leaders turn and dance with their backs toward the main body, this is a signal for the dance to end. Then they dance toward their seats and when the leaders sit down, they follow suit.

The society has three songs, one in which everyone joins, beating time on their bows with their arrows and the drummers on the edges of the drums with their sticks. The other two songs are dance songs.

When they sit in their places and sing, the pigeons beat time by striking arrows on their bows. At the proper moment all, except the bear shirts, rise and dance in a circle, each with a drawn bow, the arrow pointed downward. The four yellow pigeons dance in the center and as the ring of dancers threatens to close in, they threaten them and pretend to drive them back to their seats. Then after an interval of singing the two bear shirts take a hand. On the ground before them rest their bows. They lean forward holding their heads out like bears. As those in the circle rise to dance, the spectators throw buffalo chips at the bear shirts, at which they raise their heads, holding their closed fists at their cheeks and growling like bears. This is repeated once. They rise, take up their bows and dance into the circle, driving the dancers back, then dance outside and drive them to the middle again. This is repeated four times in all. When food is brought in the bear shirts growl and take it; the others wait and eat what remains. The signal for closing the ceremonies is given by this unique pair, they discharging their blunt arrows at the sky.

The usual time for these ceremonies is early in the morning.

Maximilian does not mention the pigeons. This may have no significance, for the society is regarded as of comparatively recent origin, the latest historically.¹ So far as we know, any male may enter this organization by purchasing the place and regalia of another; but it is considered a youths' order. Such purchase may occur at any time, but the tendency is for the whole organization to sell in a body to a new group of younger fellows. The individual sellers and purchasers must be paired off; hence, it is not unusual for some members to hold over for want of a purchaser. This transfer is a formal affair comparable to the transfer of medicine bundles. A shelter is made by combining two tipis, in which the organization assembles. Each purchaser enters with a pipe, which he offers to individual sellers

¹ Bear-skin, about 75 years old, says that he was a charter member of the pigeons in his eighteenth year. It was then originated by an old blind man, Ghost-boy, who dreamed it. This would make the date about 1853.

until it is taken and smoked. This act pairs them. A few old men, presumably former members, are called in to officiate, they having full charge of the ceremony. The following narrative may be given as a type:—

When I went into this tipi I had a pipe full of tobacco. I offered it to a man by the name of Bear-head. I told him the reason for it. I wanted his rattle. He was assistant leader. He took the pipe from me, held the stem up in the direction of the sun and prayed. Then he lighted it and smoked. All those who went in with me did the same. When all had finished their smoke, Bear-head began to paint me and give me the rattle, etc.

The purchasers are instructed by the sellers and coached as long as necessary. For all such services fees are in order. Other societies are certain to challenge the pigeons to athletic, gambling, parade, and other contests in which each member is expected to do his utmost.

After a dance they sometimes run about outside the camp, where they annoy the women carrying water by shooting through their buckets.

THE MOSQUITOES.

The organization of this society is similar to the preceding. It is as follows:—

The leader (1)	The old men comrades (4)
The yellow mosquitoes (4)	The single men comrades (1-2)
The mosquitoes (x)	The drummers (4)

The leader wears an eagle tail-feather on the head. His face and body are painted red with a black band across at the level of the bridge of the nose. He wears a buffalo robe, hair side out.

The four yellow mosquitoes are each painted yellow with a red band across the nose. They wear feathers in the hair and robes, hair side out. On each wrist is tied an eagle claw, representing the mosquito's bill.

The mosquitoes paint in red, wear plumes, but otherwise dress as the above four. The four drummers use half of a rawhide to beat upon.

The old men comrades wear their ordinary clothes during the ceremony, blankets, leggings, etc. They have no special regalia.

The number of single men comrades is said to vary, sometimes being two and sometimes four. It was stated by an informant, that single men were taken in in this capacity by some of their relatives. Sometimes, older men it was said, are backward about dancing or taking part in the ceremonies whence they sometimes have one of their young relatives entered as a single man comrade. Thus the member can remain seated while his young representative dances in his place. Young boys may be taken in in this way.

The single men comrades dress and paint like the other members. Again, the society itself may take in the son of a chief or other prominent man so that they may receive food and other assistance from the family.

The dance ceremony opens with a parade in single file around the outside of the camp circle, sun-wise. Having completed the circuit they proceed to the center and sit in a circle. The four drummers sit in the middle before their pieces of rawhide.

When dancing they move in single file, forming a circle. While doing this the four yellow mosquitoes march in single file to one side, thus with the main body, forming two lines. At this time, there is neither singing nor dancing. The drummers do not march with them but proceed directly to the place they select for dancing where they seat themselves. Then the files approach and form a circle around the drummers, the leader at the head with two of the yellow mosquitoes on each side. The other members sit in the circle where they wish. At the end of each song they all squat down, with heads low, making a buzzing noise like mosquitoes. When seated they lean forward and draw their robes over their heads. After four dances they again circle the camp and scatter along the outside. Anyone falling in their way will be scratched with the eagle claw. They say, "Now, I shall get blood from you." Their rule is to do the opposite of their victims' appeals; thus, if asked to be let off, they will scratch brutally; if told to be severe, they touch lightly. If a man takes off his shirt and invites them to take their fill, he must not be touched; likewise, if a woman bares her arms. They must not invade tipis or the bounds of the camp circle.

The usual way is for the mosquitoes to sell out to the pigeons. A shelter is made by combining two tipis. Some old men are invited to conduct the transfer, or selling out. This is conducted in a manner similar to that for the pigeons.

Most of the members are single men, but being married is no bar to entrance. They usually marry before selling out for the simple reason that they are of proper age.¹

THE BRAVES.

The organization of this society is as follows:—

Leader (1)	Braves (x)
Willow brave (1)	Old men comrades (4)
White braves (4)	Single men comrades (4)
Black braves (4)	Drummers (4)
Bear braves (4)	

The leader carries a small bulb rattle, half painted red, half blue, a feather attached to the end and a wristlet of otterskin. On the head he wears a feather hanging down behind, painted red, the quill end wrapped with wire. He wears a buckskin suit with weasel or hair-lock fringes. The right half of his face is painted blue, the left red; black bands around the wrists. He carries a short lance, Fig. 4.

The one called willow brave ranks next to the leader. He carries a willow

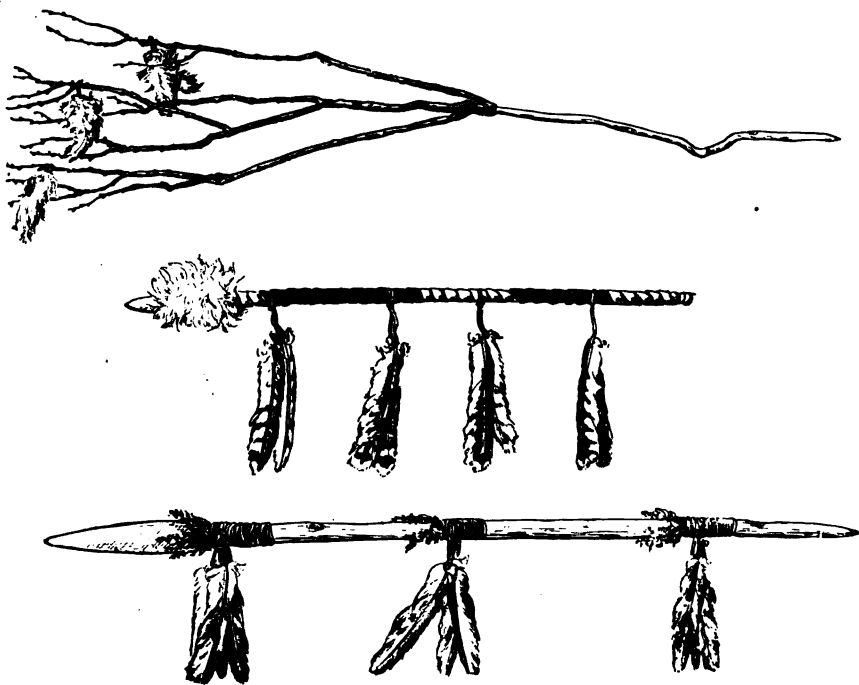


Fig. 4 a (50-5582), b (50-5573), c (50-6161). Standards used by the Braves: a The Willow Brave's Staff; b Lance for the Leader; c Lance of the White Braves.

branch to the ends of which are tied yellow painted plumes. (Fig. 4.) His robe has no hair, but is fully tanned.

The four white braves wear breech cloth and moccasins. Their bodies are painted white; under each eye four black marks and across the thighs, calves, and arms a pair of black marks. Around the ankles, neck, and head are wreaths of four sage stalks each. Their robes have no hair, have the corners fastened up and a curious hole in the back reminding one of the Arapaho crazy-dance regalia. Eagle feathers are carried only by the white braves, the braves proper using hawk feathers. All wear robes but when

they rise to dance they leave them at their seats. They carry lances, painted white and decorated with four pairs of feathers and bunches of sage grass. (Fig. 4.) The ordinary bone whistle with quill-wrapped neck cord should be added.

The old men comrades wear their ordinary clothing and are without regalia of any kind. Their functions are similar to those of the preceding societies and while they have no particular costume at the time of the ceremony, they use the painting of the lay members.

Single men comrades vary in number from one to four and are taken in as described in the preceding, both as substitute dancers and in order that food may be obtained.

The four black braves carry lances covered with black cloth and decorated with black feathers. Their bodies are painted black. Their costume is similar to that of the preceding. On their backs they wear a bladder or pericardium painted black and distended by air; this is called a water pail.

The two bear braves are similar to a pair noted in the pigeon society. They cut the front hair and paint it. The costume is also the same. Here, they wear robes with the hair on. On the head, they tie a bunch of prairie-chicken feathers. They carry bows instead of lances (Fig. 5).

The braves wear neither shirts nor leggings. They paint with dark red paint with black marks, as noted for the white braves. Their lances are painted red.

No drums are used by this society, but time is kept by beating upon one piece of rawhide. According to one informant, the drummers are "ex-members in ordinary costume."

In the ceremony an open circle is formed with the four drummers in the center. The leader sits opposite the opening and facing him on the outside, the two bear braves. The white braves sit on the outside. (Fig. 6.) When at rest the braves stick their lances in the ground points down; the white braves hold theirs with points up. The leader directs the dance. He blows his whistle a certain way as a signal, then rises. All those bearing lances rise, dropping their robes. Leaning forward with the points of their lances near the ground, they dance. The step is a slow alternate lifting of the feet. The leader's position is fixed, the others dance facing the four directions. The white braves on the outside dance in with threatening lances and crowd the braves toward the center, passing entirely round and round. The black braves have black blankets which they wear during the dance, but dance as the others. Willow brave dresses like the lay members but sits next to the leader.

The two bear braves sit quietly as in the pigeons until aroused by the

throwing of buffalo chips. They then dance into the center; holding both feet together and keeping a squatting position, they hop along with drawn bows, driving the dancers back to their seats.

These evolutions are given four times then the bear braves shoot into the air and all throwing their robes over their left shoulders pass single file out of the southwest side of the camp circle, march entirely around it, then run to the north a mile or more. When they stop, they take off their

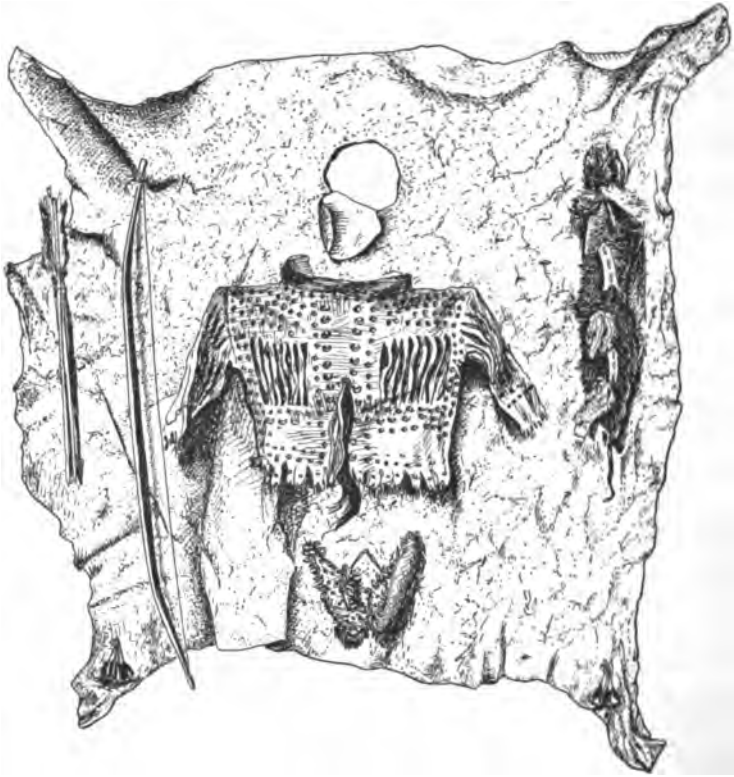


Fig. 5 (50-5581, 5578, 5576, 5577, 5732). Regalia of a Bear Brave: A Robe with a Hole; a Belt of Bearskin with a Bear Tail attached; a Shirt and Moccasins curiously Gashed and Fringed; a Bow and Four Arrows.

moccasins and throw them up into the air. Then they line up and march back, barefoot, holding the lances up before and singing. They pass around the camp circle and enter their tipi, sticking the lances up at the back.

This ceremony always occurs in the open air. When they dance in their tipi at night, the affair is social and hence, different.

At times the ceremony was held in a tipi pitched inside the camp circle

formed by combining several covers. The members of the society did not live in this tipi or stay there so far as we could learn. At other times they may make a practice of regularly meeting at the tipi of a member, frequently that of willow brave, where they dance and hold other ceremonies as may be desired. At the close of each ceremony they return to their own homes, however.

When food is brought out for the dance feast, it is set down by the willow brave. Then the bear braves come forward, growling, but as they are about to eat, the black braves croak like ravens. Then they retreat, but return to eat. When they have finished, the others eat. At any time the bear braves

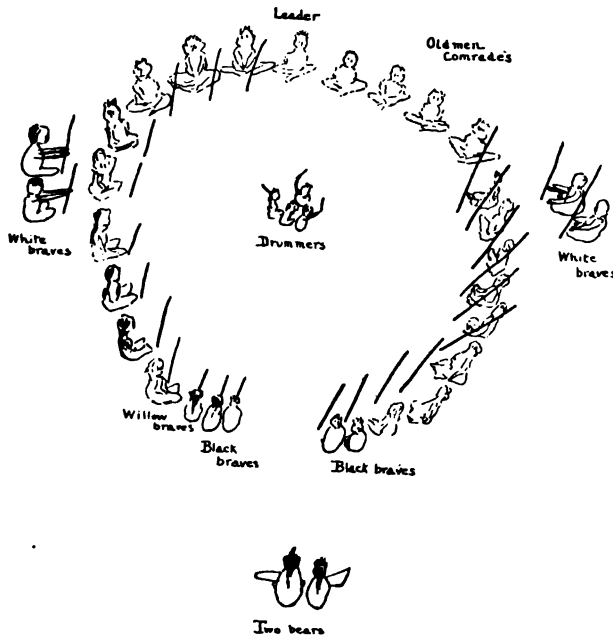


Fig. 6. Sketch showing the Positions of the Braves in a Ceremony. Drawn by a Piegan.

may meet the returning hunters and take what they choose. They go out accompanied by two braves, bearing a tipi pole, upon which the meat they seize is strung.

The mosquitoes usually buy into this society, though anyone may so join. The majority are married men and probably range in age from twenty to thirty years. Grinnell considers these warriors of the first class; but on this point we have no data save that they are to be distinguished from the foregoing societies as married men. It was said that after marriage a man

usually sold out his place in the mosquitoes. They transfer to the all-brave-dogs, all at the same time.

Regarding the casting off of moccasins, one informant says this running out was to look for buffalo and that when they were sighted the braves threw away their old moccasins and put on new ones. He narrated that once when so doing, the braves were surprised by enemies: the leader seeing the case hopeless, gave orders to dance, when they formed the circle and began. After watching them for a time the enemy seemed impressed with their medicine powers and retired.

Maximilian does not name the braves, yet they must have existed at that time. However, his account of the "soldiers" leads us to suspect that he confused them with the catchers for he says:—

They are the most distinguished warriors, who exercise the police, especially in the camp and on the march; in public deliberations they have the casting vote, whether, for instance, they shall hunt, change their abode, make war, or conclude peace, etc. They carry as their badge a wooden club, the breadth of the hand, with hoofs of the buffalo cow hanging to the handle. They are sometimes forty or fifty men in number. Their wives, when they dance the medicine dance, are painted in the same manner as the men.¹

THE ALL-BRAVE-DOGS.

The organization of this society is as follows:—

Leader (1)	Old men comrades (4)
Assistant leaders — horsemen (2)	Single men comrades (2)
Bear-all-brave-dogs (2)	Drummers (4)
All-brave-dogs (20)	

The leader wears a coyote skin with his head thrust through a slit in its middle and in addition the best costume he can get, such as weasel-tail, hair-lock suits, and war-bonnet. He always wears his blanket across his left arm and carries his rattle in his right hand. He paints his nose, mouth, and chin red which is spoken of as the coyote painting.

Ranking next to the leader are the mounted men. For the ceremonies they secure the finest horses possible and also the best suits including, if possible, the war-bonnet with a tail. The horses are painted on the hips, neck, and face with symbols indicating the war deeds of the rider.

The two bear-all-brave-dogs are now familiar characters. They are the only ones with bows and arrows. They wear a peculiar headdress

¹ Maximilian, 117.

(Fig. 7), consisting of a narrow strip of skin with bear ears and two small horns (bear claws) attached. At the top, the hair is arranged to suggest the cropped hair of the analogous pair in the pigeons. They wear shirts made of white cloth which reach the waist, are fringed around the bottom and have short sleeves with long fringes. On the forearm, just below the



Fig. 7 (50-5730). Headdress for a Bear-all-brave-dog.



Fig. 8. Sketch showing the Costumes of the All-brave-dogs: the Leader on the Right, the two Bears in the Middle. Drawn by a Piegan.

sleeve, a narrow strip of bearskin with a bear claw attached is worn. The shirt is painted red on each shoulder. A beaded belt, breech cloth, moccasins, a belt full of cartridges and a knife, make up the costume. For painting they use the bear-face, that is, red ground with black marks down from

the eyes and corners of the mouth. When at home, each keeps his ceremonial bow and arrows tied up near the door of the tipi.

In former times if at any time the bears saw any one coming in with meat, they would intercept him. The bearer of the meat would dismount and stand by quietly while the bears helped themselves to the best cuts, sometimes taking all. It is said that if the owner of the meat sees them in time he may himself give them, horse, gun, meat, and all; the bears take the presents home and afterwards announce to the society that presents have been received. In the course of time the giver of these presents will receive liberal return from the various members.

There seems to be some kind of a taboo for the bears as to passing food at a feast. Thus, it is said that if the chief or head man should have guests in his tipi and there is among them one of the bears who still owns his membership, the woman must pass the food to each man and not permit it to be passed on from hand to hand as is the usual custom. She must do this because the bear is not permitted to pass food or to take any notice of a request to do so. If the presence of the bear should not be known and food be passed in the usual manner, the bear will take no notice of the dish. However, should he be asked to pass the food he will take possession of it and eat it all himself without speaking a word. So it is the duty of the hostess to note the presence of one of these bears and to act accordingly. An informant says, "These bears are always after grub. They even go to meet the hunters to take their meat." While, as indicated before, the bears have the privilege of taking meat whenever they desire it, this is never done in the absence of the owner, that is, they are not permitted to enter a vacant tipi and help themselves to what may be found there.

The four drummers have no particular costume but wear their blankets tied around their waists hanging down so as to leave their arms free. In the procession they are in the rear. In this procession the members form in line by two's, the leader at the head. They dance entirely around the camp. Every now and then the dancers turn and face the drummers at the rear, dancing backward and forward. As they move about the camp they may stop and dance in front of certain tipis. Here the usual procedure is to form a circle with one of the bears on each side of the "door." (Fig. 9.) The drummers always sit at the head, the leader next to them on the north. The mounted men are next in order, one on each side.

There are no women attached to the society as in those previously mentioned, but as the members are all supposed to be married men it is expected that their wives appear at the formal ceremonies to assist in the singing. They have no particular costume or painting, each one following her own taste. An informant recalls one case in which a man made a vow that when married his wife should dance in his place during the ceremonies of the

all-brave-dogs. This is the only case known in which such substitution was offered or in which the woman became a member of the same standing as the single men comrades. When the society is marching around the camp the women may follow in the rear and may sit behind their husbands during other parts of the ceremony. It seems, however, that a woman may

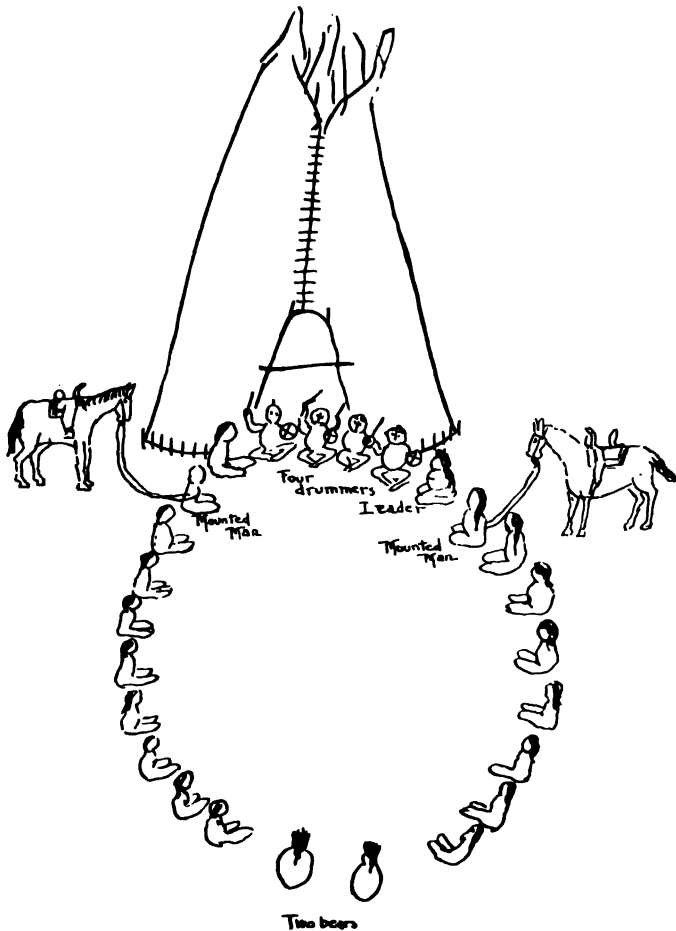


Fig. 9. Sketch showing the Formation of the All-brave-dogs before the Tipi of a Head Man. Drawn by a Piegan.

rise and dance with her husband at certain parts of the ceremony, if she so desires, and may even take his rattle in her hand and perform evolutions with it. This seems quite likely, since similar practices are found in the rituals of various medicine bundles (Volume 7).

The owner of the tipi in which the society usually meets, who is also one of the members, keeps a pipe and tobacco ready for use in the ceremonies. There is no special form of pipe, neither are there any peculiar smoking customs pertaining to this society. This individual does not buy his place by the regular transfer nor is he recognized as having any particular official status. Nevertheless, it is said that no matter where the ceremony is performed, this individual is expected to provide the pipe and care for it.

The lay members in this society are spoken of as the all-brave-dogs and are limited to twenty individuals. Some informants, however, deny that there was any special number. Later on it will be shown that each lay member purchased a particular rattle and since the rattles were, of course, of a definite number, the membership was limited thereby. The lay members have no costume of any kind, but carry their blankets over their left arms and their rattles in their right hands. On the back of the head each wears a feather.

An interesting point is that the face painting is determined by the painting upon the rattle as shown in Fig. 10. The rattles vary greatly in their painting. Each individual therefore, paints his face according to the painting upon the rattle he owns. No one now living recalls any symbolic significance for the painting on the rattles other than that it furnishes the copy for face painting. There is no special myth accounting for their origin. When the paint rubs off or it becomes necessary to repaint the rattle, the former owner of it must be called upon to perform this service. He will count war deeds and perform other ceremonies after which he paints the rattle. For this he must receive liberal fees. It was said that the person who first "dreamed the society" directed that the rattles be painted in this way.

The old men comrades are expected to give advice in the conduct of the various ceremonies, one of whom is expected to act as a herald and to ride about the camps calling the society together whenever a meeting is desired. These men have no particular costume, but each has a rattle, and may wear a feather at the back of his head.

The single men comrades are required to perform certain services such as gathering food and receiving presents. Each has a rattle according to which he paints and otherwise dresses according to his taste. The society usually elects the sons of prominent families, since they not only have fine costumes, but since their relatives are apt to make liberal presents to the society.

A tipi for the society's ceremonies is set up inside the camp circle. This is usually the tipi of one of the bear-all-brave-dogs, though other members

could be chosen for this service. Here the society meets. The formal dance is out-of-doors where the men sit in a circle (Fig. 9).

When they dance, they rise in their places. The mounted men ride around, forcing the dancers to the center. Then they pretend to ride them down, upon which dancers who have dismounted enemies, seize them by the feet and gently unhorse them. Then the two riders join in the dance. This is done but once.

They seem to have some ceremonies in their tipi. They have a number of songs. In one they say, "It is bad to live to be an old man." The latter means that to die in battle is preferred. At the end of each song, they shake their rattles above their heads and shout. Four drums are used.

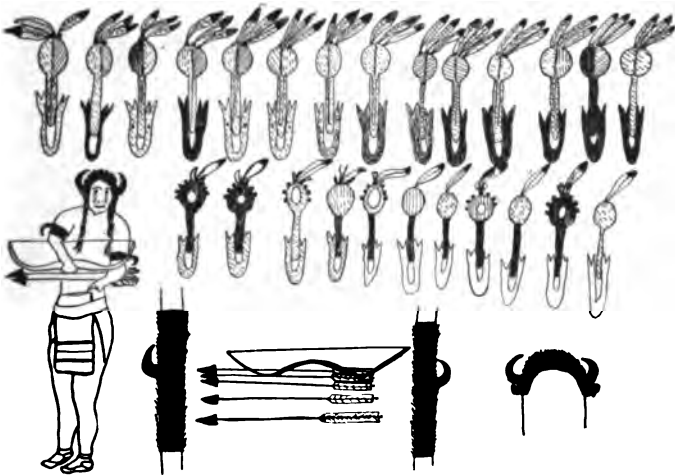


Fig. 10. Sketch showing the Regalia of the All-brave-dogs: the Twenty-five Types of Rattles and the Equipment of a Bear. The original is in colors: blue (vertical lines), green (right oblique), red (left oblique), and black. Drawn by Hairy-coat.

They are not credited with pranks, but after a dance may go about the camps and dance before tipis until the owners give them food or other presents. To refuse or to delay such bequests would be unwise. Yet they do not maltreat those they meet, and offer no violence except when on regular guard duty.

The members usually buy in from the braves. Since all the rattles are supposed to be different, the transfer really consists of the purchase of a particular rattle which is regarded as a ceremonial object or bundle as described in Vol. 7. While it is usual for the entire society to sell out at the same time, our informants state that nevertheless a rattle may be purchased

at any time. Thus, one may approach a member of the society with a filled pipe. When he takes this and smokes, the offer to purchase the membership is made and cannot be refused. The transfer ceremony is then performed and the purchaser becomes, by virtue of his ownership, a member of the society. It is said that now and then a man becomes tired of his membership and solicits a purchaser to whom he transfers his rattle. These were regarded, however, as unusual since the rule is for the whole society to sell out at once.

Maximilian does not distinguish this society. Some Piegan assert that it was introduced by the Gros Ventre about 170 years ago and that these in turn got it from the "Black Indians" (?). On the other hand, no society of this character has been reported for the Gros Ventre. We have so far encountered no Blackfoot origin myth for it. The preceding societies have definite myths and are believed to have appeared first to the Blackfoot. This is curious, since they seem more recent than the all-brave-dogs and yet bear an obvious resemblance to it.

THE FRONT-TAILS.

Our informants are not agreed as to a formal leader for this society, but there seems to have been a leading pair at least. Its organization may be given as follows:—

Leaders (2)	Pipe keeper (1)
Front-tails (x)	Drummers (4)
Old men comrades (?)	Women members (?)
Single men comrades (?)	

The front-tails do not braid the hair but allow it to hang free. An eagle tail-feather, trimmed with quills and small bells, is tied on the head crosswise. Narrow garters of otterskin, decorated with quills and bearing bells, adorn the legs. The chief regalia, from which they take their name, are belts, or scarfs. On the right side of the belt is an appendage, formed by wrapping a stick one hand long with the skins of two buffalo tails. This was bound around the middle with red cloth and some beading of large white and blue beads. To one end is attached a fringe of buckskin, weasel fur, and red cloth, with bells at the ends. This is the "buffalo tail seen from the front." The ends of the sash hang down on the left side (Fig. 11).

The entire body is painted black and marked down with the fingers. Small dots of white are made on the joints, the cheeks, forehead, and chin. Across the eyes is a band of red and again across the mouth.

Drums are used, but no whistles.

The faces of the women members are painted like those of the men.

The formal ceremonies were usually held early in the morning, "Because the buffalo get up early in the morning and go down to drink." Out-of-doors they sit in a circle, each man's wife, or corresponding woman member, sits directly behind him. The men dance in pairs, holding hands with the free hand on the hip. (Fig. 12.) All the pairs face the same way, except the leaders. The latter always keep in the reverse direction. The dancing is



Fig. 11.

Fig. 11. Sketch showing the Costume of a Front-tail.

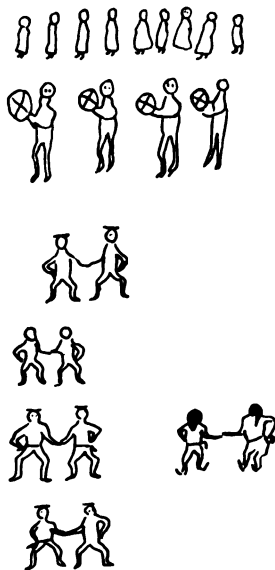


Fig. 12.

Fig. 12. Order of Dancing for the Front-tails. Drawn by Big-brave.

said to be in imitation of the buffalo. The four drummers come behind with the women, who assist in the singing. After a dance, they rest and smoke; this is repeated four times. When they are about to begin, the drummers strike four times and at each all shout, "Ho-o-o-o!" Before each rest there is one shout. It will be noted that the members carry nothing in their hands.

The transfer of membership is well described in Mr. Duvall's notes obtained from Big-brave:—

At the age of eighteen, Big-brave, joined his first society, the front-tails. As a rule each society takes as members four young men and four older men. Big-brave was taken in as one of the younger members. To begin with, all the men who were to buy in, went through the camps and invited their chums and when all were gathered together, they proceeded to the center where two tipi covers were combined to make one large tipi. Upon entering the lodge all the men who were about to become members had filled pipes, which they offered to those of the old members from whom they had chosen to buy. All the members of the front-tails are supposed to have women partners, usually their wives; but as Big-brave did not have a wife, he went with his mother.

Each purchaser sat down near the man from whom he expected to purchase. The buyers cleared the grass in front of the old members and placed some buffalo dung and sage grass on the side nearest the old members. The smudge place was about a foot square. All the new men made a smudge place near the old members. Sweetgrass was used for the smudge. The knives or axes which were used in clearing the smudge places were a part of the fee paid the old members.

The old (ex-)members did not transfer their outfits to the new members themselves, but still older members did this. The pipes were offered first to the members, to make the bargain to purchase from them.

Big-brave sat near one of the members and offered him a pipe to smoke. At first he refused to take the pipe, but finally he took and smoked it. Big-brave thought that the man was afraid he would not get a horse from him as he had just received one the day before, therefore his hesitation. Then Big-brave made the smudge place and the transferrer asked him to remove his clothes. When he had done so, the transferrer painted his face and entire body black and scratched the paint down with his fingers. The mother's face was also painted. A streak of red was painted across his eyes and mouth and small dots of white on his cheeks, forehead, and chin and on all his joints. His new clothes were first passed over the smudge four times, and then given to him to put on. The transferrer then took up the otterskin which is used as a garter strap, spat on it four times, passed it four times to the smudge place, and before tying it around Big-brave's leg, recounted four war deeds. The strap was a narrow strip of skin decorated with small bells and quill work.

During the entire ceremony, the transferrer had a piece of prairie turnip in his mouth, and before fastening anything on Big-brave spat four times on it. This is the same kind of turnip as that used by the horns in their ceremony. It is said to be very sacred.

Then the transferrer took the feather which was used as a headdress, spat on it four times, made four passes over the smudge with it, recounted four more war deeds, and fastened it crosswise on Big-brave's head. The feather is an eagle tail-feather, wrapped with colored quills and has a hole in the middle through which is passed a buckskin string with which the feather is fastened on the hair. Then he took the belt of the front-tails, held it to the smudge place four times, spat on it four times, told of four war deeds, made four passes with his knife and cut off a few inches of the tail. After this he fastened the belt around Big-brave's waist and as he did so all cheered him. The tail of the belt hung on the right side. A blanket was also given him and a digging-stick was placed near Big-brave's feet. As he rose and stood by it his foot was held by the transferrer and passed four times to the smudge; then he stepped over the digging stick, going forward twice and backward twice. A dog was brought in and placed before his feet and he stepped over it four times.

All the new members went through the same actions as Big-brave and each transferrer related four war deeds before fastening the trappings upon the new member. Big-brave paid a horse and some blankets as a fee for buying into this society.

When Big-brave and all the other new members were dressed and painted and had stepped over the digging-stick and the dogs, they all stood up in their places with their wives and mothers or women partners. The drummers struck their drums once; all shouted, and then the drums were again struck. After the fourth time the members sang and danced in their places inside of the tipi. At first they danced facing the center, then facing the wall, then the center, and then the back. Each new member was given a drink of water by the old members' wives, the new members paying for their drinks with blankets, guns, or a horse. After this they all sat outside of the tipi in a circle and danced as before. After the dance, all returned to their homes.

Big-brave says that that evening the one who transferred to him, came to his tipi and a smudge was made. As Big-brave was to eat, the transferrer took a small piece of the meat, spat four times on it and after making four passes to the smudge with the meat, placed it in Big-brave's mouth, thus giving him the privilege of eating his food.

The next day all the new members and some of the transferrers went out on a hunt. When they had killed a buffalo, the transferrer showed them how the backbone was broken and the buffalo tail cut off. Thus they were granted the privilege of cutting off the buffalo tail or butchering and cutting the backbone in two when they wished to do so. This completed the transfer ceremony.

During the dances and when they are seated in a circle outside the tipi, their wives sit at their backs. During the butchering ceremony the new members had to pay a fee, which consisted usually of arrows or other small articles.

In passing, it may be said that the detailed features of this transfer are common to many serious ceremonies of this kind, a discussion of which will be found in Vol. 7.

We have recorded the origin myths for this society. A version will be found in Vol. 2, 112. In one not published we find the same story with some variation. It opens as follows:—

There was once a young single man who always carried a stick around with him, like a gun rod. On the end of this stick was a small leather cross which was called the butterfly. One day, when the buffalo went over the drive and were milling around in the enclosure, the young man happened to be standing by and poked his stick under the tail of a buffalo cow. When he drew his stick out, he saw that the leather cross had come off. The cow jumped over the fence and ran away.

Otherwise, the narrative is similar to the version cited. Our informants have a conviction that the ceremony was originated by an Assiniboiné who saw buffalo dancing. They recalled that some visiting Assiniboiné once marched about their camp, singing the front-tail songs to the surprise of all.

THE RAVEN-BEARERS.

The organization consists of:—

Leader (1)	Raven-bearers (40 to 100)
Assistant leader (1)	Pipe keeper (1)
Black-raven-bearers (1)	Drummers (4)

The leader carries a long red stick, trimmed with a strip of red cloth, to which feathers are fastened. His head is thrust through a slit in the back of a coyote skin. The head of the coyote is still attached. For a headdress he wears a single tail-feather. His face bears the coyote painting (p. 398). There is no special costume, he usually wears his best clothes. According to one informant the leader is said to have worn about his neck the skin of a raven. One was collected on the Blood Reserve (Fig. 13). The wings have been decorated with strips of porcupine quill work and from the beak hangs a strip of red flannel, probably to represent the tongue. We were also given a peculiar necklace made of imitation bear's claws carved from buffalo horn. This was also stated to have been worn by the leader. Other informants claim that the bird was worn only by the black-raven. According to White-man, the leader wore a coyote skin around the neck with pendant feathers in bunches, consisting of six eagle feathers and one crow feather each. The end of the crow feather was cut square. A rattle was also carried by the leader.

The assistant leader carried a staff similar to that borne by members, except that it was entirely red. Otherwise his costume was similar to that of the leader, except that in painting he wore a red band across the eyes and one across the mouth.

The black-raven-bearer has a staff trimmed with black cloth, but fringed with human hair. According to most informants he paints his face over with red (though some maintain blue), marking down with the tips of the fingers and dotting the forehead and cheeks with white spots to represent the raven's excrement.

The raven-bearers carry sticks trimmed with alternating pieces of black and red cloth (Fig. 14), bearing feathers and bells.¹ They paint their faces red with a pair of small white spots on the forehead, cheeks, and chin.

For the ceremony they sit in a circle with their sticks on end. As songs are sung, they shake them to sound the bells. When dancing they carry their robes on their left arms and hold their sticks up in front, inclined forward. The drummers stand, as for the front-tails.

¹ Maximilian, German ed., 578, gives a drawing of this emblem.



Fig. 13 (50-5419a). Skin of a Raven worn by one of the Raven-bearers.

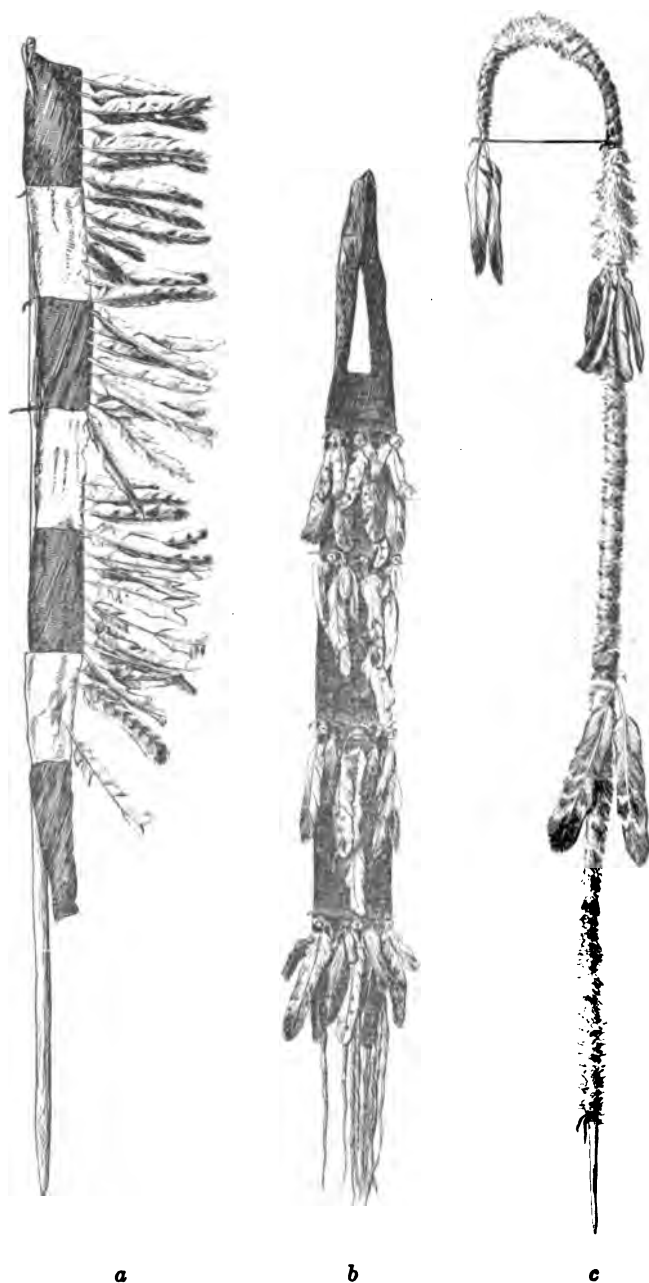


Fig. 14 (50-5411, 5728, 5726). Emblems of the Raven-bearer, the Dog, and the Kit-fox Societies, respectively. Length of a, 283 cm.

THE DOGS.

The organization is as follows:—

The Black-Dog (1)	Old men comrades (2)
Assistant Leader (1)	Single men comrades (3-4)
The Black-dancers (2)	Pipe keeper (1)
The Dogs (40)	

The leader or black-dog wears a long black cloth sash with trailing hair fringes that reach to the ground (Fig. 14). He wears a bonnet covered with owl feathers and bearing an appendage about four fingers wide, made from smoky tipi covers and lined with red cloth. It is decorated here and there with feathers.

According to Brocky, an informant, there is some confusion among the Piegan as to the regalia for the leader of this organization. According to him there is an assistant leader who wears the bonnet covered with owl feathers instead of the leader. There is also a difference of opinion as to whether there was an assistant leader, some maintaining that the society had but one leader, known as the black-dog.

The dogs each wear a long sash similar to that of the leader, except that it is lined with alternating sections of red and black cloth and has feathers instead of the hair fringes. They also wear bonnets similar to those described above (Fig. 15). They may, if they choose, wear buckskin suits or any other costume. They carry rattles or sticks about two feet long, fringed with deer hoofs and with feathers on the end (Fig. 16). The dance of this society is performed out-of-doors. They sit in a circle while the black-dog sits some distance apart. The tail of his sash is picketed to the ground by an arrow. The ritual requires that he remain seated until the arrow is withdrawn. As soon as he is released, he joins the circle and the dance begins. It seems to have been the custom to dance in front of a tipi, the owner of which was required to release the picketed dancer. His doing this, however, obligated him to make a gift of a horse. In this way the society passed about the camp circle, collecting gifts until they were satisfied. According to some informants, when the dance begins, the leader goes about the circle and seizing the sashes of the members pulls them to their feet.

Members of this society also have the privilege of taking food whenever they choose. They go about among the tipis, imitating dogs and taking whatever they wish.

The members of the raven-bearers usually buy into the dogs, although as in other cases a man may join at any time. In former times in the transfer ceremony, it is said, the black-dog remained dancing in his place until he

was released by the one purchasing his place. However, before the purchaser could draw the arrow and release him, he must pledge his daughter as a wife to the black-dog or if he had no daughter, must furnish him with a wife. We were told that this custom originated from the following incident. Once when the transfer ceremony was under way and the black-dog was still pinned to the ground, they were suddenly attacked by Crow Indians. All of the dancers ran away except the man who was pinned fast and who by obligation was obliged to stand fast. Being a brave man he danced in



Fig. 15 (50-5409c). Headdress for a Member of the Dog Society.

his place. A woman observing his predicament ran back, pulled up the arrow and whipped him, thus enabling him to run away. It is said that

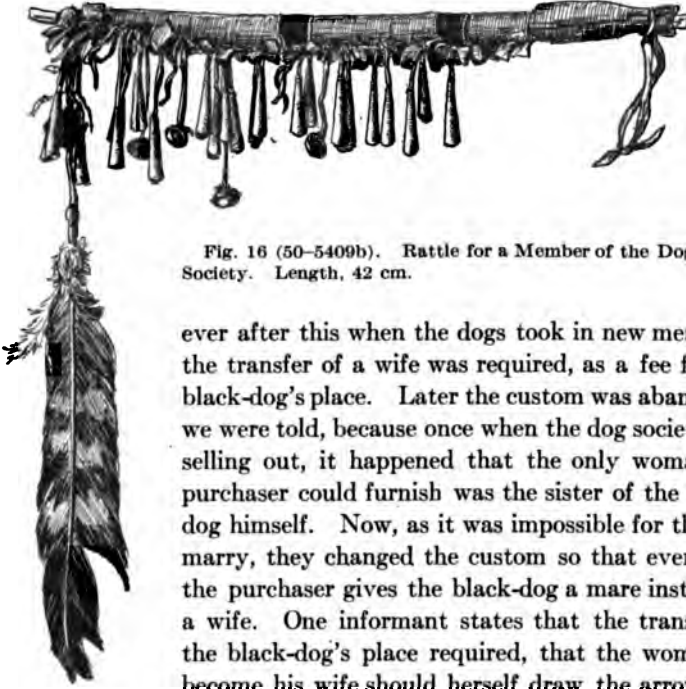


Fig. 16 (50-5409b). Rattle for a Member of the Dog Society. Length, 42 cm.

ever after this when the dogs took in new members, the transfer of a wife was required, as a fee for the black-dog's place. Later the custom was abandoned we were told, because once when the dog society was selling out, it happened that the only woman the purchaser could furnish was the sister of the black-dog himself. Now, as it was impossible for them to marry, they changed the custom so that ever since the purchaser gives the black-dog a mare instead of a wife. One informant states that the transfer of the black-dog's place required, that the woman to become his wife should herself draw the arrow and release him. This is consistent with the narrative; yet others stated that the woman did not herself draw the arrow and release the dancer, but that the man giving the woman in marriage to him simply announced her name and then drew the arrow himself.¹

THE BRAVE-DOGS.

The brave-dogs (*motsomita*) were sometimes spoken of as the coyote-brave-dogs. The society, if society it can be called, consists of two individuals and seems to have been in no wise related to either the dogs or the all-brave-dogs. Our informants held different opinions as to the right of the brave-dogs to a place in the list of societies. Some maintain that they were not a society in any sense of the word, but others are equally positive that they had a place here and that in rank they followed the dogs. In

¹ See also Curtis, 6, 26.

support of this they call attention to the fact that this pair dance around through the camp at the same time and in the same manner as the other societies.

Their regalia consist of a small bulb rattle to the handle of which is attached a coyote tail and a bunch of feathers for the head. No eagle feathers were used. Bone whistles and a coyote skin around the neck complete the list. Big-brave, the present owner of one set also has a drum. This drum seems to be a special medicine object and to be used only by and in connection with the ceremonies by a brave-dog. Our informants state, however, that this drum was originated by Big-brave and was not previously a part of the regalia for the brave-dogs and is not recognized or used by the other member.

The brave-dogs usually paint the entire body in white. The face is given the "coyote painting." The entire lower part of the face is painted red. This painting was sometimes spoken of as "eating raw meat." In explanation, it is said that when a coyote has been eating, his mouth and nose are generally red with blood, and that also he is lucky and usually gets his meat whenever he looks for it.

The obligations taken on by the brave-dogs are rather exacting. They must never under any circumstances run away from the enemy or turn back. If enemies appear in their paths, they must walk straight forward regardless of the consequences. In battle they are supposed to stand in front of the enemy and dance and sing. However, if their companions desire to save them they may release them from the obligation by whipping. Thus in fighting, a friend may ride up and strike the brave-dog with a whip and at once he runs away. For example we were told that,

Running-buffalo, the father of Elk-horn was a brave-dog. Once there was a fight between the Blackfoot and the Assiniboine in what is now the southern part of the Montana Reservation. The Assiniboine were in a hole and hard to get at. Running-buffalo rode up, got off his horse, and with his rattle in his hand, singing the brave-dog songs, went directly to the hole and jumped in among the Assiniboine. His war party followed close at his heels and succeeded in routing the enemy. All brave-dogs are believed to have great power. Once Running-buffalo was shot through the abdomen with three or four arrows. He asked that some buffalo intestines be cooked for him, saying that he would use them to replace the injured parts of his body. He ate them and recovered.

Like all other societies and medicines, the brave-dogs had their own songs and their dance. The sentiments expressed in the songs are in keeping with their obligations. For example one of them runs, "I want to throw my body away." Another "I want dogs to eat my body." They have a song in which they ask for arrows, and while singing it they go into any tipi and take an arrow from each quiver they find therein.

While anyone could buy a place in the brave-dogs, it seems usual for men to buy in after having passed through the dogs. At the time of the transfer ceremony the purchaser is required to sleep out in the brush four nights in imitation of dogs or coyotes.

The following statement of Big-brave may be of interest:—

All those men known as brave-dogs were very brave men. They used to dance around the circle of camps and enter a man's tipi and would take one of his arrows, but if a man did not want them to take any of his arrows, he would go out, meet them and whip them away. Then they would turn away at once. In their songs they say "I want dogs to eat my body," meaning that they are not afraid to die. When approaching the battlefield they use their rattles, sing their songs, blow their bone whistles and stand fast, unless they are whipped back by some of their people.

According to some informants the owners of the brave-dog ritual were younger than the dogs, the former being about forty years of age. But, on the other hand, it was stated that anyone could become a brave-dog in the usual manner, that is, if he took a filled pipe and called upon one of the owners with an offer to purchase. When the man took the pipe and smoked it, the transfer took place.

THE KIT-FOX.

Kit-fox was the name of an extinct Piegan society still regarded as very powerful and dangerous to speak of. Thus Grinnell writes, "Of all the societies of the I-kun-uh-Kah-tsi, the Sin-o-pah, or Kit-fox band, has the strongest medicine. This corresponds to the Horns society among the Bloods. They are the same band with different names. They have certain peculiar secret and sacred ceremonies, not to be described here."¹ In the main it is correct to regard the horns and kit-fox as one organization, but on the other hand our informants report some important differences to be enumerated later. A brief paragraph on the kit-fox is given by Curtis.² We previously gave a version of the origin myth in which occurs the following passage. "She had no dress on, but just a robe around her. She wore a plume on her head, and held a prairie-turnip in her mouth."³ The full import of this will be made clear in our account of the horns.

Owing to reluctance of informants, we were unable to obtain a concise account of the kit-fox organization. The main leader wore the entire skin of a kit-fox, with the head before and the tail behind. Around the neck and legs of the fox skin were strands of beads. Small bells were tied to the feet. Four eagle tail-feathers were stuck up on the top and one at the tip

¹ Grinnell, 222.

² Curtis, 6, 26.

³ Vol. 2, 121.

of the tail. The whole skin was liberally daubed with the "seventh paint." Brass buttons formed the eyes of the fox. This leader also carried a bow and arrows, thoroughly coated with the same red pigment. His body was also painted red, a blue band around each wrist and a band of blue around the face, but of a different form from that used by the horns.

There was a second, or associate leader, wearing a similar headdress and bearing a bow. His person and regalia were, however, painted over with yellow with corresponding marks in red. He is called the yellow fox.

Next in rank were two mounted men, spoken of as the single men comrades. They carried hooked lances about ten feet long, wrapped for almost their entire length with otterskin. At four equally spaced places they had wrappings of goose skin with a pair of eagle feathers. The curved portion of the lance is formed by a twig, bowed and held by a sinew cord. To the end of this bow are fastened two eagle feathers (Fig. 14). The butt of the lance is sharpened for planting in the ground. These men wore weasel skins around the heels of their moccasins. One informant states that one of the pair rode a black horse.

Of the next order, was one man bearing a hooked lance of much greater length than the others and wrapped with swan skin, having four places covered with otterskin and bearing feathers as just described. This was called the white lance.

The lay members carried curved lances, but these were not wrapped. They, however, bore feathers as just described. One informant claims that a few of these lances were painted white. Each member had a small pipe painted red (p. 413). They could paint in blue, red, or yellow, but must each use the same mark around the face. They were required to be fully clothed in all ceremonies, but could wear any costume at hand. Their moccasins were, however, without strings and always contained a sprig of sage.

According to one informant the society had three large ceremonial pipes, or perhaps three large pipes in contrast to the small ones used by other members; but we have never heard of special ceremonial pipes for this society, as for the catchers.

For the ceremonies a shelter was made by setting up a circle of tripods supporting horizontal tipi poles. Tipi covers were then stretched round the sides. When dancing in public they formed a three quarter circle with the opening toward the rising sun. Inside near the rear were four drummers. The two horsemen sat one on each side of the opening in the line. The lances were planted in the ground before their various owners. The public ceremony was opened by the drummers, who made four feints with their sticks, then struck the drums and gave the characteristic yell, upon which

the songs began and the members rose to dance. There seems to have been no special form of dance, but at times they crowded into a mass, at others formed in files and again in half circles. They always held their lances at a forward angle. The rule was to dance at various intervals as the camp was circled. The two riders mounted and crossed back and forth in front of the leaders to reverse them (p. 412). When the procession again reached the starting point the two riders dismounted and joined in the final dance.

The following account of this public ceremony is from McClintock:—

When the kit-foxes gave a dance, they opened up two large lodges and made them into one. For four days and four nights they sat inside, painting and dressing themselves, singing and making ready for the dance, only appearing at night, outside of the dance lodge. On the fifth day they marched through the camp. Their chief wore the fox-skin, with the head made into the form of a hood. The nose was in front, the ears on the top and the skin, with bells fastened to the tail, hung down his back. The face of the leader was painted green, to look as frightful as possible and inspire the spectators with awe. The second in rank, called the White-circle-man, carried a spear, with one end bent into a circle. It had bells attached, and was covered with white swan's down and white plumes. The third held a spear of the same shape, covered with white feathers, but fringed with black and red plumes. The rest of the members carried pointed spears, covered with otter skins ornamented with feathers and bells. The kit-foxes all painted their faces. They wore, for garters around their legs, wide bands of otter skins, with bells attached, and an eagle feather, decorated with red, green and yellow, in their back hair. White weasel-skins were also attached to either end of this feather, while a strip of otter skin was suspended from its centre. When they marched through the camp they formed in the shape of a fox head. The chief went first standing for the nose. Behind him were the second and third men for the eyes, and then came the rest of the society in a group, all together representing a fox head. The two second-men, as the eyes, watched the chief, who was the nose, or leader, and acted just as he directed, the rest following after. When they were ready to dance, they sat in lines. In the first line were the regular members. If there were men withdrawing from the society, or giving their spears to new candidates, they sat in the second line, while the wives of the members sat behind. As soon as the drum began, the chief started the dance. The two circle men with the white spears followed. After them came the other members, with otter spears. They danced in pairs, — the same way that kit-foxes run together. They gave short regular jumps with their feet close together, imitating the movements of a fox, barking and moving about, first in one direction, and then in another, just as a fox does. The two second-men (eyes) danced between the two lines, barking and swinging their spears. They did not move in straight lines, because the fox never goes straight. His tail always seems to guide him. When the white-circle men shouted, 'That is enough,' the dance ceased and they all seated themselves. After a short rest the dance was continued.¹

Some of the songs run: "Fox says, four times I am going to run. Days are my medicine; they are powerful. Nights are my medicine; they are powerful."

¹ McClintock, 446-447.

The ceremony within the enclosure is chiefly that of the transfer. For this four days and nights were required. The incoming members were required to abstain from sleep during this entire period. During the night they often paraded about the camps, occasionally shouting. A curious thing is that during this period they are forbidden to scratch themselves with the fingers but are given scratching sticks. Should they use the fingers they will become scabby and vermin-infested like the kit-fox. At no time must fox hair be burned in a member's tipi and no rabbit meat cooked at his fireplace. McClintock states that members were not permitted to kill or trap the kit-fox.¹ According to Grinnell, "if they were at war in summer and wanted a storm to come up, they would take some dirt and water and rub it on the kit-fox skin, and this would cause a rain-storm to come up. In winter, snow and dirt would be rubbed on the skin and this would bring up a snow-storm."²

Unlike the horns, the wives were not members; but they were painted by the former members in the manner described for the horns, to give them the power to care for and handle their husbands' regalia. We obtained no account of this ceremony, further than the belief that it was identical with that of the horn society (p. 410). The notion that the women were not members may, of course, be but a difference in point of view, since their functions in the kit-fox seem to have been about the same as in the horns.³

In closing, it may be noted that we find a tradition that the kit-fox as here described was the result of an ancient union between two other societies. What these were, we did not learn. Big-brave says he saw the last kit-fox dance some fifty years ago, but that for many years several of the lances were kept and transferred as other bundles. The lances and headdress were often carried to war as individual war bundles. In former times, only members were permitted to touch the lances or any other part of the regalia.

THE CATCHERS.

The organization of this society is as follows:—

Leaders (2)	Catchers (x)
Pipe men (2)	Drummers (4)
Tomahawk men (2)	Women members (x)

¹ McClintock, 446.

² Grinnell, 262.

³ Bear-skin and Big-brave state that the horn and kit-fox societies were the same in most respects. Their lances were alike, the women were "painted" the same way, but what is more to the point, the kit-fox songs are sung in the horn ceremonies.

Maximilian (German ed. 577) notes both the kit-fox and the horns, giving the hooked staff as the emblem of the former and asserting that the latter wear "thin horns"

The two leaders carry bows and arrows painted red. These arrows seem to have been regarded as medicine since it was believed they never missed their mark. They were therefore a very important war medicine.

The two leaders paint the face all over with dark red paint and draw a black mark from the forehead down across the nose and a black circle entirely around the face. They wear a plain buckskin suit, without weasel-tails or hair fringes, but painted all over with red paint. One informant claims that the leaders painted their faces in a different manner, the forehead, sides, and chin being red with two pairs of oblique lines extending in toward the nose.

The two pipe men were in reality the keepers of medicine-pipes. Though the society has long ceased to exist, the pipes are still cared for and their rituals occasionally demonstrated. Wolf-tail and Split-ears are the present owners of these pipes. The transfer ceremony for them is similar to that of other medicine-pipes although they are known as catcher's pipes. The pipes themselves are different and their rituals contain some of the regular medicine-pipe songs. Among the other songs are those of the catchers society and the iniskim (buffalo rock).

The pipe ceremony was described as follows:—

First a smudge is made, the owner holding up some sweetgrass above his head and singing. The words of the song are, "That which is above, it is powerful." Then he brings the sweetgrass down and lays it on the fire, at the same time the song runs, "This, the earth, it is powerful." After the smudge is made the owner of the pipe and his wife both hold their hands in the smoke and then over the pipe bundle, then make four passes and untie the strings. The buffalo rocks are then taken out and placed in a row in front of the open pipe bundle. The owner takes up the pipe, holding it in his arms as if it were a baby. At this time they sing the iniskim songs, the words of which are: "A hundred buffalo I have fallen (caused to go over the drive)." All this time the man is holding the pipe in his arms and praying to it. Then he lays the pipe down and has his face painted with a red and black circle around it and a black streak across the forehead, nose, and chin. Then they sing the dance songs of the catchers. The owner gets up with the pipe and dances, everybody in the tipi being required to dance with him. All stand in their places and dance, first to the southeast, then face the north, then the southeast, and then the north. Then the man hands the pipe to the one next him and this man dances twice towards the south and twice towards the north, while all the others dance in turn as he does. Then this man turns the pipe over to the next person and all dance as before, until the pipe has passed entirely around the circle, every man, woman, and child present being required to dance with it. Four drums are used and the dancers shout and make all the noise they can. When all have danced with the pipe, it is handed back to the owner and he lays it down. This closes the ceremony and the bundle is tied up.

The purchaser of the catchers pipe makes the sweat house for the owner and on entering with him, presents him with a pipe of tobacco with a formal

request for the transfer of the catchers pipe. He must also give the owner a horse at this time. The next day the transfer ceremony begins, requiring four days. Each day the bundle is opened and the ceremony just described performed. At present the purchaser is required to pay ten head of horses, blankets, clothing, etc., but in olden times, five head of horses were all they paid. (Vol. 7, 159.) An informant states that the two catchers pipes were formerly quite peculiar and did not resemble the other pipes. Now, however, the rituals are much the same which he attributed to the fact that they had been transferred many times and that each owner tended to add or modify the ritual according to some vision or dream.

The tomahawk men dressed in plain painted buckskin suits, but wore buffalo robes with beadwork at the two upper corners to which tie-strings were attached. In the middle of the robe was a large beaded cross. The function of the tomahawk men is to stop fighting or other boisterous conduct in the camps. It is said that they are always certain to turn up whenever there is trouble around.

According to one informant, the tomahawk men carried symbolic axes or hatchets carved out of wood while the members carried clubs covered with buckskin fringes and white beads, with buffalo and deer hoofs at the ends of the fringes to serve as rattles. In Maximilian's account of the leaders we find the following:—"They carry as their badge a wooden club the breadth of a hand with hoofs of the buffalo cow hanging to the handle." (117.) All the members wore buckskin suits and robes.

In the formal ceremony they sit in a circle with four drummers in the middle. After the dance they go about the camp and tear up the robes of anyone they chance to meet. In the dance the pipe men dance first. As in most other societies the dance is repeated four times.

When the catchers are sent in pursuit of a delinquent or misbehaving tribesman, he may escape them provided he can get into a position in which none of the members overcame an enemy. Thus, if he wades into the water on foot, he cannot be touched except by such members as have overcome an enemy in the water on foot. If he rides into the water he must be taken by a member who has dismounted an enemy in the water, etc.

THE BULL SOCIETY.

The oldest one of the series and the highest in rank is the bull society. It has been many years since the last ceremony and scarcely anyone alive now even saw their dance. Fortunately, the peculiar belief about war-bonnets discussed elsewhere (Vol. 7, 116) tended to preserve the ritual.

Our chief specific information was obtained from two informants whose narrative we give in substance.

According to Red-plume the bull society originated in a dream:—

A man once dreamed that he was invited to a ceremony. He felt that the persons dancing there were transformed buffalo bulls. One of them said to him, "We invited you here to show how to do this ceremony. We shall give (transfer) it to you." So the dreamer watched and noted all. Then he went home. A long time after this dream he called the people together and told them the story. He asked them to help him start the society. They agreed and so the bull society began.

The leader of the society wore a straight-up bonnet with a tail also bearing feathers. The latter are spoken of as "boss ribs."¹ This seems to be the same general type as used by the horn society.

Two members were known as the scabby bulls. They wore headdresses made from the horns and hairy skin of the buffalo; also robes with the hairy side out. Their position in the dance was at the end of the line, or something like the bears in the brave society.

There were two young unmarried men members. They wore caps of otterskin with a few erect eagle tail-feathers behind and before.

The lay members seem to have been of two classes; those wearing straight-up bonnets and those wearing horn bonnets.

In the dance they formed two abreast, the leader at the head and the scabby bulls at the rear. The two young members occupied outlying positions on the flanks. They sat in this position in the open before they danced. The four drummers were stationed some distance in the rear. Their first formation was always some distance outside of the camp circle. After they had lined up, they waited until a horseman performed a curious ceremony.² As he set out he carried some robes and other valuable property. He acted as if the bull society were real buffalo, being careful to keep away from the wind until he had the line between him and the camp. Then he dismounted and kindled a fire with buffalo chips. All this time the men in line were on their knees making dancing motions with their bodies, accompanied by the drummers and singers. As soon as the smoke rose, the men in the line turned to look at it. The rider mounted, shouted, and rode toward them. At this, the bulls started forward on a trot, while the musicians followed, singing and drumming. The horseman rode along on the flank. When he shouted, all stopped and looked at him. Then he threw down one of the presents he carried and shouted as before. At this the line started on again. This was done four times.

Then the rider drove them to a watering place. As the dancers neared the water, he dismounted and standing to one side of the line took up four stones. Then he counted four war deeds and gave a horse to some one (not a member). Then he threw a stone into the water at which the bulls ran back. The bulls again approached and were again frightened. At the fifth attempt, they drank.

After this they proceeded to the camp circle where they formed in a circle and danced like the other societies.

¹ Vol. 7, 114.

² Curtis, Vol. 6, 28, says this was a young man. Our informant says he must be a very distinguished man and wealthy and not likely to be young.

The bull society became extinct because of a curious belief. The originator warned them that if a dancer fell, he would soon die. It so happened once that two dancers fell and died very soon thereafter. So the people ruled to omit the ceremonies.

All the war-bonnet bundles used now, came from the bull society and when transferring them, the bull songs are rendered.

An old man named Boy says his father saw the bulls dance and handed down an account of them, as follows:—

They were the most ancient society. One of the leaders wore a robe hair side out and a headdress made from the skin of a buffalo's head, with the horns polished. The left horn was painted blue with a blue plume at the tip. The right horn was painted white. The other leader wore a straight-up feather bonnet without a tail. Weasel fringes hung from the sides. On the front was an arrow, about the length of the forearm. This was fastened crosswise and with weasel fringes at each end of the feathering. The arrow, the bonnet, and feathers were well daubed with red paint. As to the arrow, it is said that once in a fight with the Crow Indians the leader of the bulls was wounded by an arrow so he symbolically painted the headdress red (blood color) and tied an arrow upon it. He also wore a robe hair side out.¹

The dance formation for the society was two abreast. The two leaders were in the front rank, but just back of them was a single individual. He wore a straight-up feather bonnet painted red but without the arrow. On the left side of the bonnet band was a brass disc. Behind this man ranged the members two by two. At the rear sat a lone man known as a scabby bull. He wore a robe minus the hair in patches as the name indicates. On his head was the entire skin of an otter, forming a band with the head and tail behind. At the front and back are fans of eagle tail-feathers. Weasel tail fringes hang down at the sides and the back. The band of otterskin is about six fingers wide. On the left side is a brass disc about four inches in diameter mounted on a larger disc of rawhide with fringes of weasel fur. The edges of the rawhide disc are beaded.

The members wore robes with the hair side out and straight-up bonnets with tail pieces and erect feathers. These are called "boss rib" bonnets.

When dancing they snorted like buffalo, turning their heads from side to side, but keeping in line. They also pretended to hook each other. Four drummers were placed at the rear. On one flank was a rider supposed to be driving the buffalo to the pound or to water. Now and then he shouted and dropped a blanket, four in all. These represented the piles of rock forming the lines to a drive.²

The things thrown down were left for the poor and aged who collected them. At the start the dancers moved slowly, then on a trot, and finally on a gallop like a herd of buffalo when pursued. The rider drove them to a watering place, but threw a stone in to scare them back as they pretended to drink. At last he fired a gun and threw it away for the poor. This ended the dance.

At other times, the musicians built fires of buffalo dung. When the bulls smelled the smoke they danced off in another direction. Again, the society sat in a circle and danced like the braves.

¹ Curtis, Vol. 6, 28, says a pointless arrow was worn but our informant is positive that the arrow had a metal point, in short, a real arrow.

² Vol. 5, 35.

All the war-bonnets we now have came from the bulls and in transferring the same the songs of this society are sung.

The importance of this society may justify the full presentation of still another account by Big-brave:—

When Big-brave's father was quite a young man he saw the bull society. The following is his account of it as told by Big-brave.

One morning the people moved their camp a short distance away, only the members of the bull society remaining behind. When the camp was pitched an old man called out, saying that someone must ride back and drive the bulls to the camps and to the water. One of the chief warriors taking some blankets with him rode back on a fine pinto horse to drive in the bulls.

The bulls all wore buffalo robes with the hair side out and painted with white earth in spots to represent mud. Many wore horn bonnets while some wore buffalo head wool bonnets which had small feathers fastened to them. One of the leaders

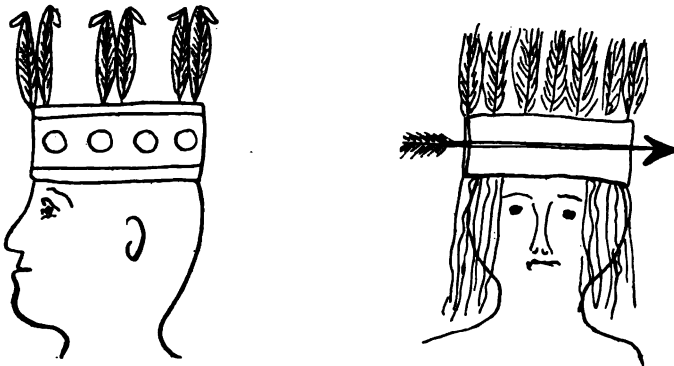


Fig. 17. Headdresses worn in the Bull Society. Drawn by Big-brave.

wore an otterskin cap with its edges decorated with bands of blue seed beads, while at four sides were quill-wrapped feathers decorated with bits of weasel tails at their tips. The width of the cap was two hands. Four pieces of some fungus growth which is found on trees in the north were attached to this cap. The other leader wore a straight-up war-bonnet similar to those made nowadays with weasel tail fringe and feathers, but with an arrow about the length of the forearm placed horizontally across the front. It is called "the bonnet which was struck with an arrow" and after the bull society was discontinued was used a great deal in war.

Two of the members were known as the scabby bulls. They wore robes that were either poorly dressed or with the hair partly worn off to represent scabby bulls. They usually followed behind the others.

When the man riding the pinto horse approached the place where the bulls were, he made a fire a short distance from them on the leeward side. He started the fire with a flint and steel. As soon as the smoke reached the bulls, they all looked in the direction of the fire, the rider mounted his horse, shouted four times and the bulls rose shaking themselves and pretending to hook one another. Finally, they

started off slowly, repeatedly looking back at the rider while their wives brought up the rear. Four men drummed and sang for them as they marched in the direction of the camp. Some of the songs ran as follows: — "The ground is our medicine; it is powerful. The wind is our medicine. Man, I want to hook."

The messenger rode alongside the bulls and dropped a blanket in their path to head them off. These blankets were picked up by others who followed behind.

When they came near the camp the bulls were driven toward a lake and then another man was asked to splash the water for the bulls as they drank. The man who splashed the water was a chief. He took four buffalo dungs and counted four war deeds. While he counted, some of his kin threw down near him blankets and other valuables to honor him. These things were taken by the bystanders.

As the bulls began to drink he threw a buffalo chip into the water. This frightened the bulls and they turned back. Again, he threw in a buffalo chip and again the bulls turned back. This was repeated four times and then the bulls drank, ending their march to the water.

During this march one of the scabby bulls fell. Not long after this he was picking berries with some women when he was attacked by the enemy and killed. It is said to be bad luck for one of the members to fall during the march or dance.

Big-brave said that they usually dance after being watered but that his father did not see them dance. All the war-bonnets used nowadays are said to come from the bull society.

While these accounts do not agree in all their details, they are in general accord. Bearing in mind that the last member of this society died many years ago, we are fortunate in receiving even these fragments. Curtis¹ denies that the bulls were a part of the regular series, but our informants were positive that they were. Since among neighboring tribes the bull society was one of the series and usually of the highest rank, we accept these statements as correct. We have also the testimony of Maximilian,² Grinnell, and McClintock in our favor.

In the account of the horns we noted Running-wolf's theory that the society had assimilated parts of the bull ritual. It will be noted that the headgear credited to the bulls is very much like some horn society regalia in contrast to that of the kit-fox.

¹ Curtis, 6, 28.

² Stomick (die Bisonstiere, les gros boeufs). Sie bilden eigentlich den ersten, d. h. ausgezeichnetsten aller Vereine, und sind die ersten im Range. In der Hand tragen sie ein Medicine-Zeichen mit Bisonhufen behangen. Wenn sie bei ihrem, besonderen Gesange tanzen, so rasseln sie mit jenen Hufen. Um die Polizei zu handhaben sind sie zu alt; denn sie sind durch alle Vereine hindurch gegangen und man betrachtet sie als gleichsam im Ruhestande. In gewisser Art sind sie von dem Vereine der thätigen und angesehenen Soldaten schon wieder hinabgestiegen. Bei ihrem Medicine-Tanze tragen sie auf dem Kopfe eine Mütze von den langen Stirnhaaren und der Mähne des Bisonstiers, welche lang herabhängen. (Maximilian, German edition, 578-579.)

BLOOD SOCIETIES.

As in the case of the Piegan, our Blood informants were definite and consistent in the order and rank of these societies. Reference to the list (p. 366) shows them parallel to the Piegan series except that the places of the all-brave-dogs and the braves are interchanged. Then instead of the front-tails we find the black-soldiers and for the kit-fox, the horns. Two organizations are missing, giving the Blood division a smaller series.

The mosquitoes use tipi covers turned inside out to form the shelter for their transfer ceremony, but in all other respects resemble the Piegan society.

Though boys of any age may enter the mosquitoes they must be of marriageable age, or young men before they are expected to join the all-brave-dogs. Our informants make no mention of the two bears, but credit the two leaders with a similar costume and the bearing of bows and arrows. Otherwise, the organization is similar to that of the Piegan.

As to the braves, all-brave-dogs, dogs, and raven-bearers, no important differences from the Piegan came to our knowledge.

BLACK-SOLDIERS.

Unfortunately, our information on this organization is meager. The members were said to carry daggers, wear no clothing (except breech cloth and moccasins) and to paint their bodies red. Around the ankles were strips of coyote skin. There was also a cap or headdress, consisting of a band of coyote skin with a pendant tip at the rear (see Vol. 7, 99). An eagle feather is placed on each side of the cap, suggesting horns.

There are two leaders each wearing an entire coyote skin over the shoulders. Another important officer is the keeper of the pipe. In the ceremonies he rides a horse, holding the pipe and wearing the headdress, feathers, etc., making up the regalia of a regular pipe owner (see Vol. 7, 138). In the dance he rides into the circle and when dismounted (p. 387) joins in the dance.

When the camp circle is formed the pipe keeper pitches his tipi inside the circle. If the society is called upon to render police service neither he nor the two leaders take part in the forcible restraint or punishment of offenders.

THE CATCHERS.

The catchers have two pipes spoken of as the black-covered pipes (see Vol. 7, 159) whose keepers are regarded as the leaders. The members carried a curious club, spoken of as an ax (Fig. 18). It is nothing more than the broken end of a tipi pole, painted red, and trimmed with a bunch of buffalo dew claws.



Fig. 18 (50-5410a).
Club carried by the
Catchers. Blood.
Length, 68 cm.

According to one informant the pipestem is covered with eagle plumes and four bunches of tail feathers. The owner wears wristlets bearing small iniskims (buffalo rocks) and some human hair. On the head he wears a fan-like bonnet of owl feathers to the top of which is fastened a small iniskim. With the pipe there is a buffalo chip enclosed in a pericardium. A specimen will be found in the collection (50-4534b). The pipes should rest on this when being smoked, but if such were not at hand an ordinary buffalo chip was substituted.

The painting was described as a black hand across the mouth and chin.

When acting as police the members cannot enter water to make an arrest in consequence of which one may escape by riding into a stream. The pipe keepers do not perform police service.

THE HORNS.

While the corresponding society among the Piegan has long been extinct the horns still flourish among the Blood. There are many members among the North Blackfoot and the North Piegan and a few among the South Piegan, but so far as we know, the ceremonies are rarely held except on the Blood Reserve. We never saw any of the ceremonies but collected some of the regalia. It is the custom of the society to give a public ceremony at the sun dance and to offer their unwrapped hooked lances to the sun. We saw these still in place on the sun dance field (Fig. 19). Owing to the universal fear of this society and the secrecy of its ritual, we experienced some difficulty in securing information and specimens of regalia. The latter and all the general information was given the writer by various Blood Indians, but the secret part of the ceremony was obtained by Mr. Duvall from two informants whose narratives we present in full.

The following is the statement of a Blood woman who had herself taken part in the ceremonies:—

The members of the horn society are regarded as very powerful men and women. It is very dangerous even to talk about them and one must not tell what is done in the society; ill luck will surely befall him if he does. The ceremonies are secret. The power of members is so great that to wish anyone ill or dead is all that is needed to bring the realization. Among the Blood, the fear of the horn society is still so great that in court proceedings it is usual to take oath by them, that being the most solemn oath. Thus, a man will swear, "I will speak the truth by the horns."



FIG. 19. Photograph showing the offerings of the Horn and Maltori Societies on the Sun Dance Field, 1900.

Like other societies the members will or transfer at the same time. The transfer usually takes place in the summer. Both men and women belong usually to societies and wives though the latter seem to have a minor part.

There are two main societies. They wear summer regalia which includes and leggings with feathers trailing from the sides. One of these leggings bears a small arrow pointing outward at the foot. (Fig. 20.)

Next in rank are the two societies "Horn and Maltori." One of these was

secured, Fig. 21. It is of the head band type with a fringe of weasel tails.) Each of these men carries a small bulb rattle with large wrist guard and streamers of ribbon at the end. Their clothing is of no fixed form, but should be elegant.

Of lower position is a single man wearing a cap made of swan skin who also can dress up to his means. His distinctive badge is a staff, or lance, about seven feet long, painted yellow and sharpened at one end. To it is strung a strip of flannel in sections of black and white. In the ceremonies this lance is planted in front of its bearer and is spoken of as the "mighty lance."

There are two mounted men, one on a black horse, the other on a white one. They are spoken of as the "ones who ride back and forth." The one on the black horse wears a black suit and uses a black saddle. His face is painted red and he ties four owl tail feathers in his hair. The one on the white horse wears a weasel-tail suit and paints the face red. Sometimes he wears a white hat. Both men carry hooked lances about eight feet long. The one on the black horse carries an otter-wrapped lance with occasional bands of swan skin, while the rider of the white horse carries one wrapped with white swan skin with occasional trimmings of otter. Four eagle tail-feathers are strung on each.

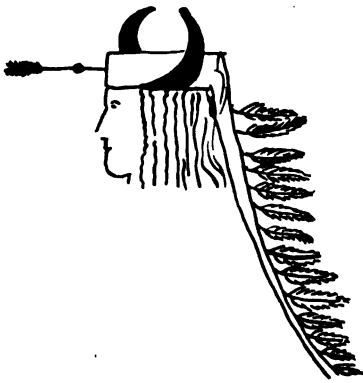


Fig. 20. A Headdress used by the Horn Society. Drawn by an Informant.

circle with the opening toward the east. At each end of the crescent is set up one of the lances borne by the mounted pair. These are spoken of as the white and black hooked lance respectively. The two leaders sit at the middle, or west part of the circle, and the two rattle bearers to their left. The so-called "mighty-lance" is set up inside in front of the leaders. Those of the members are planted in front of their respective seats. The wives of the various members sit just behind, thus forming a second circle. The men rise and dance, holding their lances forward, dancing around in a circle to their right while the two rattle bearers move to the left. Though they keep moving in the same direction they face now to the rear, now to the front. The drummers keep their places in the center. The women remain seated also. The two horsemen do not use horses here. Also each member is free to paint as he elects. The public is permitted to gather and look on.

The transfer, or ceremony proper, is a secret affair. First an enclosure is made by setting up tipi poles and stretching over them enough tipi covers to form a screen. The old members are now to sell out entire and in secret elect their successors. A party then makes a round of the camp bringing in by force the men chosen, also their wives.¹ As some of those chosen succeed in eluding their ceremonial captors, the hunt continues until the required number is secured.

¹ For the forced transfer see Vol. 7, 156.

The men are stripped to their breech cloth and moccasins and painted all over with red paint by their ceremonial fathers and transferers.¹ In the meantime, the wives of the fathers and sons exchange clothes behind curtains held up by the wives of the transferers. The son's wife is then brought forward and given two suits of clothing, one for the son (her husband) and one for the transferer; she also takes the lance and other regalia for the son. She goes to the entrance to the enclosure and waits. Then the transferer rises and followed by the son, walks slowly in a stooped position, and on reaching her each kisses her and receives the clothing in turn. The woman then takes the lance and other regalia to the rear of the enclosure where she plants the former and hangs up the latter. Then she and the two men take their seats, the latter dressing themselves in their new clothes. During all this the father keeps his seat. Each son, his wife, and the transferer go through the above procedure in turn.

At the same time the son's friends bring in horses, blankets, and other property to pay the father. Here also the transaction for each individual is separate. This accomplished, the whole body enters a large tipi previously set up inside the camp circle where they sit and sing the songs for the sons, or new members.

After a time they emerge and march entirely around the camp circle, sun-wise. The two riders now use their horses. Four times they pause and dance, the signal is given by the two horsemen riding back and forth in front of the column. Having made the circuit, they proceed to the center of the camp where the mounted bearer of the black lance invites some one to come forward and recount four deeds with the lance. If the members present cannot do this, an outsider must be called in. Then they dance once again; after which the women take the lances and headdresses and dance with them.

In all dances the man with the arrow on his headdress leads.

After a time a herald goes about the camp ordering everybody to keep close indoors, for the secret ceremony of the horns is to take place. The new members gather in a large tipi "to be painted by their fathers." The fathers, or the old members remain in their own tipis, but the transferers meet with the sons. The wife of a son is directed to undress and cover herself with a robe. A small pipe is filled with tobacco. (One was obtained among the Blood, Fig. 22.) The woman extends her hands under the robe and holds the pipe horizontally with the bowl on her right side. She goes out and enters the tipi of her husband's ceremonial father, sits down at his left and offers him the pipe. He takes it, holds it up, and prays; then lights it and smokes. When burnt out, he refills it and hands it back to the woman. (The woman has been instructed as to her part.) The father then leaves the tipi with the woman. Once outside they walk slowly abreast, but some six feet apart. The father watches closely for if the woman stumbles, he must turn back at once, leaving her to return to her husband. When the two are out some distance the woman again hands the pipe to the father. Again, he takes it and prays, but does not smoke. The woman then reclines on her back with her feet together. *Vestem mulier ita plicat ut genitalia sola aperta suit.* The father places a piece of prairie-turnip in his mouth and stands first at the woman's feet upon which he spits; then at her right, then at the head, and finally at the left. The woman lies as if dead.

¹ In the transfer each individual sells to one other in the same fashion as with medicine bundles, Vol. 7, 272. The man selling out is the father to the purchaser, and there is a third man, or transferer.



Fig. 21 (50-5400a). A Headdress worn in the Horn Society, one of two.

Pater ad mulieris pedes iterum accedit flectitque super eam. Tunc, manibus suis in lumeros mulieris impositis, genua ad eius femora collocat et facit sic ut membrum suum visile vulvam eius attingat: quo facto (ad pedes) surgit.

Now, the ceremony may end here at the option of the father. If not he goes again to her feet. Primum in formana cornus digitum vir curvat: deinde, uno femore in sinistram partem amoto, bisontis modo mugit; postremo, altero femore in dextram partem amoto mulierem futuere incipit. As he does so the father spits into the woman's mouth with the piece of turnip in his own. The father then returns to his tipi, while the woman holding the pipe as before goes to the door of the meeting place. There she stands until someone comes out to see who is there. When her name is announced, the transferer and her husband go to the door. She then enters, being careful not to touch the sides of the door. The transferer kisses her, receiving the turnip into his mouth. He also takes the pipe still filled. Then her husband kisses her.

The transferer asks if she has been properly painted, and she answers according to the completeness of the preceding ceremony. If the ceremony was complete, the pipe she carried is lighted and passed. The woman is put to bed, still covered with her robe, where she must lie quietly until the next day.

All the wives of members must go through with this during the same evening.

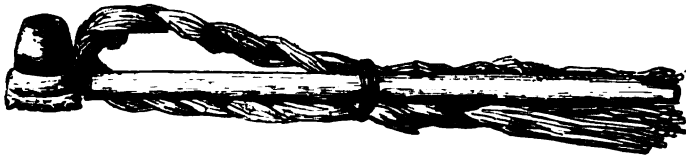


Fig. 22 (50-5401a). A Pipe used by a Blood Woman in the Transfer Ceremony, for the Horn Society. Length, 30 cm.

The next morning camp is moved. The women are taken up and placed upon travois, the horses being led by their husbands. During all this time the women must fast and abstain from drink. They must be helped on and off the travois, etc. After camp is pitched, the women each go to their fathers' tipis to be painted. He mixes up red and blue paints. The woman takes off her robe, but holds a corner over the pubes. The father smears her entire body with red paint. With the blue paint he marks a half moon on her breast. Then a circle on her back with either blue or yellow paint. On the crown of her head, he places some plumes. A blue circle is drawn around the face, a cross of the same on the left cheek and a dot on the right. (The men paint the same way.) A blue mark is made around each wrist and each ankle.

When painted the woman returns to her tipi, dresses, breaks her fast and resumes her daily life. Should the father fail to complete the ceremony the woman's face is painted differently. The left half is yellow and the right blue. On the yellow side is made a cross of blue, on the right a dot of yellow. Around the left wrist and ankle is a yellow band, around the right a blue band. Thus all may know by the painting.

After this the father prays over some pemmican mixed with back fat and berries and gives it to the woman. She takes it home and distributes it to her relatives.

The mounted bearer of the white lance seems to be under obligations to complete the ceremony. *Mulier cum viro egreditur. Velut autra, sic mulier nunc decumbit;*

vir, autem pipam prope mulieris caput collocat, at, tunica eius alrepta, libidiui dat laxas habenas. Our informant states that this white lance owner is usually jealous of his wife for obvious causes and is not likely to get on well with her.

The following is an extract from Mr. Duvall's notes:—

A — is an old man about seventy-five years old and quite absent-minded so that his narrative is somewhat disconnected. Once during the talk the clock in my house began to strike. He paused and when it stopped, prayed to it for help in obtaining food.

This man is a Piegan but once married a Blood woman and lived with that division for a time. Thus he came to be taken into the horn society. He did not care to join, but one day a horn member came to his tipi, circled it, and then came in. He said that he had come to take me into the horns. "You cannot refuse for I have circled your tipi," he said. This meant that bad luck would be his portion, if he refused. Hence, our informant became a member. He was conducted to the meeting place and painted entire with the "seventh paint." A black circle was marked around his face. The women, by the way, wear seven plumes in their hair.

It is very dangerous even to talk about the society. Once in a dance two members fell down; they died in a short time. Our informant once killed a buffalo by the power of the horns. In chasing a herd of buffalo, he began to fall behind. Then he rode back and forth across their trail four times, whipped the ground and shouted. Setting out again he saw a fat cow, down but still kicking. At another time he used the same formula to cause a rider's horse to fall. Again at a horse race between some Piegan and Flathead Indians, he spat four times upon a stone and placed it in the hoof print of the opposing racer, which soon became lame.

When a horn member wishes to kill a person, he sharpens one end of a small stick, paints it red, names the victim and casts the stick into the fire. Once when the horns were assembled, a man came in and denounced them vigorously. No one said anything in reply, but within four days the defamer took sick and died. Thus it is dangerous to speak evil of them. Even white men fear them.

Our informant's wife did not join the horns because she was blind. The society, had both day and night ceremonies. The latter was spoken of as, "sending them out," the women being sent out to be painted by the retiring members. On the evening for this ceremony, orders are sent out for everybody to remain indoors as the horns are about to send out their wives to be painted. The people fear them and obey: should anyone go out, he will meet with grave misfortune.

Once while the horns were marching around, they entered a tipi but the leader, seeing that he must pass in front of a medicine-pipe man, paused. The others told him to go on as the power of the horns was much greater. So they all passed in front of him.

In the painting ceremony the wives are usually sent out in charge of a third man to conduct them to the ceremonial father. This conductor is expected to make the woman fine presents; hence one seldom wants to perform this service, but does it only by compulsion. The woman will afterward treat her conductor in a familiar manner, she may sit by him and wait upon him, occasionally "scratch his head," and her husband can say nothing.

In the painting ceremony the husbands are assembled in the meeting place and wait there while their wives are conducted to the respective fathers' tipis. The father

takes the woman out-of-doors and proceeds with the painting. If properly done, he spits a piece of turnip into her mouth.

The woman is then conducted back to her husband. As they come near the meeting place, the conductor gives a faint signal, like scouts on the warpath. Then he announces the name of the husband after which the woman enters and spits the piece of turnip into her husband's mouth. This turnip is evidence that she was properly painted. She then squats over a smudge.

Some of the women are refused by the fathers, because they themselves are not of good repute or because their husbands are not worthy men. In any case, it is a disgrace to the husband not to have his wife properly painted.

Our informant never went through this painting ceremony. Some time after joining, a woman came one night and kicked on one of the tipi poles saying that she came to be painted. He told her that he could not because he had not received the necessary instructions. She then returned to her husband, who sent her to another man.

The writer has a statement from Strangling-wolf that the members wear no clothes and paint the entire body red. Some wear plumes at the backs of the head, others wear war-bonnets of several different forms. The lances, however, are the main objects. They are usually made of pine and cut thirty hands long. The leader's lance is five hands longer. The hook is made of birch and tied with sinew. Around the places where the lance is to be held, bladders are wrapped, because no one should touch any of the other parts. Nine eagle tail-feathers are used for each lance. The wrappings are of otter and swan skin. These are kept in bundles, but new sticks are required for each ceremony, the old ones being offered to the sun (Fig. 19). These are provided by certain men and the fee is a horse in each case. When the stick is cut, prayers are offered and some tobacco left at the stump.¹ The whole camp must keep very quiet while the stick is being prepared. The curved portion is made and then bound on to the end of the staff. Then the whole is painted red, after which the wrappings and feathers are added.

There are three kinds of bonnets: the straight-up kind, one with horns, and one without.

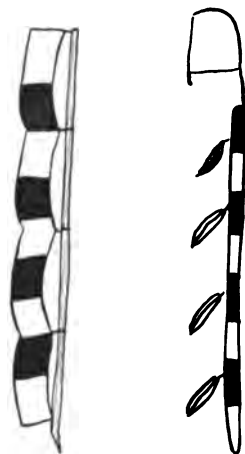


Fig. 23. Sketch of Standards used by the Horns. a A yellow painted Staff about seven feet long; b Staff carried by the mounted Members. Drawn by an Informant.

¹ Flat-tall, a Piegan, once cut and prepared a kit-fox lance for the writer. He performed the ceremony properly, but later met with misfortune and death. It was common talk that all this resulted from his meddling with the power of the kit-fox.

The leader of this society has the say as to when the camp circle shall be formed and where. He pitches his tipi within the circle.

When dancing, the lances are held out in front almost vertical. The drummers sit in the center. The members dance around them sun-wise, except those with the straight-up bonnets, each bearing a rattle. The latter go in the reverse direction. The dance is closed by the leader shaking a robe as if driving buffalo.

Mr. Duvall writes, "Near the close of the dance the man wearing the bonnet with the arrow dances in the lead while all the other members follow him. He attempts to break through the lines of the spectators who wave him back with blankets and robes and shout. The dancers seat themselves and then go through the same movements as before, trying to break through the crowd, etc. At the fourth attempt the spectators allow the dancers to pass, ending the dance."

When the unwrapped sticks are offered at the sun dance a square rawhide bag is tied on containing the paint and moccasins used in the ceremony.

A curious rule is that when a man sells his membership, he must not meet the purchasers, they being as taboo as mother-in-law and son-in-law. Once when visiting the Blood there was great confusion in the writer's tent over the unexpected entrance of a new horn member. Like the mother-in-law taboo, this can be removed by liberal gifts in a special manner.

The belief is strong that horn members have power of life and death over all outsiders. A short magic formula is known to them with which the result can be had.

Running-wolf, a very able Blood Indian, is authority for the statement that after the bull society became extinct the horns took over many of their rites. The headdress of the horn leader is said to have been worn by the bulls. His very aged mother remembered seeing the bull dance. He called attention to the large part buffalo conceptions seem to play in the ceremonies and origin myths, whereas the kit-fox of the Piegan has a different mythical origin. One of our Piegan informants was positive that the buffalo did not figure in the kit-fox ritual in any manner whatsoever. It will be noted that this theory of Running-wolf is consistent with our accounts of the kit-fox. On the whole, we believe this to be the most probable explanation of the differences between the horns and the kit-fox. In a way, this would also account for the unusual prestige now enjoyed by this organization.

NORTH BLACKFOOT SOCIETIES.

It still remains to consider the corresponding societies of the North Blackfoot division. Our information here leaves much to be desired, chiefly because there seems to be a less definite ranking and a number of new societies included in the list. In contrast to the preceding, our informants were not in agreement as to the extent and order of the lists. They were given as follows:—

<i>Calf-child</i>	<i>Red-old-man</i>	<i>Crane-bear</i>	<i>Strange-wolf</i>
mosquitoes	mosquitoes	mosquitoes	.....
bees (nam6)	.....	.....	crows
prairie-chicken	prairie-chicken	prairie-chicken	prairie-chicken
crows	.....	.....	.....
all-brave-dogs	all-brave-dogs	all-brave-dogs	.....
bad-horns	braves	black-soldiers	braves
black-soldiers	bad-horns	wolf-dancers ¹	black-soldiers
braves (ma'tse)	.....	.....	.....
raven-bearers	raven-bearers	raven-bearers	raven-bearers
dogs	dogs	dogs	dogs
horns	black-soldiers	bulls	horns
catchers (ii'nika)	catchers	kit-fox	catchers
bulls	kit-fox	catchers	.....
kit-fox	horns	horns	.....

Of these we believe that of Calf-child deserving most consideration, because he seemed well informed on the details of organization for the various societies. In order to facilitate comparison we have extended the lists of other informants so as to bring as many names as possible on the same levels. We believe that an examination of these lists will justify our assumption that the differences are due to faulty memories and that each informant was striving to state one and the same definite tribal order of rank. Further, a comparison with the list for the Piegan and Blood, will certainly lead to the inference, that the same order of ranking prevailed among the North Blackfoot. Again, our informants were positive that the rule was for each society to transfer to the members of another after an interval of four years, or after four annual ceremonies. Hence, notwithstanding the inconsistencies, it seems clear that the North Blackfoot had the same system of societies as the Blood and Piegan divisions. On the other hand, we find

¹ maku'ye pa'skan, not known to the other informants.

a number of new names in our lists. There are also indications of a tendency to readily incorporate new organizations into the series and to drop them again with equal readiness. This is seemingly a symptom of looseness in organization and a less developed system of societies than among the other two divisions, though it may be merely the result of an earlier breaking down of the social life of the North Blackfoot.

So far as our information goes the black-soldiers (*siksi'naki*), raven-bearers (*máesto^xpátakiks*), dogs (*imitaika*), horns (*i'tskinai*), catchers (*ii'nika*), bulls (*sta'meksia pa'skan*), and kit-fox (*senopa'pasken*) were similar to those of the other divisions.

As to traditional origins, it is said that the all-brave-dogs came from the Gros Ventre and the black-soldiers from the Cree. For the other societies we give the exceptions and descriptions as the case may demand.

THE MOSQUITOES.

The tipi in which the transfer ceremony is held is pitched outside of the regular camp and is not a combined shelter as previously noted. Four old men meet there with the little boys to be taken in. After the ceremony they circle the camp outside in single file and when again near their tipi, sit in a circle with the drummers in the center. A piece of rawhide is used instead of a drum. Here they dance four times and then run through the camp, scratching people as previously described.

When the camp is moved, as at the sun dance for instance, the mosquitoes stay behind and dance until the procession is far away. Then they mount and charge after them, riding around and scratching people.

THE BEES.

The society of the bees (*namó*), it is said, was introduced by the Sarsi many years ago and according to one informant combined with the mosquitoes forty-eight years ago. As an organization it had two leaders of unequal rank. They paint their faces and bodies yellow, a transverse band of red across the eyes and one across the mouth; black bands around the abdomen and the back, the wrists, and ankles. Their clothing consists of robes, moccasins, and breech cloth. The robes are painted red and blue and bear the broad beaded band so characteristic of the Blackfoot (Vol. 5, 123). The ranking leader wears a pendant eagle feather and a strip of weasel skin at the back of the head.

A decorated staff is owned by the two jointly. The grip is at one end, wrapped with weasel fur. At the other end are two branching feathers, as

upon the staff for the prairie-chickens (Fig. 24). Along the staff is a fringe of buckskin and a row of dew claws. (According to James Eagle-child the staff is called the bee lodge.)

The lay members paint their bodies and faces red, with a single transverse stripe of black or white across the nose. They wear only robes, moccasins, and breech cloths.

All members wear an eagle claw on the wrist, painted yellow, and secured by a buckskin thong.

In dancing, the organization forms in a circle, the leaders to the west, the opening to the east, and the drummers in the center. When dancing out-of-doors a piece of rawhide is used, but for ceremonies indoors, drums

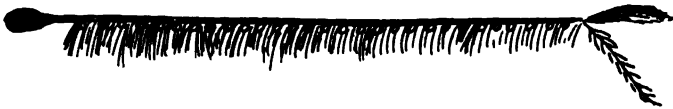


Fig. 24. Staff of the Bee society. Drawn by an Informant.

are used. The staff is borne by the first leader. All follow him, when he rises they rise, etc. After the first dance, the staff goes to the second leader, then back to the first, etc. There are four dancers and seven songs. All movements are made sun-wise. The leaders dance inside of the circle formed by the members. At the end of each dance, all quickly squat in their places.

At the close of the fourth dance the leader shakes the staff causing the dew claws to rattle loudly. At once the members scatter and run about scratching people. If any of the members have been to war and entered the tipi of an enemy, they may go into any tipi and scratch at will.

The tipi of the society is pitched within the camp circle and is made by combining the covers of the tipis of the two leaders.

When moving camp the members watch the leader bearing the staff and follow.

According to our informants the bees were older than the mosquitoes. This would give them higher rank as indicated in the list of Calf-child. We were not able to determine how two societies so similar as the mosquitoes and the bees came to exist, but think it a good guess that one of them arose as a rival organization.

THE PRAIRIE-CHICKENS.

An informant states that the age for entrance in the prairie-chicken society (ke'tuki iks) was eighteen to nineteen years. There are two leaders who seem to own the emblems of their office jointly. When the society

meets, the tips of the two leaders are joined to form a single shelter. Two old men are taken in as drummers. There is no special costume for members but each carries a rattle and paints his face yellow with red between the eyes.

The leaders carry decorated staffs. One of these is about four feet in length, the lower half plain yellow, the upper, blue and adorned with feathers. At three places is a wrapping of weasel skin to hold four eagle feathers laid on the sides of the stick. From the top extend two more eagle feathers in *y* fashion. The other staff is yellow and blue as before, but bears one

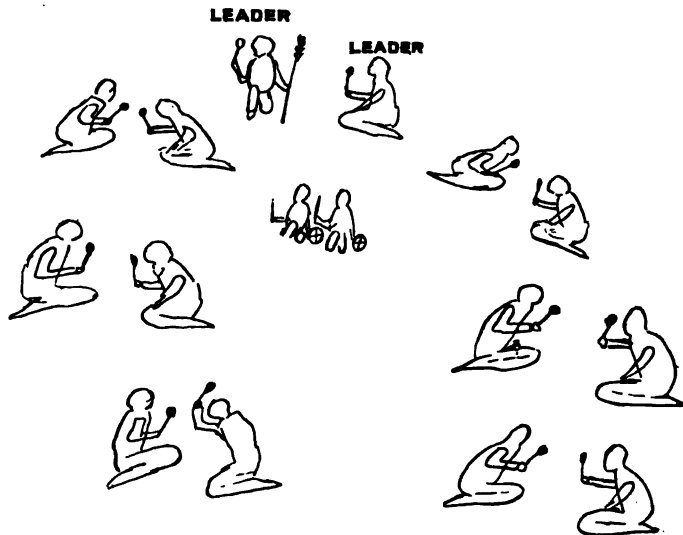


Fig. 25. Dance of the Prairie-Chicken Society. Drawn by an Informant.

erect feather, held by a wrapping of weasel skin, below which is a wrapping of beads. We were told that in the transfer ceremony, the two leaders jointly received the staffs, which is an unusual procedure.

In the ceremonies of the society there are four dances at sunrise. The members number about eighty and sit on their knees in pairs in a circle. The leaders sit at the west side. The drummers sit in the middle and lean forward and beat rapidly to make a noise like the prairie-chickens. The two leaders get up and run around the outside of the circle and at their return change places. The members then dance on their knees, throwing their heads out at each other and change places. These evolutions are given four times as stated above.

According to Calf-child the society was first organized when his father was a boy and by his grandfather. Youths only were taken into it. The

old man did not dream of it, but based it upon a dance he had seen in his boyhood.

The origin myth is as follows:—

Once an old man saw some prairie-chickens dance. He was a trapper and set some snares in which the dancers were entangled. Afterwards he had a dream in which the oldest of the chickens appeared and said, "You have killed my children and spoiled our dance. If you do not leave us alone, I will take your children away. How would you like that. If I had but few children, I would take some of yours; but since I have many, you may keep yours."

The old chicken carried a staff like that used in the society. Then he began to dance and gave the old man directions for forming a society.

THE CROWS.

The important point in this society is that it was organized about forty-one years ago and gave its annual ceremony four times, and then ceased to meet. It is said to have originated in the dream of a North Blackfoot boy. It should not be confused with the *ma'esto^xpa'takiks* (raven-bearers). The leader and the members wore fringed black shirts and leggings. All carried buffalo tails. Their faces were painted red or yellow, with black symbols representing crow's feet.

There were three to four drummers who sat in the center of the dance circle. Near them was the skin from the head of a buffalo and upon it the head of a crow. The leader held these alternately when dancing. The dances were held in the night and were very noisy, like congregated crows.

A special drum was provided, painted black, and bore a picture of a crow.

THE ALL-BRAVE-DOGS.

While with the Piegan, the members paint according to their rattles, in this division they paint according to a definite formula, yellow on the face with transverse bars of red across the eyes and mouth. The wives of members take part as previously noted, but paint like their husbands and may at times dance in their stead. In the regular ceremonies they dance at four different points in the camp circle. Our informants mentioned the two bear members, described by the Piegan. The North Blackfoot name is *ma'tse*.

THE BAD-HORNS.

This was organized by a North Blackfoot man who believed he had died and visited the land of the dead. He came to a place where the dead were

dancing. As he stood watching, the leader shook his staff at him at which he passed again into life. His name was Calf-shakes-his-head and afterward he founded the society.

The leader carries a staff about four feet long bearing fringes and hoofs throughout its length. The fringe is made from the smoky top of a tipi. One end of the staff is sharpened for planting in the ground. The costume is a very long shirt, like a woman's dress with fringes on the sides, made of smoky tipi covers. The leggings and moccasins are of the same material. White paint is spread around the eyes, and around the mouth, red with an outer border of white.

The second leader has a staff and a costume identical with the first.

There is but one song. In the dance they stand fast, moving the head and shoulders only. The positions are as in other societies. All hold whistles in their mouths while making the dancing movements.

There are three drums. These are laid upon the ground and not held when beaten.

The name of this society is pa³ka'potskinaiye.

THE BRAVES.

The organization is on the whole, similar to the corresponding society among the Piegan, but an informant gave the following exceptions:—

The shirts they wear are long and reach to the feet. They are made from the smoked parts of tipis. They have a headdress that seems to be a painted cap with holes for the eyes, nose, and mouth. They have two white lances. The informant claims that formerly there were but two of these, and that later they added two more. The other features of the dance are as described by the Piegan.

SUMMARY.

In general it may be said that the Piegan, Blood, and North Blackfoot divisions of the Blackfoot Indians have the same series of societies for men. The same conceptions underlie their gradations and functions and in most cases the details of organization and the names are identical. This can be interpreted in two ways: either the system was acquired before the divisions separated, or it was disseminated from one center. For a long time the Blood and Piegan have been most intimate and the Indians themselves seem to recognize greater affinity between them. Consistent with this is the close correspondence between their societies. Yet, the greater differences for the North Blackfoot occur among the societies for younger men, which as we

have seen, are by tradition at least, the most recent. Hence, it is a reasonable assumption that formerly the same system prevailed in all divisions. Yet, when minute details are regarded, certain interesting tendencies appear. The organizations peculiar to the North Blackfoot tend to have certain features in common; for example, two leaders jointly owning the tipi or the badge of office, features not noted elsewhere. A like tendency toward the exemption of certain members from police duty, appears peculiar to the Blood. On the other hand, the main patterns for the societies of all divisions are the same, as shown in the arrangement of leaders, the order of the dances, etc. Thus, in general, we have a definite Blackfoot pattern common to all, with but slight deviations toward sub-patterns for the respective divisions, all of which emphasizes the similarity throughout.

This general pattern may be formulated as follows:—

1. A progressive membership.
2. Annual ceremonies, a reorganization each year at the forming of the camp circle (Vol. 7, 22).
3. Transfer of membership at the end of a four year period.
4. Absence of moral and practical qualifications for admission and of all provisions for expelling undesirable members.

The most unique feature of this scheme is the apparent ranking by degrees and the corresponding age equality of the members. We have already called attention to the Indian's notion that, functionally the system is merely the progressive membership of a group of chums or friends. On the other hand, the grading system is not dependent upon this feature, since such a system could be carried out equally well by individual promotions at irregular intervals. The important point in this is, however, that these Indians did not so much have in mind that all these societies constituted a graded series, as that they were linked together in a chain of ceremonial transfers. While a Piegan knew that one must first join the pigeons and would end when he passed out of the bulls, he thought of the procedure in this way: first one may buy into the pigeons, but a pigeon must buy into the mosquitoes, and transfer his pigeon membership to a novice, a mosquito must buy into the braves, etc. to the end of the list. Once one entered into the thing, he automatically took on a religious obligation to carry it through to its ultimate conclusion. It was precisely like taking over the ownership and obligations associated with any Blackfoot ritual, the condition here being that one entered a series of linked rituals, with periodic transfer ceremonies. This is strikingly consistent with the opinion of two intelligent Piegan informants, that the order of such transfers was determined by the historical sequence in which the society rituals were acquired. Thus, if all existing societies are linked, a new one can be added most

easily at the beginning, since there its new members are free to buy in and have no prestige to sacrifice, as would members of the bulls. We should then expect that in the ordinary course of events the first society for one to enter, would be the most recent in origin and the last one in the list, the oldest. On the other hand, it should be noted that there is nothing in the nature of the Blackfoot ritual system that precludes the introduction of a new society at any point in the series, if supernatural sanction could be secured for the change. We offer the above not as certain proof that the rank of these societies was due to seniority of origin, but as a very plausible theory as to how the Blackfoot came to recognize such a system of graded societies. Supporting this theory we have the definite statement by informants that seniority of origin did determine the rank, the consistent traditions that the lower societies had been originated recently, and the peculiar linked transfer obligation, which if held inviolate, necessitated such an order. These make a strong presumption that a historical explanation will fully account for the Blackfoot scheme of gradation. The best examples of sub-patterns are the dual ownership of a staff of office noted in the bees, prairie-chicken, and bad horn societies of the North Blackfoot and the adjunct of the two bear members in the pigeon, mosquito, brave, and all-brave-dog societies of the Piegan. The latter feature is not exclusively Piegan, however, but has been carried out by them in the construction of all the lower societies. An examination of the list of societies for each division (p. 369) will show that practically everything above the front-tails and black soldiers will cancel out as common to all. It is clear that the North Blackfoot must have developed the bad horns, prairie-chicken, and bee societies with their common and distinct pattern; as to the bear men of the Piegan it is not so clear, though it seems certain that they originated the pigeon society and it is probable that they created the whole group containing the two bear members. The higher ranks in the series cancel off so nicely that it seems a fair guess that they arose before the several divisions of the Blackfoot became distinct, or at least during a period when they were under one tribal government.

Three Piegan men gave us statements as to their membership in various societies:—

Bad-old-man bought into the mosquitoes while he was quite young but after his marriage. This was before the pigeons were started. For this membership he paid a gun and clothing. At the end of four years he sold out and joined the braves at a cost of some blankets and clothing. After three years he sold his membership in the braves and bought into the all-brave-dogs. Now, it happened that he purchased this membership from his own son-in-law and he gave as the purchase price his youngest daughter. After three years he sold his membership in the all-brave-dogs and pur-

chased a place in the front-tails, paying a horse. After four years he sold out and purchased into the raven-bearers for which he paid a horse. The next summer he joined the horns as he was then living with the Blood. For this he paid a horse, a gun, a saddle, and many blankets. After four years he sold his membership in the horns. As he never sold his membership in the raven-bearers he is still a member of that organization.

Big-brave was taken into the front-tails at eighteen years of age. The members of this society were much older than he but he was taken in as one of the young men comrades. As explained elsewhere, most societies have one or more young men and four much older men as members. This was the first society Big-brave joined. Two years after this, while still a member of the front-tails he was taken into the pigeons, according to his age, that is, all of his chums who were all about the same age as himself bought into the pigeon society. He bought the place of one of the yellow pigeons. A year after this, many members died of the smallpox and the two leaders of the pigeons were killed in war so that the next time they met, Big-brave was chosen as one of the leaders. The proper regalia were transferred to him and his yellow pigeon regalia transferred to another. He gave a gun, some blankets, and clothing as a fee when he first joined the pigeons since in those days the fees for joining were not so great as later. He was a member of the pigeon society three years in all, when the whole society sold out to younger men. All this time Big-brave was a member of the front-tails which society then bought into the raven-bearers. They urged Big-brave to join them but he told them that since he had become a man and was then married he did not care to join their society, because all the members were much older than he and that he thought it best to purchase into a society according to his age and rank, or into the society in which all his chums were. However, the front-tails prevailed upon him until he joined them in the purchase of the raven-bearers. During the same year, he with the pigeons, bought into the mosquito society. After he had been in the raven-bearer society for a year he sold out and three years later sold out his membership as a mosquito, he having been in that society four years. The year after this he bought into the brave society of which he has been a member ever since as he never sold out. Twenty-nine years ago (1911) he was made a member in the all-brave-dogs society to take the place of one of the old men members and, since he never sold out, he is still a member of this society. He also dances the grass dance as it makes no difference who dances in this association nowadays. As Big-brave explained he did not join the front-tails and the raven-bearers according to his rank or in the order in which he should, but was taken into the front-tails as a boy member and afterward induced by them to continue the association when they purchased into the raven-bearers. Then again when he joined the all-brave-dogs, who were all much younger men, he was taken in as one of the old men members. He further comments that each society took in four old men comrades and four very young men, spoken of as single men comrades, and that when a society sells out its membership they call in former members to officiate in the transfer, that is, all those of whom they purchased their membership who, in turn, transfer it to those to whom they are to sell.

When about eighteen years of age Bear-skin joined the pigeons. He claims that he and some of his chums organized this society which was dreamed by an old blind man. After remaining with the pigeons for three years he sold out to a younger man and then bought into the braves. As he was absent when his fellow-members bought

into the mosquitoes, he with them bought into the braves again and thus remained a member for five years. For two years he was a member of the all-brave-dogs but joined no other society after this because all the societies for older men had been discontinued.

Extended comment on these narratives seems unnecessary since taken in their entirety they present almost every phase of the Blackfoot system of progressive membership. We have previously noted that theoretically a membership terminated during the fourth year, but this seems to have been contingent upon opportunity to sell out. It will be observed that of the ten intervals given by our informants, four are of three years' duration instead of four years. This may be due to the stated rule that one should sell during the fourth year of membership which in some cases would give an actual interval of little more than three years. When Bear-skin corrected his error in skipping a society, he not only served four additional years, but felt obligated to buy in a second time with his companions. As noted elsewhere this companionship feature seems one of the fundamental conceptions in the Blackfoot scheme.

We understand that there were no definite age requirements for membership. On this point, however, we have very meager concrete data. Some informants were of the opinion that the ages of members would not vary more than two years, which is in keeping with the Blackfoot conception of chums (Vol. 7, 16). On the other hand, some informants were equally positive that great differences in age did exist. It is evident that if all members in a society are of equal age, there must be an absolute age limit for entrance to the first of the series. There is no evidence that this was the case.

Thus, since boys of any age were taken into the lowest society and then automatically carried through the series, there could be no great uniformity in age. It may be that the chum idea was made the basis of a symbolic equality in ages; at least, this was Mr. Duvall's opinion.

We come now to the method of joining a society. In the preceding paper on the Blackfoot (Vol. 7) we discussed the transfer conception, or scheme, that seems to underlie all their ceremonial procedure; hence we need but add that membership in a society falls under the same scheme. When it is said that one society sells, or transfers, to another, the process is in all essentials the same as for ceremonial bundles. As we have pointed out the latter are strictly of individual ownership and it is quite in keeping with this rule that when entering a society, you have transferred to you the particular regalia, seat, and functions of a given member. As is made clear in the account for the horns (p. 413) the parties to this transfer are the new member, the retiring member, and an ex-member, the latter officiating.

No other man has any part in the ceremony. This is practically identical with the son, father, and transferrer relations previously discussed (Vol. 7). While it is the rule that all members perform these various ceremonies of transfer at the same time, they may occur at any time, as is shown in our personal narratives. If for any reason *A* should privately transfer to *B*, *B* and not *A* would report when the next meeting of the society was called. It seems then that these societies are after all but organizations of individually owned ritualistic bundles (regalia) and that the whole conforms to the tribal ceremonial scheme.

This accounts for the absence of anything like election or selection of officers, or persons to fill important functions. Thus, it was the rule for the young man who held the leader's place in the lower society to receive by transfer the regalia of the next higher, etc., to the end of the list. On the other hand, any leader could privately transfer his regalia to another, who thereby became the leader. It was the custom, however, to fill vacancies by death by a kind of informal election among the surviving members. Thus, there were no important restrictions to membership, since even the purchase price was insignificant. Conversely, there are no provisions for dismissing members who fail to live up to ideals, nor were we able to find special ideals of conduct as among the Dakota societies (p. 64).

Another interesting feature of this society system is the adjunct of four old men and four very young men, the former seemingly as honorary members, the latter as assistants. Consistent with the scheme of comradeship these usually accompany the age group to which they were first attached even up through the higher ranks. The old men have very real and important functions in the pigeons and mosquitoes since the youthfulness of the regular members is likely to interfere with ceremonial decorum. Likewise the young men assistants have very real functions in the highest rank where the members are likely to be among the superannuated.

WOMEN'S SOCIETIES.

THE MA'TOKI.

Among the Blood and North Blackfoot division flourishes a woman's society known as the ma'toki. No one seemed to know of any such organization among the Piegan. The word cannot be readily translated and may be of foreign origin. Among the white people in Canada the name "buffalo dance" is current.¹ The first mention of the ceremony seems to be Maximilian's brief account:—

The medicine dance of the women does not occur every year. It is a medicine feast for the latter, at which, however, some men likewise appear. A large wooden hut is erected, the women dress themselves as handsomely as they can, and all wear a large feather cap. Some of the women take no part in the dance, and these, with the men, are spectators. Men beat the drum, and shake the schischikué, the last day of the feast; when the dance is finished, the buffalo park is imitated; the men, the children, and the remaining women form two diverging lines, *b* and *c*, which proceed from the medicine lodge, out of which the women creep, crawling on all-fours, and endeavour to imitate the manners of the buffalo cows. Several men represent buffalo bulls, and are at first driven back by the women; but then, as is the practice in this kind of hunting, a fire is kindled to windward, and the women, or buffalo cows, as soon as they smell the smoke, retreat into the medicine lodge, which concludes the festival. They sometimes perform this dance in the summer, when the fancy takes them.²

From Mr. Duvall's notes we take the following:—

The ma'toki dance but once a year when the camp circle is formed. Their ceremony lasts four days. First they make a shelter somewhat like the one used for a sun dance. A tipi pole is set up in the center, with a peculiar cross piece near the top. A number of travois are set up in a circle around this pole and joined together by tipi poles tied along the top, making a single railing all the way around. Then other tipi poles are tied to this and to the cross piece on the center pole, forming rafters like in the sun dance shelter. On the sides and over the top are stretched tipi covers. At the bottom they are weighted with stones. Along the sides within blankets are suspended.

The center pole is the ceremonial property of the leader of the ma'toki and her organization name is ma'toki-tipi-pole-owner. Near the cross piece on the pole are four transverse black bands about a hand apart.

When the shelter is ready the members bring their bedding and occupy their respective places during the entire four days.

¹ See McClintock, 450.
Maximilian, 112, 115.

There are six men attached to the society, but all the other members are women. Four of these do the singing. The remaining pair act as messengers and attendants.

The women are organized as follows:—

The snake bonnets (6)

The buffalo wool bonnets (×)

The scabby bulls (4)

The feather bonnets (×)

The tipi pole owner is one of the snake bonnets. Each woman has a red-painted backrest stick planted before her seat to support her headdress. When they sleep, they lie with their feet toward the center. Just to the west side of the center pole is a fire. When food is brought in and handed to members, they pass what is given

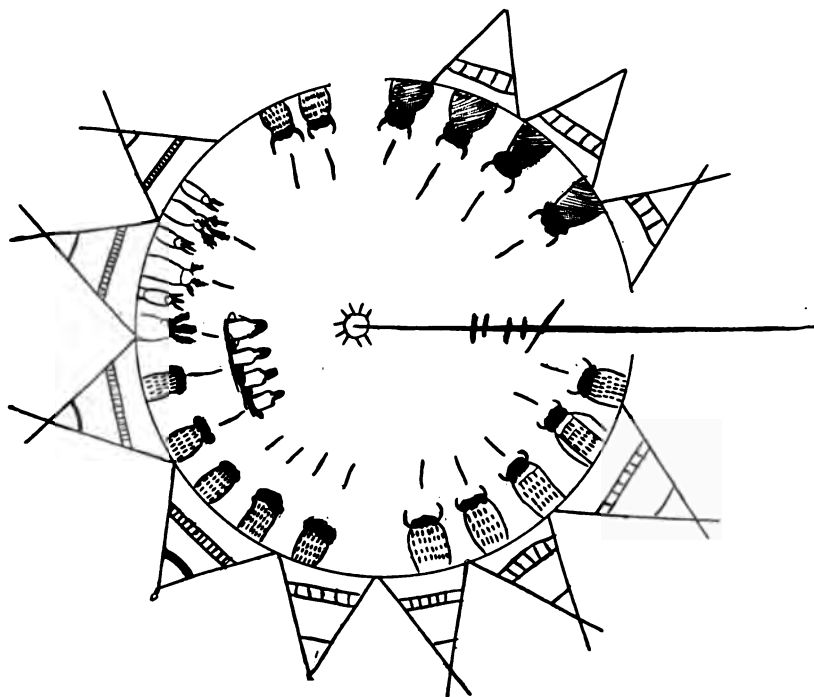


Fig. 26. Diagram showing the Ceremony of the Ma'toki. Drawn by Mrs. Heavy-runner. The top of the sketch is north. The positions of the two doors are shown; to the west of the center pole sit the four male singers; behind these to the north are the six snake-headdress members; to the south the five feather-headdress members; south of the east door sit the buffalo-wool headdress members; to the north the four scabby bulls; the marks above the heads of members indicate sticks for supporting the headdresses when not in use. The triangular figures outside represent travois.

them to members on the opposite side. Each member has an individual smudge altar before her seat. For these the grass is cleared from a small oblong. Along the sides next to the sitter are rows of buffalo chips covered with sage grass. Sweet-grass is used for the smudge. The headdresses must always be smudged four times before they are placed on the head.

During the first day men, women, and children go in to be painted, taking with them sun offerings of cloth, etc., which are tied to the base of the center pole. The faces of these donors are painted over with red and a blue mark made down the forehead and nose with a fork at the top. This is said to symbolize the tipi pole in the center and spoken of as the tipi pole paint.

The ceremonial shelter has two doors, one at the northeast and one at the south-east. In going out members use the nearest door but return by the other. The four singers use rattles and a rawhide of the same type as accompanies the beaver bundle (Vol. 7, 190). They sit west of the fireplace.

All the women wear bone whistles suspended by neck cords and upon these they blow while they dance. They do not all dance at once, but by groups. Thus, the four scabby bulls rise and dance. When they sit again the feather bonnets take a turn, etc. In all movements the owner of the tipi pole has absolute authority. Her person seems to be regarded as sacred. She wears a buckskin dress and a snake bonnet and sits to the right of the other snake bonnet wearers. This bonnet takes its name from a circlet of buckskin stuffed with hair and resembling a snake. It is painted yellow with a zigzag line beaded along the side. On each side of the head is a bunch of plumes. Fringes of weasel fur and beads hang from the sides.

The feather bonnets are covered over the crowns with a mass of soft bird feathers. They have tail pieces falling down on the shoulders and bearing transverse rows of small wing and tail feathers. All their dances occur in the daytime. The scabby bulls wear bonnets with horns and robes of cowskin, hair side out. They dance in single file, circling the pole. First they rise and dance in their tracks, then move to the south side of the fire and dance, then to the west and then to the north. Next the snake bonnets rise with the tipi pole owner in the lead and dance in the same way. Next come the feather bonnets and finally the buffalo wool bonnets.

It is customary for persons who have made vows, or pledges during the year, if their prayers be granted, to provide a feast of berry soup for the ma'toki. At various times during the ceremonies a pledger brings in a kettle of soup and some tobacco which is offered to the tipi pole owner with an announcement of the circumstances. Then the soup is dished out to the members and each and all pray for the pledger.

On the morning of the last day, before sunrise, the ma'toki forms in procession and imitates buffalo going to water. They seek out some depression or low place in the prairie. As they drift along they segregate, as they do in the dance. At a place designated by the leader they all lie down like buffalo.

Now, it is customary for a man or a boy to have made a vow that he will "drive in the ma'toki" at their next ceremony. His sacrifice must be a horse and many presents to the owner of the tipi pole. This man then rides out as if looking for buffalo. When he finds them, he builds a fire with cow dung to windward. As soon as the ma'toki smell the smoke, they rise. The driver then mounts and rides toward them, at which they start for their shelter. As they proceed, he rides on their flank. They trot to the shelter, but the four scabby bulls trail slowly in the rear. When the members get inside the shelter they run around the inside sun-wise until one by one some person lays hold of them and leads them to a seat. Two of the snake bonnets run around in the reverse way. The four bulls come in last and walk slowly around until pulled into their seats.

Like the horns and other societies the members sell, or transfer, to others, usually all transferring at the same time. The ceremony seems to require four days and

nights, during which time they are not supposed to sleep. No men are admitted at any time and the six male members are sent home at night. It is said that the entire night is given to hilarity. Joke and jest reign supreme. Some dress like men and act out the part, give orders to a wife, etc. Some roll up blankets like medicine bundles and hold mock ceremonies. The object of this seems to be that no one may go to sleep.

The fees for buying a membership are a horse, a gun, and other property. The most expensive place is that of the tipi pole owner for which twelve horses and a proportionate amount of other property are required.



Fig. 27. Buffalo-wool Headdresses for the Ma'toki. Drawn by Mrs. Heavy-runner. These are intended for different views of the same headdress. The top is heavily covered with buffalo hair while the skirt bears four rows of bird feathers. The wearers paint a circular white spot on each cheek and one on the forehead, with a cross in each produced by rubbing away the paint.

As to the transfer ceremony, we have not been informed, but have notes on an interesting proceeding between the new member and the one she displaces. In the morning each new member goes to the one she purchased of, her ceremonial mother. She enters the tipi, throws down her robe, places her hands upon the mother's head, passing them down to her shoulders and kisses her. By this the mother understands that she is to accompany her daughter. The mother is conducted to the shelter, walking behind and given a seat facing the center. The daughter then sits in front facing the mother. Some red paint in a cup and some blue paint in a shell is provided. The mother then paints the daughter's face.¹

¹ The following comment is by Mr. Duvall: — Our informant did not say whether the old members had to remain there during the whole day or not. The old members had to be there every morning and painted those who came there to be painted. The ma'toki were in charge when the camp circle was formed. It seems that they meet at the time of the sun dance. I am unable to find out whether they meet at the time of the tobacco planting.

Her husband belonged to the horns but refused to talk about them as it was said to be

Outsiders may come in later with offerings to the sun and have their faces painted by the mothers. The regular painting is yellow over the face with a red horizontal band across the eyes and one across the mouth. Down the forehead and nose is the peculiar forked line in blue, previously mentioned.

It is a peculiar fact that the horn society having its ceremonies at the same time, brings in its unwrapped lances and fastens them to the center pole as an offering.

The closing ceremony of the ma'toki consists in taking down the shelter and the frame, leaving only the center pole, with its sun offerings. Then the members stand around the pole and sing. This concludes the ceremonies for the year. (Fig. 19.)

The ma'toki, like the horns, seems to be feared on account of its magical powers, though it is regarded as inferior. During their ceremonies and especially at night, they must not be disturbed.

The statement of another informant is as follows:—

The ma'toki meet once a year at the time of the sun dance. Should there be no sun dance, they would perform their annual ceremony anyway. The owner of the center tipi pole seems to have full powers of initiation and from her must come all instructions as to date, place, etc. In response to her call a camp circle is formed. When a sun dance is not given simultaneously, the ma'toki go about from tipi to tipi collecting the cloth, etc., to be offered the sun, which is then tied to the center tipi pole. If a sun dance is under way, they are tied to the sun dance pole instead.

During each ceremony, early in the morning, the new members go out and bring in those whose membership they purchased. Suppose A transferred a place to B; then B conducts A to the ceremonial shelter and A paints B. This must be done each morning during the ceremony. A remains in the shelter during the day, to paint any outsider who may come with offerings for the sun.

Dr. R. H. Lowie observed parts of the ma'toki ceremony among the Northern Blackfoot and writes as follows:—

In the afternoon of June 17th the twenty members of the ma'toki were busy constructing the lodge for their dance. After several hours' work they proceeded to the circumference of the camp circle for the selection of a lodge. They marched in single file, headed by an old man who was said to sing at their performance. After a while they were followed by a man bearing an eagle feather fan, the herald of the sun dance. They walked twice around a lodge, stood still for a while, then took down the lodge and carried it back to the dance lodge where it was superimposed on the conical roof of the structure already erected. The walls of the lodge were lined

dangerous. He is a member of the horns and his wife a ma'toki. Mrs. Strangle-wolf speaks of the horn members' wives and yet we find one man who is a horn and his wife is not. I asked them about this, and she said that she was a ma'toki, that her husband was not, and that she had nothing to do with the horns.

with canvas, a series of travois was fastened to the beams right around, the center pole had two pieces of calico cloth tied to it. The women sat nearest the walls, two rows deep.

The performance proper of which only a very small portion was seen (on June 19th) commenced about 6 o'clock and was said to cease at sunset. In the back, but in front of the women, sat four men in a line, who were chanting and beating their rattles. Four women crawled on their knees (not hands) to a diametrically opposite position to that of the chanters, and after the song arose and one after another touched the center pole. Then they danced in their places, moving one hand rhythmically. Their places were taken by several women wearing horn headdresses. These also danced in their places, walked a few paces to the left, and then resumed motions as before. When diametrically opposed to the singers, the touching of the center pole regularly took place. At intervals a woman seized five or six rattles, carried them near the center pole and beat them there. Two of the dancers had bone whistles, which were blown at regular intervals.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES AND CULTS.

Under this head we have considered a number of ceremonies participated in by groups or organizations in contrast to the individual ceremonies connected with medicine bundles. Here again, we find the ritualistic conceptions of Blackfoot culture prevailing in the form of bundles and formulae of individual character, even though the owners form a group. One gets into a cult by having a bundle provided at the hands of other members, but once in he is expected to remain, though in practice, individuals often do transfer their bundles and hence their memberships. The peyote cult seems not to have reached the Blackfoot, neither did the ghost dance craze move them, unless the recently borrowed black-tailed deer dance should be of such origin.

As to the distribution of these religious societies we note that the dance of the dead and the all-smoking ceremony were known to all the divisions. The crow-water and the stick-game dance were practised by the Piegan alone. The black-tailed-deer dance was known to the Piegan and perhaps the Blood, our information as to the latter being doubtful. These taken with the preceding societies constitute all the strictly religious organizations we have so far discovered among the Blackfoot. All that remains for future discussion is the tribal ceremony of the sun dance.

THE CROW-WATER SOCIETY.

There flourishes among the Piegan a religious society, or perhaps an organized cult, believed to have originated among the Crow Indians. The native name seems to signify "those that own the Crow power of waters," but is sometimes rendered as "Crow beaver medicine owners" implying a similarity to the beaver bundles described in a previous paper. A Piegan named Iron, living in 1903, claimed to have founded this society which he acquired while living among the Crow Indians. Later, he was assisted by an old woman named Good-captures. Though a Piegan, she was in early life captured by the Crow and lived with them ever afterward. She made long visits to her Piegan relatives during which she taught them the ceremony. Hence, this society cannot be more than forty years old. Nevertheless, it is a strong and flourishing organization.

The following is the substance of the founder's narrative:—

He brought it from the Crow where he lived some twelve years. He knew that it came from the seven stars. The Crow gave him some seeds of a small plant with a song, which gave him a membership. After a time he dreamed of six dwarfs and they gave him power to get horses, property, food, and long life. Since that time he has always had abundance. When he came back to the Piegan, he sold or transferred to Curly-bear some of his power and since that time the latter has prospered. He claims that all of the members are prosperous. When a member is taken in he is given the skin of an otter, blackbird, weasel, beaver, or something with a song. These songs must have been dreamed by some of the members. Women can be taken in alone, but if married, both husband and wife must join; likewise when a man joins, his wife must enter. A man joins by calling upon a member, making him gifts and asking him for some of the Crow-water power. These gifts are supposed to be many quilts, horses, etc. Each member gives him some object and an associated song.

The members receiving the gifts must divide them among other members as far as they will go, one thing for each. Each one receiving a horse must contribute some object, a song and some power, the others are free to choose. Thus, the highest price paid for membership brings the most medicines. The objects are placed in a bundle which becomes the new member's individual medicine. They are not treated as most medicine bundles, but may be opened at any time.

In the ceremonies the women usually do the dancing. The men seldom dance but do the singing. The women do not sing when they are dancing. There are no regular times for meetings, but it is usual to hold them every Sunday and at the time of the new moon. Ceremonies are held in compliance with vows of outsiders or members as with other medicines, but they may meet on any occasion. The number of members is not limited in any way. None of the proceedings are secret. Everybody may look in, but only members can come inside of the tipi or ceremonial circle.

The members usually paint their faces yellow, with red bars across the mouth and forehead. A rectangle of red is also made upon the backs of the hands. A few plumes and feathers are worn on the head. There are no other regalia, the chief things being the individual bundles of the members.

The taboos observed by bundle owners are also in evidence. Neither marrow nor bones may be placed in the fire or the owner's horse will have his leg broken. Lodge pins must not be put in the fire or the owner will have a tumor (?); nor must iron be put in the fire and allowed to become red hot, or the owner's teeth will fall out. If lodge poles are burnt up, horses will die. The owner must not touch moccasins while smoking; he will have a scabby mouth. Moccasins placed under the bed will bring bad luck. When dancing and smoking, if one should pass in front of him, the smoker goes blind. He must not lend a blanket to another as this will bring bad results.

The medicine formula or power may be used as follows: — If a member wishes a horse, he calls in other members and sings the songs and offers prayers. It is believed that one so doing will soon be called upon for some service and receive a horse as a fee. Other wishes may be gratified in the same way. An outsider desiring anything may formally announce that he provides food and presents for a meeting. Then members assemble and hold a meeting. This is usual in sickness. Vows to provide the feast may be made as in case of medicine bundles.¹

¹ Vol. 7, 148, 172.

The following account is by Owl-top, an active member of this society:

The dance may be given at any time. Sometimes when a person has made a vow to give a feast because of someone who is sick the members, who are notified, pray for the sick person. As soon as he recovers, the person who made the vow makes a berry soup and goes to one of the members and tells him to have the dance. In entering the place where the ceremony is to be held, the members pass around the left of the fire to the right and take their seats. They must not pass in front of those who are already seated, but behind them. When seated the members place their bundles in front of them. In leaving the dance tipi there is no rule, the members may go out in any manner they wish.

The man who cares for the pipe, furnishes the tobacco, and tends to the fire, is seated at the left of the fire in front of the other members. Sometimes he also heats the skin on the drums, if it should loosen, in order that the drums should give a better sound when the skin is stretched. No one must ever pass in front of this man. The pipe is passed from right to left in smoking. As each man has his bundle lying in front of him a smudge is made, and after the bundle has been held over the sweetgrass smudge, it is unwrapped and the first person at the left sings to the accompaniment of six or eight drums.

The women are seated on the left and they rise and dance, the person leading in the song signalling with the skin or bird he holds, while the women imitate his movements. Each man sings all of his songs, the others joining him. After each man has sung his songs the dance ends. The men may dance if they wish to do so.

The person who makes the vow gives one of the members a horse and clothing, as well as the food. These gifts are divided among the members. Even if a man has purchased membership, his fees are divided among all the members.

When it is time for the feast, a smudge is made on the southeast of the fireplace and the pot of berries held over it, set down on the smudge, and then placed near it. The person who made the vow passes the food and just before eating each one takes up a berry and holding it up, prays. Then they all hold up the dishes with the food a little above their heads, set them down, and begin to eat. The members usually pray for the sick person for whom the vow was made. Formerly, only members were given food and allowed to witness the dance but now all onlookers are given food. During the dance they pray for health and happiness. Anyone of the members, when he wishes to do so, may give the dance.

If a member should be a guest anywhere and be offered a pipe, he must always blow some of the smoke toward any medicine bundle that may be hanging up. If one member visit another, the host must always give his visitor a present of some sort. If he was nothing to give he will give a song. This refers only to those living some distance from each other.

If anyone wishes to buy into the society, he fills a pipe and offers it to one of the members, at the same time asking him for some of his medicine objects. The member calls on the person from whom he bought the object to assist him. If the purchaser has a wife, she is also made a member.

First, the three men go through the sweat house ceremony. Then they go to the seller's house.

The new member calls the seller his father, and the man from whom his father bought, his grandfather. The father has no authority in the transfer, the grandfather doing everything. After the sweat house ceremony the new member and his

wife are given some clothing. In all, four sweat houses must be made but there is no rule as to the interval between the making of each sweat house, it being merely a matter of convenience. After the fourth sweat house and dance, the new member and his wife go to the dance taking with them blankets, calico, and probably eight horses to be given as a fee to the father. The grandfather has first choice of the horses and the rest of the things are divided among the members. Then all the members spread open their bundles and the new member may choose one object from each bundle. With each object he is given a song. If at any time the new member should visit his grandfather, he must give him a present.

Women as well as men are taken into this society, some unmarried women being members. During the dance, if there is a large attendance, each member sings only three or four of his songs, as it would take too long for everyone to sing all his songs.

Members of the society recognize the following taboos: bones must not be heated inside of a member's tipi; meat must not be cut in a kettle, nor must a knife be used to stir food while it is cooking; the picket pins must never be burned, should one be burned horses will be lost. When a member dreams of some new thing to be made up, he goes to his grandfather to do so and pays him for it. After the new medicine has been made up, he tells the others about it.

The different medicine objects in the bundles are: mink, muskrat, otter belt, weasel, blackbird, sparrows, night hawks, beaver, magpies, snow birds, a wooden hand, a whistle, robins, and other birds.

The power of this society consists in causing its members to become wealthy. Also, when the members pray, it cures the sick.

Before Owl-top joined this society an old woman, who came from the Crow, gave him a yellow shirt, a yellow robe, and a riding whip for which he gave her two horses and other things. The shirt, robe, and riding whip belong to the Crow-water medicine society. The old woman told him that some time one of his mares would have a pinto colt, and that whenever this happened, he would have many differently colored horses. Long after she told him this, he dreamed four times of many differently colored horses. Then he believed what she had told him. Now, it has been some time since the old woman told him about this pinto colt, and none of his mares have ever born such a colt, but his son-in-law's mares have had two pinto colts. He believes these are the colts the old woman prophesied about and thinks that now his horses will begin to increase. This society came from the Crow, but it is not known how the Crow got it.

We previously published two origin myths for the crow-water formula, one of which was evidently devised from the beaver bundle cycle.¹ In both, however, the Crow origin of the society is emphatically announced. Since Dr. R. H. Lowie, who has made a thorough study of the Crow, finds no similar society among them, some discussion seems necessary. The fact that two individuals contributed to the society seems to favor the existence of some parent ceremony among the Crow. On the other hand, the bundles and procedures of the society are typically Blackfoot, the only distinguishing characteristic as such, being the grouping of bundle owners into an organiza-

¹ Vol. 2, 77, 80.

tion. In a previous paper we discussed the ceremonial system of the Blackfoot, calling attention to the existence of a great stimulus to produce new bundles and rituals. From what we know of Blackfoot life, the most probable thing is that the founders of this society took a suggestion from Crow culture, by which they constructed a new ceremony. According to Dr. Lowie's Crow data, it seems that the most likely characteristic to impress a Blackfoot visiting the Crow would be the society organization in the tobacco ceremonies, since that feature is decidedly in contrast to the Blackfoot system of individually owned bundles. Hence, it seems a reasonable hypothesis that the founder (Iron) grasped the notion of a society organized on lines similar to the tobacco societies of the Crow. As previously noted, we fail to find any definite common inter-tribal elements, except the suggestion of the name and some mention of tobacco seeds. As to the name—the designation of this society as the Crow-beaver may have been due to the tobacco function of a beaver bundle owner presenting the only true Blackfoot analogy to the Crow tobacco society. Some of the Piegan members of this society had in their bundles small buckskin bags containing tobacco seeds which they said came from the Crow. These were not planted but used as ceremonial objects. We found no evidence of any member planting tobacco or that any considerable number of members possessed such tobacco. On the other hand, some members did dream of the "dwarfs"¹ who play an important part in the beaver bundle ritual, but they also had dreams of other mythical creatures. It seems then, that while there is some basis for the hypothesis that the name Crow-water society is the Blackfoot rendering of the Crow tobacco society and that the gross organization of each is similar, there the resemblances cease. The hypothetical character of the foregoing should be noted. It seems a reasonable assumption that the Blackfoot enthusiasts who promoted the new society, gave it its overwhelming Blackfoot character, perhaps in spite of the wishes of the founders.

THE BLACK-TAILED DEER DANCE.

This cult flourishes among the Piegan. The chief function of the cult is to make the capture of the deer easy, since members usually have dream revelations as to the whereabouts of deer. One member told us that in his dreams three catholic nuns always appeared and gave the information. It is certain that the whole ceremony was recently introduced from the Kootenai, some of the charter members being still among the living.

¹ Vol. 7. 200.

The regalia consist of a string of deer ankle bones painted red to symbolize the deer, or that the bearer "holding these bones is likewise holding the feet of the deer." When hunting they may wear on the head a pair of rabbit ears, painted yellow, to give speed and endurance. In the members' individual bundles are also weasel and other skins for which there are special songs.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the ritual is the use of hypnotic power. There are four special songs for working this charm. In our collection of myths concerning this cult, we gave the narrative of a Piegan who came under the power of these songs.¹ Thus, it is said that a member painting his face yellow, taking up one of the skins and binding it on the head can hypnotize a person by looking in his eyes steadily and then making a sudden upward movement with the hands. After a time the operator wakes the subject, after which he is an undoubting follower of the cult.

We learn from Professor A. F. Chamberlain that the Kootenai have a black-tailed deer dance but for want of full published data cannot go into a comparative discussion. Naturally, the Blackfoot have the transfer and bundle conceptions concerning this ceremony as with other organizations.

Mr. Duvall secured a good account of the cult from Tailen Ashley, a mixed-blood Piegan, who introduced it among his people:—

The dance is ceremonial and was introduced from the Kootenai. Those who do not believe in the dance and ridicule it, are thrown into a trance by those who have the power, and are then awakened and become followers. Each man and woman member has a song of his or her own and some have more. The songs are bought from members and a horse or other property paid for them. Sometimes new songs are dreamed.

The dance is held in the evening, generally lasting through the night. Sometimes it is held four nights in succession. It may be given at any time, and is sometimes given the night before hunting, when it is usually dreamed where the game will be found. Sometimes a vow is made to give the dance for a sick relative. About midnight a feast is made. When the dance is given for a sick person all the dancers pray for him. If the members do not wish to dance they must remain standing to show their respect to the rest of the dancers.

At the beginning of the dance a smudge of sweetgrass is made near the rear of the house or tipi. The leader holds both hands over the smudge, places his hands near his ears, one hand on top of his head, his right hand over his heart, over his mouth and nose, and then takes his place. All the members repeat the same movements. The leader rises and stands in the center of the floor, and all the members stand around him facing the center. He shakes a bunch of deer hoofs, and prays. Then he dances in place, then turns and dances around to his right, the others following him in single file, jumping up and down to represent deer. He stops, prays, and then dances as before. Then the man next to him takes his place and goes

¹ Vol. 2, 159.

through the same performance. While dancing they all sing and some carry bells to keep time. Others hold both hands on their breasts as in the stick game. No drums are used. It is thought that the more the dancers exert themselves during the dance the better will be the result of their prayers.

Some members have hypnotic power. The prayers are for food, success in all undertakings, and protection against death. They pray to those who have given them power or songs in their dreams.

The origin of the dance is given in the following:—

A man had been ill for a long time and was not expected to recover. One time, while still ill, those around him heard him try to sing and raise himself. He supported himself on a post, meanwhile humming. Then he returned to his bed, and said, "I have had a dream. A deer came to me and said, 'I have come to help you. I have taken pity on you. You see yonder hill. I will lead you to the top of it. Hold my windpipe, but if you pull my windpipe in two before we reach the top, you will die. If not, you will get well.' We went up the hill very slowly. When we reached the top, the deer said, 'There are four deer on yonder ridge which I will give you. When you kill them take out the windpipe and lungs of one of them as you see mine now. Be careful and do not cut them in two. Take them home and cook them and give a dance and eat them and you will be well.' That is why I got out of bed and held on to the post. I thought it was the deer." Then he said to the two men, "Go to yonder ridge and kill the four deer there. Butcher one of them as I was told in the dream and bring it to me." They returned with the deer. That night they held a dance, the black-tailed deer dance.

Before hunting, a deer dance is held, so they may dream where the game will be found. Sometimes the leader dances, holding a post with both hands with bells, deer hoofs or claws in one hand, and a handkerchief or skin in the other. Anyone who believes in the dance may join whether he has songs or not. Some of the regalia for the dance are: rabbit ears, deer claws and hoofs, feathers, plumes, mink skins, otterskins, sleigh bells, and deer tails, also weasel skins, owl and other feathers. Juniper is more frequently used for the smudge than sweetgrass. The members paint in red or yellow with a stripe across the forehead and one across the chin.

Some members have power to give ill luck and to charm game. When game is killed by the members, they must not cut into the windpipe, nor give the heart to the dogs. The head of deer must not be used by anyone as food, nor must children be allowed to play with it or the hoofs. The reason that these taboos must be kept is that the member may be able to charm game. When they wish to go out to hunt, they set up a stick covered with cloth about twelve inches long at the rear of the tipi and make a smudge of juniper back of it. The men sing, but must not pass between the stick and the fireplace.

DANCE FOR THE SPIRITS OF THE DEAD.

This ceremony is often spoken of as a ghost dance but seems to be an ancient cult. The idea was to make a dance for the dead to which their spirits were invited. At one stage of the ceremony a herald goes outside to invite the spirits, beginning his announcement by he-e-e, repeated four times. He must not, however, call any ghost by name. The dance seems to be founded upon an incident in the Blood-clot myth,¹ when the hero organized a dance in the stomach of the monster. "When he got into the stomach of the fish, he saw a great many people. Many of them were dead, but some were still alive. He said to the people, 'Ah, there must be a heart somewhere here. We will have a dance.' So he painted his face white, his eyes and mouth with black circles, and tied a white rock knife on his head, so that the point stuck up. Some rattles made of hoofs were also brought. Then the people started in to dance. For a while Blood-clot sat making wing-motions with his hands, and singing songs. Then he stood up and danced, jumping up and down until the knife on his head struck the heart."

The curious idea seems to prevail that the dance is also for those near death or about to become ghosts and that these Blood-clot directed to at least move their heads in unison with the dancers.

The following are two independent narratives of origin myths for the ceremony:—

(a)

A man once pitched his camp far from any others. He had a wife and little boy. After he had been there some time, his wife died. He stayed with her in the tipi for four days and then decided to go away. He took the boy, but before he had gone very far, he heard a voice say, "Go back and stay with your wife. We will help you bring her to life again."

He didn't see who it was that spoke but returned. That night he lay in his tipi and heard people singing and dancing but could see no one. The people he heard dancing were ghosts. They said, "We will dance four nights and restore life to your wife." The man stayed four nights and each night heard the dancers when awake, and saw them in his dreams. After the fourth night his wife lived again. The ghosts gave him the dance and when he returned to his people, he taught them the dance which is still held.

(b)

One time, when a war party was returning after a long journey, one of the members of the party died. His companions made a lodge of brush and trees and left him there. A ghost came to where the man lay and pitied him, invited a number of

¹ Vol. 2, 56.

ghosts to the place and said, "Let us all have a dance for four nights and restore this man's life to him." They agreed, and after four nights, the man came to life again and saw the ghosts, how they painted their faces, and how they dressed. One of the ghosts said to him, "We will give you this dance. When anyone is sick or about to die, have a dance, and he will recover." The man returned to his home. After some time someone was very ill. This man gave the ghost dance, and taught it to the people.

The dancers paint to represent skeletons, so it is said. The face and exposed parts of the body are painted white, while around the mouth and each eye is a bold circle of black or red. The effect is quite hideous.

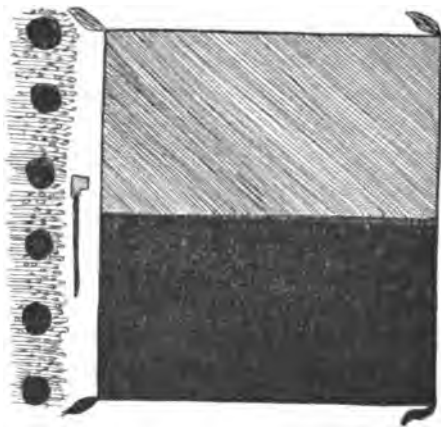


Fig. 28. Smudge Altar for the Ghost Dance. Drawn by Big-brave. The altar is about one foot square, the north half red, the south half black. Red and black plumes respectively are stuck up at the corners. At the west is a row of buffalo chips covered with sage grass. Between these and the altar lies the pipe used in the ceremony. Sweetgrass is used on the altar and the tongs should lie on the north side.

There are no particular regalia except a plume on the head, nor are there any bundles. The ceremony has, however, its own peculiar ritual and songs. Women dance with the men.

A dance rarely occurs unless some man makes a vow or formal pledge to provide a feast and dance for the dead in return for some expected or realized good fortune. At the ceremony his wife sits near the door and takes the name of Yellow-woman. She paints her hair yellow and her face red with a yellow band across the forehead. On her head, she wears a plume. A great abundance of food is expected.

The smudge altar is a large oval with the incense hearth at one end. At the other is placed a small pipe and four plumes. According to Big-brave the altar was square, Fig. 28. One member is delegated to attend to

the pipe. At the close of each dance he fills the pipe and hands it to the leader after which it circulates. As soon as it is burned out the dancing is resumed. There are four periods of dancing. The evolutions consist of dancing, alternately facing the fire and the walls, twice for each. Then all sit down, save the leader who takes the pipe and prays. Then he sits down and smokes. In starting a dance all rise to their knees, making movements as in playing the stick game, where with four movements they rise to their feet.

During the ceremonies no one must laugh nor must anyone spit. No dead person should be designated by name.

A special ceremony was sometimes given by two members. They did not use the regular painting but dressed in fine clothes and danced with ropes and whips. This was believed to bring good luck in capturing horses.

THE ALL-SMOKING CEREMONY.

We come now to a ceremony that goes by the name *kanochisisin*, or all-smoking ceremony. It is not clear whether this is a cult or simply a group ceremony like the sun dance. The right to lead in the proceedings seems to be owned by one individual and may be transferred like other ritualistic things. Thus it is said, "If the man who leads in the ceremony is pleased with the presents he receives, he may transfer the right to lead to one pledging the ceremony."

The distinguishing feature of the ceremony is that it is a kind of medicine coup counting. Like warriors recounting their deeds, those present are called upon to count over the different medicine rituals they have owned and all fired with new enthusiasm to secure more. In conformity to a vow or formal pledge a man will invite people to his tipi for an evening feast. He will engage a man with the right to lead to conduct the all-smoking ceremony. He will have ready a pot of tongues and berry soup; also a quantity of tobacco cut and mixed. The meeting is to last until this is used up. Each guest is called upon in turn to sing songs from one of the rituals of medicines owned by him. So they pass around in order. The process is thus a kind of counting out in that the last men are those who have owned the most medicines.

The following account was secured by Mr. Duvall:—

When a man vows to give the all-smoking ceremony he invites many men to his tipi and calls upon someone who has the privilege to lead the ceremony. A fee is paid in blankets or clothing. First the man giving the feast makes a soup of tongues, cherries, and blood. Before the tongues are cut up by the women, prayers are said

and a smudge made. The tongues are boiled all day and in the evening added to the berries and blood. During the day, a stick to which is fastened some sage grass at either end and calico or a piece of skin at the middle, is tied to a tipi pole as an offering to the sun.

The leader takes his place at the rear of the tipi to the left. A young single man is called upon to tend the smudge, light the pipes, cook the soup, etc. In payment, prayers are said for him. The pipes are lighted with four service berry sticks about a foot and a half or two feet in length, which are lighted in the fire.

The smudge place is not cut out but white earth is spread over an irregular surface. Four buffalo dungs are placed on the west side with sage grass on top of them and at the right is placed the smudge stick. In the center is placed a buffalo dung on which the smudge of sweetgrass is made.

Four undecorated black pipes are used. No metal may be used on the pipes. The man who gives the feast fills the pipes while the assistant lights and passes them. Four rattles, similar to those in the beaver bundle ceremony are used. The guests sing the songs of the different medicines owned by them. In all each one must sing sixteen songs, four at a time. Anyone who has owned the medicine-pipe may sing four of the medicine-pipe songs; as many of the beaver bundle songs as one wishes to sing may be sung; but of other medicines, only one song may be sung. One song is allowed from each of the societies. The man sitting on the south side of the tipi starts the singing and is followed by the one on his left, and so on. One of the rattles is used by the person singing while the other three are used by the three people next to him to his left. Before singing, a smudge is made, he tells of what object he is going to sing, the amount paid for it, and a short prayer is said. When a man owns no bundle and has no song to sing, he merely passes the rattles to the next person. When medicine-pipe men join in the ceremony they bring with them their own utensils, sweet-pine needles for the smudge, etc. During the feast they are served first. When the owner of the smoking-otter joins he is given a place near the smudge place, opposite the leader; the medicine-pipe man is seated to his left. While the smoking-otter owner smokes, sleigh bells are shaken four times and everyone must desist from touching his moccasins. The smoking-otter owner uses juniper for his smudge. At the beginning of the ceremony the *iniskim* songs are sung.

The man who made the vow goes out to bring in the sun offering, making four stops in his circuit around the tipi. It is spread out and the moon and sun dogs painted in the center in black. On it is placed the tobacco board. The leader rubs the board, steel, and knife with sage grass. He brushes the right side of his head, his shoulder, and his arm, and then the left side with the sage grass. The same movements are repeated by all the men in turn. While the man who made the vow holds the tobacco and knife to cut it, the leader holds his wrists, and another man counts four war deeds. Meanwhile the leader motions as if to cut the tobacco. The leader paints the face of the man who made the vow and his family, with red paint, a black stripe around the face, and a dot on the bridge of the nose. He cuts the tobacco, fills a small pipe, and hands it to the leader who holds the stem or mouth-piece over the smudge and then the bowl, twice for each. Prayers are said to the sun, telling of the offering made, and asking for mercy for the man who gave the feast. The moon, stars, earth and all the animals are also appealed to and then the pipe is passed around for everyone to smoke.

The four rattles are held in the smudge, four times, and shaken, between each time. Then the singing commences and continues until each man has sung sixteen

songs in groups of four. If tobacco is left over some is tied up in the sun offering and some given to some old man, who prays over it. Should the supply of tobacco give out before sixteen songs are sung the ceremony ends.

When a smudge is to be made, the assistant takes the smudge stick which lies to the north of the smudge, goes back toward the door and around the fireplace before he makes the smudge. Each time the pipes are filled, the assistant hands them to some old man, before lighting them. The old man holds the pipe in the direction of the smudge, pointing twice with the bowl and mouthpiece alternately. Then he prays.

The berry soup is served at the close of the ceremony. First the assistant takes four pieces of tongue and gives them to the leader. He holds up a piece, between his thumb and forefinger, prays to the sun and stars, and places it at the south side of the smudge. Thus he places a piece at each corner of the smudge. He places a piece on the west and east side, and the fourth piece in the assistant's mouth. Before eating the soup everyone holds up a bit of the tongue and prays.

After the ceremony is over the leader hangs the sun offering in a tree or other place. The leader may give the man who made the vow the right to lead in such a ceremony by simply saying, "You have paid me so well. You may lead such a ceremony and do as I have done." The ceremony seems to be connected with the sun dance as tongues are used and offerings made to the sun.

THE STICK GAME DANCE.

Within a few years a new association was introduced from a neighboring tribe passing under the name stick game dance. It was reported by Duvall during the winter of 1910-1911 as having just come to the notice of the tribe. He made no investigation of it but later James Eagle-child attended several ceremonies, participated in some and interviewed the founder. In a previous paper it was stated that rituals were still being created and developed. This is a splendid example and offers therefore an unusual opportunity for a functional study. The stick game outfit to which this ritual is attached has been used by the Piegan for some years and seems to have originated with the Gros Ventre from whom they usually obtain them. As developed in our paper on ceremonial bundles, it is difficult for a Blackfoot to look upon any curious object used by persons without a feeling that it is "medicine." Thus, we are told that when a Gros Ventre exchanges a game set for a horse and other property, whatever power the set possessed is transferred to the new owner. The suggestion is sharpened by the fact that certain special songs are used in the game, for according to Blackfoot conceptions the transfer of the bundle containing the set gives also a presumptive right to the songs.

The facts of the case seem to be that a Piegan, named Fish, once owned one of these stick game sets and later had a dream in which a ritual was

conferred. This makes the stick game set a bundle and it has already changed hands several times. At the transfer a horse and some clothing are given. (As a rule, the regular stick game sets were given to the person winning four straight games.) The new owner's face is painted red, but in the game the players paint red crosses on the face. The songs used in the game and the special songs of the ritual are also transferred. Though the set is kept in a bundle, it seems possible to open it at any time and without the ceremony. The owner is subject to no taboos but menstruating women must not go near the game. There must be no flirting among those present and the players must not cheat or members of their families will die.

The following is Eagle-child's account:—

In 1909 Big-spring bought the stick game dance bundle from a Gros Ventre. It contains twenty sticks with magpie feathers and four small plumes on the end of each. The sticks were about fourteen inches long and half an inch in diameter and were painted red. Small bells are also attached to the end of one of the feathers. There are two guessing sticks about fourteen inches long with eagle feathers and a few plumes and bells on their ends. These sticks are also painted red. There are four bones or hiding sticks two of which were blue and two white. There is a small wheel-like object about two and one half inches in diameter resembling the wheel used in the arrow game. This is worn by the guesser. Sweetgrass is used for the smudge. The only difference between the two guessing sticks and the others is that the former have eagle feathers instead of magpie feathers.

The stick game dance or ceremony is regarded as a powerful medicine. In it prayers are offered to God only and not to the stars, moon, sun, and other Blackfoot deities. In case of sickness the head of the family may make a vow to provide a feast for the owner of the stick game bundle if the sick one recover. Then some time after the recovery he invites everybody, old and young, to the feast. The ceremonies are held at night though the ordinary stick game can be played at anytime. When all have assembled, the owner of the bundle takes his place at the back of the tipi or house and makes a smudge with sweetgrass. Then he opens the bundle and takes out the contents. He then selects or calls for a woman to act as the guesser for one side to whom he gives ten of the sticks and one of the guessing sticks. He then prays for the guesser, paints her face on the forehead, cheeks, chin, and palms with a red cross. Then he selects or calls for a man who comes forward and is fitted out in the same manner as the woman. These two become the leaders for the opposing sides. All this time the singers and drummers are rendering the songs used in the game and those connected with the bundle.

All the persons present, men, women, and children, may take part in the game, sometimes as many as forty or fifty take part. The two players then choose their sides by passing their sticks, giving one to each person. The woman also hands out two of the hiding sticks to one of her side and the other to another. The man does the same on his side. The woman lines up her players on the right, the man his on the left. The woman ties the wheel ornament on her hair and play begins and continues until one side has all the sticks. Every time a game is completed, the winners rise and dance, making a great deal of noise while the losing side keep their seats. Every time a side loses a game, a new guesser is chosen in his place. The rule is that

eight games are to be played after which food is served. The two last guessers are required to pass the food.

Before Fish dreamed the stick game, Big-spring gave him a set as a present. After dreaming, Fish gave the first bundle to The-dog-takes-the-gun. The three men are related and for this reason pass the stick game bundle from one to the other.

Fish dreamed of a man who came to give him the stick game bundle. The dream person carried the bundle on his left arm. His face was painted yellow and dotted all over. In his hair was tied an owl feather. Now, one of the guessers ties an owl feather in his hair when the game is played. Fish claims the stick game bundle to be very powerful. If a person be sick he may vow to play with the stick game owner in order that he may recover. When the game is played, the bundle owner paints and prays for the person with whom he is to play. On the other hand, the game must not necessarily be played when anyone is ill but can be played at any time.

Each stick is decorated with a six-inch owl feather. Two guessing sticks are wrapped with otter fur and decorated with bells. At each end is a tail-feather used in guessing. One of the guessing sticks is painted red, the other yellow. Fish only dreamed one song for the bundle but the rest of the stick game songs go with it. The same songs are used for the three stick game bundles on the reservation. There are some twenty of these and ten tapping-the-stick songs. The songs are sung at the beginning of the game, or when either side wins. Four or more cheering songs are sung when dancing after one side has won the game.

When any member of a family is ill, the head of the family may vow to give a feast to the stick game owners so that the sick person may recover. The game takes place at his home. The owner of the stick game bundle sits at the head of the assembly. There are four or five drummers and four of the tapping-the-stick songs are sung. The owner unties the bundle placing ten of the waving sticks, two hiding bones, and the guessing stick in one pile, and the rest in a second stack. His face is painted and a cross is marked on his forehead, on either cheek, and each palm. The players must not cheat during the game. Then he calls on the person giving the feast to feed him. The stick game owner makes a smudge and prays for the person giving the feast. He paints him and marks a cross on his forehead, each cheek, and the palms of his hand. The ten waving sticks, two hiding bones, and the guessing stick are held over the smudge in one hand by the man giving the feast. The owner rubs the man's head and along his sides, meanwhile praying. He repeats the same evolutions with his wife.

The woman spreads a blanket on the ground on which the game is played. An object beaded in yellow on one side and blue on the other is rolled on the blanket until one color is shown three times. The man chooses the blue, the woman the yellow side. Should the yellow be shown three times the woman will accordingly be the one to guess first and vice versa. The man and woman guessing each represent half of the crowd. Each passes the ten sticks as far as they will go on the side for whom they are playing. To win the game one side must obtain all the twenty sticks. During all these preliminaries the tapping-the-stick songs are sung.

In the beginning, two persons are selected to hide the bones. The two (?) who are to play sit in the center facing each other, first passing around the stove or fire as the case may be, the man around the right, the woman the left. Then the stick game songs are sung. Four of the crowd of men, women, and children are selected to play. The man and woman who are to guess pass around the players to the right

and left, respectively. Standing in front of the players, the woman guesses first, throwing the guessing sticks up and down and watching the eagle feather at the end, guessing according to the feather on the stick. The man then guesses for the players on the woman's side and if he should guess both, the woman returns the hiding bones to the man's players and the game is played over again. While playing they are very noisy and boisterous. This continues until either side has collected the twenty sticks, making the game.

The winners then rise and dance, singing the cheering songs, while the ones who lost remain seated. Between games there is a resting period, when the tapping-the-stick songs are sung while men and boys drum. Four games are played in all. After the fourth game there is a feast.

If a visitor from another tribe be present, the guesser may give a present to the visitor. If a guesser loses a game, he may choose anyone from among the crowd and give him his guessing stick. Everyone losing a game does this. The stick game owner and all the others dress in their ordinary costume, the owner and the man promising to give the feast only having their faces painted as before mentioned. It is said that some of the hand game songs are sung with the others for this game.

The stick game dance songs are said to come from the Gros Ventre. Big-spring, the first owner, never used the bundle. He received it as a present from a Gros Ventre, then gave it to Fish who dreamed the ritual as stated. Later Fish dreamed and made up another bundle like the first with the exception of the feathers which are different. There are three stick game bundles now.

DANCE ASSOCIATIONS.

There are still a number of ceremonies of a more or less social character which because of their loose organization we have designated as dance associations.

THE HAIR-PARTERS OR GRASS DANCE.

The well known grass dance of the Northern Plains appears among the Blackfoot under the name *ka'espai* and flourishes among all the tribal divisions. A spirited description of it will be found in McClintock's, "Old North Trail." This dance was acquired some years ago from neighboring tribes. While some informants believe the first forms of it came from the Crow and Assiniboiné, all are positive that its formal installation came from the Gros Ventre, about thirty years ago. Even at the present day, a Blackfoot visiting the Gros Ventre generally brings back some new point of procedure. Quite recently the Piegan have helped introduce the ceremony to the Flathead. It seems to us that owing to the historical point of view in present-day anthropology, according to which the question of independent and common origin is vital, such data have a peculiar value. This particular ceremony presents a most interesting case of diffusion since it can be traced over the Plains without difficulty. Among the Gros Ventre, some of the Assiniboiné, the several divisions of the Dakota, and the Crow, the ceremonies are usually held in a peculiar many-sided house with a square hole or opening in the roof. We have seen a number of these houses among the tribes mentioned and find them of precisely the same form and internal arrangement. We learned that the first of these houses among the Piegan was built about twelve years ago on Black-tail Creek near Heart Butte. Two or three years later a second was erected on Little Badger Creek and about two years ago a third on Cut Bank Creek. However, the Piegan had the dance some time before the first dance house was erected. Maclean notes the presence of this organization among the Blood in 1892¹ and Dr. Lowie reports it as present among the Northern Blackfoot in 1907, but as to the time of its introduction, we have no data.

Mr. Duvall gathered two rather full accounts of the dance from which we take the following:—

¹ Vol. 4, 255. He translates the name as Sioux warriors.

Long before the Piegan had the grass dance, thirty-five or forty years ago, some of the regalia, the war-bonnet, tomahawk, two dancing whips, feather tail belt, and a drum were captured from the Sioux and Assiniboiné. A Piegan war party went among the Sioux and found the body of a Sioux tied up in a tree with a large drum near it. The Piegan took the drum and used the leather head for the soles of moccasins.

Some years later the Piegan met the Crow who told them that the regalia they had captured were used in the grass dance. They also taught them the dance. Later, Bob-tail-horse, who had stolen the drum from the Sioux grave made another like it. The Piegan then organized the grass dance which was later improved by Big-nose and Running-rabbit who visited the Assiniboiné and brought back many of the dance outfits. As I obtained this information from three or four different people, I am quite sure the grass dance was first given by the Crow. Though the Piegan captured some of the dance regalia, they did not know its use until they met the Crow. Thus they held the dance, but later the Gros Ventre and Assiniboiné gave them more of the regalia and added much more to the dance.

Formerly, the rules for the dance were very different from the present rules. The first grass dance society used to throw away women, horses, blankets, and other property. A stick is thrown away and whoever gets it receives the property for which it was thrown. When a member of the dance drops anything, he must not pick it up. Now, should a member drop something during the dance all the members dance around it in a circle, until someone picks it up, relates four war deeds, and returns it to the owner.

Most of the dance regalia, such as the tomahawk, the sword and belt, were considered very sacred. For example, if a man has been with a woman the night before the dance, he must not dance with the belt. If this rule be broken, the penalty is a lame back. Women must not touch any of these things or their hands will swell. The men must also avoid smoking with women.

When the dance paraphernalia are not in use they are wrapped up lengthwise in a small bundle of calico, and tied with a cord. Before using, a smudge is made and the bundle held in it.

One of the members furnished the tobacco and filled the pipes for the others to smoke. Four single women members were taken in. These women assisted in the singing and often rode double with the men when they rode around the camps at night, singing. The evening before the dance some of the members would sing to bring good weather the next day. They had a pipe about seven inches long painted red. One of the members filled the pipe, held it up, remaining seated. While the others sang, he held the bowl and stem with both hands on a level with his eyes. Then he dropped the pipe to the ground. If none of the tobacco was spilled the day would be fine, but if some was dropped the day would be stormy.

In the dance, dogs are eaten. These are furnished by outsiders who are well paid in blankets, clothing, and possibly a gun and horse. Each member is supposed to bring with him a cup in which the berry soup or coffee is placed by two or more men. If a member has no cup the food will be poured into his hat or blanket to teach him to bring a cup the next time. While the food is being served all the members say, "How," meaning, "I have enough." Should any member omit this, he will be compelled to eat all the food alone as a punishment.¹

¹ On inquiry Mr. Duvall found that the Indians were ignorant of the origin of this word, but used it because it was taught them by the Assiniboiné in transferring the ceremony. This is an interesting example of a borrowed word. In Dakota, the word is used in greeting or in expressing satisfaction.

When a dance is announced, all the members leave blankets or other property with the whip or sword owners as a pledge to attend the dance. Should a member fail to attend, his property will be destroyed by the sword and whip men. Occasionally, other property is returned in its stead.

During the dance, the whip owners aided by the sword owners, force the members to dance by striking them. Should they cause the blood to flow, the whip and sword men pay the injured man well. When the members wish to go out during the dance they give the whip owners some trinket, as a ring or necklace, in order to get permission to leave.

Later the grass dance society sold their dance regalia to the Blood. Afterwards the Piegan frequently visited the Assiniboine and Gros Ventre and returned with some grass dance regalia and revived the dance, and added more to it every year. Nowadays, the dance is very different from what it used to be, and is not considered powerful medicine. Dog flesh is no longer eaten, although the feast itself has not been abolished. At the present time anyone may join the dance as it is only given for amusement.

Henry-no-bear, one of the best singers among the grass dance members, once paid seven horses, a gun, and blankets for the office of furnishing tobacco. When he sold to another man he received in payment only two horses and a few blankets. Nowadays, they neither sell nor buy into the society, but anyone owning a good dance outfit joins the dance. Sometimes one man can borrow the dance outfit from another and dance with it. There is no leader in the dance as all the members wish to be chiefs.

A second informant gave the following:—

At the present time the grass dance may be danced by anyone as it is not a ceremonial dance. Once the crow belt and some other things were held to be sacred. The Blood now have a sacred crow belt.

Formerly, the members feared to smoke a pipe with a woman. Should a member drop anything at any time he must leave it for another to pick up. Only the counting of four war deeds will give him the right to do so. This taboo is nowadays kept only during the dance and is entirely disregarded at other times. Often property, such as blankets, or horses, or even a woman is thrown away during the grass dance.¹

¹ An informant commented as follows:— Sometimes the grass dancers give up their wives. However, as this dance came from the Crow, the custom is more common among them. Some twenty years ago Flat-tall, a Piegan, gave up his wife during the grass dance. He threw away a stick and said at the same time, "This is my wife, I am going to throw her away." One, John-shorty, picked up the stick and took the woman as his wife. Both are still living. This was the first time this was done among the Piegan.

When a man finds fault with his wife he simply sends her back to her own people. One time a man discovered that his wife had a lover. Instead of killing her, as is usually done, he told her he would force her to marry her lover. The woman's brother heard of this and killed her. So the Piegan never make their wives marry others.

In the dog society it is the custom to give away a woman. A Blood once had several wives and decided to give the youngest to a man he liked. They were married and he called the man son-in-law and treated the young woman as his daughter. Another Piegan was very fond of the sweat house. One of his wives ran off with another man. The people told the young man with whom the Piegan's wife had run off to make a sweat house and pay the husband a horse for his wife. The man was well pleased with the sweat house and did not even accept the horse, but gave up his wife to the other and both men remained good friends.

In throwing away a blanket the stick is not used. Nowadays this custom is not adhered to very strongly. Only when visitors from other reservations are present are presents given. There are seven belts belonging to different members with which all the members must dance and present to the visitors whatever they can afford, horses, blankets, or money. Others relate war deeds and give away property to the visitors.

There are three dance houses on the reservation. Four large drums are used in the dance but only one of these may be used at a time. These drums are made of cow hide and about the size of a bass drum. Some commercial drums are also used. The cowhide drums are painted blue and red and placed on curved sticks, decorated with beadwork. About eight men sit around the drum, each man taking his turn to sing and drum.

When the women dance the singers rise to sing for them. The women dance in a circle with the men among them. Four women dance around at a time, wearing war-bonnets, all the women taking turns at wearing them. After the women have danced, the dance ends. The wearing of the bonnets brings with it the same obligations as the wearing of one of the seven belts among the men, that is, presenting gifts to visitors. The four war-bonnets are hung up at the rear of the dance house. Before the women begin to dance, four men rise, dance, and each counting four war deeds, the bonnets are given to the women.

Six or eight chiefs or old warriors are chosen to eat the dog. They are seated on a blanket near the pot of dog meat and after they have finished eating, they rise and dance, each one tells four war deeds and gives presents. The man who owns the arrow or spoon rises and dips the point of the arrow into the pot of dog meat which is then ready for the dog eaters.

Nowadays, there seems to be no leader in the dance as every one wishes to be leader. There is one man who cares for the tobacco and fills the pipes for all the members; five men to do the lashing to induce the members to dance. These men give presents at the beginning of the dance thus purchasing the right to the whipping. These men dance around and lash all those who remain seated. If they should bruise anyone while doing this, they must pay the person who is hurt. Two other men have swords, or long knives, and assist the lashers. Three men act as criers, announcing when gifts are made, where the next dance is to take place, etc.

Among the women, there are two whippers. Everyone dresses and paints to suit his own fancy. Usually the dance lasts all day and half the night. Near the end of the dance the dog meat and other food is eaten. The feast is provided by those who give the dance.

Should a member drop anything during the dance he must not pick it up. All the members rise and dance in a circle until someone picks up the object dropped, relates four war deeds, and returns it to its owner.

There are a great many dance songs for only certain men to dance. They are: songs for those who own the whips; for those who own the swords; for the one who owns a whistle; for those who were wounded in battle; for those who eat the dogs; for the man who owns the arrow; for those who were surrounded by enemies in battle; for those who did not run when fighting; for those who take down the women's war-bonnets; for those who gave many presents; for those who wear black clothing in the scalp dance; and for those who cut the ropes when stealing horses from the enemy's camp. A closing song is sung for those who were wounded in battle and who lead all the members out of the dance house.

Long before the grass dance was introduced among the Piegan they had captured some of the paraphernalia from other tribes. One time a Piegan went to steal horses from the Assiniboine. He found an Assiniboine grave with a large drum. He took the drum and returned home with it. The Piegan knew these things were for the grass dance, but did not know much about it. Later the dance was introduced by some Piegan who visited the Gros Ventre. Every year some new feature is added to the dance and all come from the Gros Ventre.

In 1907 Dr. R. H. Lowie observed this dance among the Northern Blackfoot. From his notes we quote as follows:—

The dancing ground was U-shaped, bounded by a dozen wagons. In the center floated the Union Jack on a flag staff, beside it was stored a quantity of food and pails of water. The dancers and their Sarsi and Cree visitors sat inside the boundaries, the spectators occupied the wagons, or were stretched out under them, or remained standing, some being seated around the open end of the U space. Other smaller groups of spectators remained at some distance.

The paint on one man was as follows: Eye-brows blue, a blue blotch on his chin and a blue cross on either cheek. Another had his back in yellow with impress of two hands in red.

There were two distinct parts, as far as modes of dancing are concerned. In the first men danced alone, very much as the Shoshone in their *ta'sayäge*. In the second, women took part, standing either next to each other or, subsequently between two men. This second part was a round dance quite similar to the Cree dance of the Shoshone, except that the men did not clasp the women's shoulders, or touch them in any way. The women, for the most part, wore tall feather headdresses. At the end of the dance, that one of the women who had danced best and did not yet possess a headdress was selected for receiving one as a present.

Six drummers stood in the center. Several men forming a quadrant danced around them, the closed circle of men and women dancers being outside of this group. These dancers all moved to the left. Outside of their circle a single woman, armed with a long feathered wand, and accompanied by a very young child danced to the right. Her function was said to be to whip the young men not taking part, but the duty of pulling in dancers was performed, as far as I could see by one of the men.

During the intermissions several men exhorted their fellow-tribesmen to give presents to their guests and by the end of the performance a considerable number of blankets were heaped up. The intervals were also employed to recount deeds of horse-stealing.

There was no apparent regularity (except in the women's headgear) either in paint or costume, but the regalia were rather lavish. Several feathered crooks were noted, one man carried a double-bent bow, mirrors were common, and some carried swords. Some danced practically naked, save for moccasins, breechclout, and ornaments, but fringed and beaded leggings and buckskin shirts were more common.

There was no fixed number of members. The custom was for the society to elect its members. A messenger was then sent out who took the member-elect by the hand and led him in to a seat.¹ His regalia were con-

¹ This is a significant fact not alone because it is unusual in Blackfoot organizations, but because this trait is typical for the Dakota from whom this dance spread to the Northern Plains tribes.

tributed by other members. On the other hand, the Blackfoot transfer conception was recognized, because if a member individually called in an outsider and turned over to him his entire regalia, he thereby himself became an outsider and could not be a member until formally taken in again. It seems safe to guess that we have here a conflict between the traditional Blackfoot way of doing and the rules of the foreign grass dance organization. The active members were men over fifteen years of age but it is usual to regard the organization as a young men's affair.

The regalia employed are almost identical with a Gros Ventre set in the Museum but instead of a "dog fork," the Piegan use a lance or stick. As has been noted the crow belt and the spreading hair headdress are used. These have been described by Kroeber.¹ A matter of special interest is that members formerly each had a miniature bundle, containing a feather or other small ornament which they cared for in the characteristic Blackfoot way. This was kept in a tiny cylindrical rawhide case of the type used for war medicines. As noted in the preceding, there was one particular crow belt that was regarded as a medicine object and which is now owned by a Blood Indian. The face and body painting of the society is optional as is also the costume aside from headdress and crow belts. At present, it is customary to give a public ceremony at the sun dance for which a circle of wagons is made within the southern segment of the camp circle. Many meetings are held during the winter months but these are now almost entirely social affairs.

The reference in Duvall's notes to the great care in handling the first regalia of this society, when such were treated as medicine bundles and the later abandonment of this practice under the tutorship of the Gros Ventre is a fine example of the Blackfoot tendency to adjust everything ceremonial to their scheme of individual ownership and transfer.

So far no definite mythical origin for this ceremony has been encountered except that a Piegan named Three-bears heard that a negro half-breed Dakota was given the dance in a dream, when he saw some chickens dancing. The roosters wore crow belts and large combs, the latter now symbolized by the peculiar roached headdress. Perhaps this is an embryonic myth.

THE HORSE DANCE.

A spectacular performance with mounted men goes by the name of horseback dance, or big dance. Its chief function seems to have been the arousal of courage and enthusiasm for war. Those who take part decorate

¹ Kroeber, 271.

and paint their horses. Each marks on his horse the guns he has captured. A mark is made with red paint to show that his horse was wounded or killed; or the figure of a man is painted on the breast of the horse to indicate that a man was once ridden down. The horses are also painted in white paint as for war. The tail is tied up and beaded bridles with cross bar sticks,

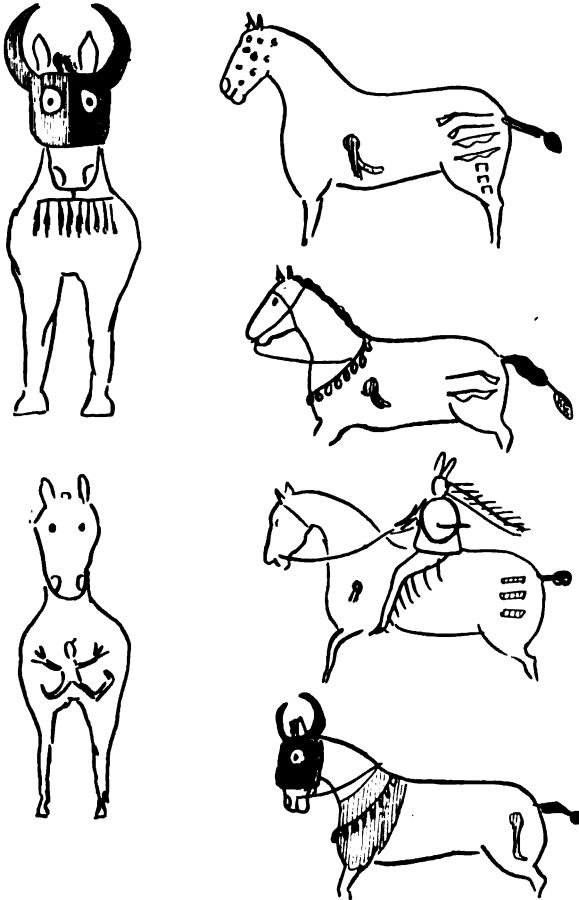


Fig. 29. These sketches show the use of the horse bonnet and the decorations of horses for the horse dance ceremony. One side of a horse bonnet is always painted red, the other blue. The paintings on the horses represent the deeds of the riders. Drawn by Red-plume.

decorated with feathers, are used. Some of the horses have horse bonnets and bells around their collars.

There are no restrictions as to who shall take part in the horse dance, but usually it is the warriors who dance before going to war. The men dress

in their best clothes, put on war paint, and use all their war bundles, shields, lances, bonnets, and horn bonnets. A number of old men and women form a circle about the center of the camp and sing and drum for the horsemen who first ride out of sight of the camp and then come into the camp circle at great speed, circle around once, and then come to the center where the singers are, riding around and getting off to dance from time to time. The men shoot and shout while some admonish the others to be brave in case of war. If anyone fall from his horse, ill luck is sure to follow. There are special songs for this dance.

When the men get ready to go on the warpath they dress and paint as for the horse dance and ride around the camp in the same way.

This dance seems to have some connection with the rituals described in Vol. 7, 107-111, in so far as owners of those rituals take the leading parts in the parades. For similar ceremonies among the Teton-Dakota see p. 96.

SCALP DANCE.

A dance known as the scalp dance, said to come from Scabby-round-robe, is danced after a victory in battle.¹ The dance is held only when men on the enemy's side have been killed. Sometimes when only one man, and one of no importance has been killed on the Blackfoot side, the dancers go to his relatives and ask permission to have the dance. They present the mourners with clothing, robes, etc.

Either one or four days may be given over to a dance for the same victory. It is held in the center of the camp circle. Anyone who wishes may join. The women dance with men's weasel-tail shirts, bonnets, braid their hair as the men do, and tie weasel tails in it. They also tie their husbands' medicine bundles, like the smoking-otter, the black-covered pipe, and the lance to their hair and use guns as canes. Some women dance with a stick to which is tied the scalplock of an enemy. If a hand be cut off they hold it in their teeth while dancing. Some dress as grotesquely as possible, while others paint their faces black, the sign of victory.

The men and women stand opposite each other about twenty feet apart. The men have six or eight drums, and sing, while the women dance toward them until the song is ended when they dance backward. These movements are repeated with each song.

Those who have killed an enemy are led around on a horse by some old men, who sing the songs of cheer or praise, calling the rider by name and

¹ Vol. 2, 81.

saying, "Ha-a-e Ha-a-e." Finally, the horse and rider are led in among the dancers and his new name is announced.

Sometimes the dance is given in the evening but then the dancers do not dress in their best clothes. Most of the songs mock the enemy, as in the one about the Assiniboine chief White-dog: "White-dog, at last had to cry," or "Why is it that White-dog cried," meaning, he was so brave, but the Blackfoot made him cry when he knew he was to die.

THE KISSING DANCE.

In winter evenings the kissing dance is held. There is no feast but the dancers are served with tea. Three or four drums are used in the dance. The men and women dance in place on opposite sides of the tipi, facing each other. Some of the women choose partners among the men; they dance up to each other, throwing kisses. When they are close together a blanket is thrown over their heads. Under the cover the two kiss each other. They dance between the two rows of men and women. The blanket is given to the woman as a fee for choosing the man. Sometimes other gifts are added. There are no certain members for this dance, anyone may join. It is very seldom that a vow is made to give this dance as it has more of a social than a ceremonial nature. It is said to have come from the Assiniboine, but is sometimes called the Cree dance.

THE TEA DANCE.

Similar to the kissing dance and also coming from the Assiniboine is the tea dance, a tea-drinking contest. Anyone who so wishes may join. There is no leader. The dancers divide into two bodies, both men and women may be on the same side. Each side gives the members of the other a lot of tea to drink, the idea being to see who can drink more without falling sick. If a person does not wish to drink any more tea he may pay the person who made it, a blanket, or sometimes even a horse, and thus be excused from drinking. Sometimes if one has made another ill from drinking the tea, a fee is paid.

Some men have the power to drain a pail of tea without spilling or drinking it, but by simply covering it with a cloth and singing. When the cloth is removed the pail is empty. Sometimes, one will say to another, "I have the power to empty this pot of tea in your stomach without your knowledge." Occasionally, lovers drop a ring in the cup when passing tea to each other. There is no feast and the dance is generally held in the evening sometimes

lasting until daybreak. Sometimes people are invited to attend the dance, and at others they simply come together of their own accord.

There are special songs for the dance and drums are used. The dancers rise and dance in place, beating time on a dipper of tea while dancing.

THE NIGHT SINGERS.

It is an old custom among the Blackfoot for parties of young people to ride about the camp at night, singing. That this is a distinct thing is evident since there is a distinct series of songs used only on such occasions. At such times they often ride double, that is two men on a single horse, or often a man and a woman. Mr. Duvall writes as follows:—

These young men sometimes ride around all night and sing. Formerly, it was done to guard the camp and protect the horses from being stolen by the enemy. The singers usually go around the outer edge of the camp, making many rounds. There are usually three or four groups with three or four men in each group. Sometimes women assist the night singers.

The night singers do not necessarily have to belong to any society but anyone may join them. This custom is kept up nowadays only during the sun dance. It is not understood as good form for the women or girls to go out with the night singers. Although a great many of the grass dance songs are sung, there are special songs also. The singing is usually continued until daylight. At the end of each song they usually shout and keep time with sleigh bells when singing. They are never ordered to sing at the present time.

THE BEGGING DANCE.

The Piegan name for this dance is "those that dance around camp for a smoke." The members do not belong to a society, but a number of men, six or twelve, or sometimes more, go to some tipi and sing and shake their bells. This may be done at any time of the night. The owner of the tipi fills a pipe and lets them smoke, gives them some food, a blanket, clothing, a horse, or money. The presents are divided up among the men. The owner of the tipi seldom knows who the men are. They repeat this at four tipis and then disband. Several groups of these men may go around at the same time, but they never stop at the same tipi. Usually, the men stop at the tipi of a chief or head man as they are more sure of getting a smoke, for it adds to one's prestige to be generous with presents, feasts, etc.

DANCING SOCIETIES OF THE SARSI INDIANS.

BY PLINY EARLE GODDARD.

INTRODUCTION.

The rather meager information concerning these societies was obtained among the Sarsi in 1911 and 1913 from Eagle-rib, an aged man, who held high rank as a warrior and is now much respected both by the Indians and by the white people who know him. The summer of 1905 was spent with the Sarsi but for some reason little was then heard about these societies. The material is published at this time in order that as much information as possible may be available for a comparative study of these and similar societies treated in this series of papers.

January, 1914.

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DANCING ORGANIZATIONS.

The Sarsi formerly had five societies in which dancing was an important element. They are collectively known to the Sarsi as *dīl'iccī*, the etymology of which has not yet been determined. They were: —

Mosquitoes (*ts'ī*)

Dogs (*Likūwa*)

Police (*tasgilna*)

Preventers (*nagūl'tc'ūjna*)

Dawō' (an unidentified small bird)

Connected with these five societies were certain common practices and observances. Each had one or more leaders whose rank was indicated by some decoration or object different from that possessed by the other members. The mosquitoes had a single leader and the dogs four, the other three had two leaders each.

Each society met once a year in the spring or early summer for dancing which was continued for several days. These dances were held in a tipi or some enclosure. The members sat in a circle in the center of which were four singers, one of whom had a drum. In the case of each society four songs were sung and after the fourth song the members, leaving their tipi, harassed in some way the non-members outside. Three of the societies, the dogs, police, and preventers, assisted in keeping order during the sun dance, and probably at other times when the various bands were camped together. They pulled down and cut up the tipis of any who dared to disobey their orders. It is not clear from the information we have to what extent they were concerned in warfare. It was definitely stated by the informant, however, that there was no body of men which punished offences connected with hunting and that the policing mentioned above during the society dances and the sun dance was the only similar work undertaken by these societies.

Membership was acquired by purchase. The position of leader was similarly secured but the price paid was greater. If anyone wished to buy a membership and approached a member properly, that member was obliged to sell. It was then customary for the one who had sold to buy into another society. It was not usual, at least, to belong to more than one society at a time. The informant insisted that there was no especial order in which these societies stood and that a man could join any one he chose without having previously belonged to others. Eagle-rib himself belonged to the mosquitoes, dogs, police, and preventers in the order named. Notwith-

standing the statement of the informant, there is little doubt that the mosquitoes were the less important and less dignified, and usually the first to be joined. The young men joined this society when they were about eighteen, but older and married men were also members. The three policing bodies, the dogs, police and preventers, appeared to be of greater importance. The Dawō' was the only society to which the informant had not belonged. Notwithstanding Eagle-rib's statement, it may have been customary to join the societies in a certain order. If that were the case, Eagle-rib probably had not reached the Dawō' when the dances of the societies were discontinued about thirty-five years ago.

The informant knew of the horn society among the Blackfoot and that the wives of the members were concerned in certain of their practices. He said it was the oldest and most important of the Blackfoot societies. He was firm in his statement that the Sarsi never had a similar society.

When asked whether the dance of the dog society was a religious rite like the sun dance or a social function like the Omaha dance, the informant replied that it was religious.

MOSQUITOES.

This society had one leader who wore a strip of buffalo calfskin, about six inches wide and two yards long tied over his right shoulder and under his left arm. Along this sash were a row of buffalo calf hoofs. His body was painted yellow, with vertical scratches. The other members, numbering from fifty to sixty, were covered with white clay. Each had an eagle feather tied to the right side of his head and eagle claws attached by a band to his right wrist.

The dance was held in early summer in a tipi. The members sat in a circle with a drummer and three singers in the center. When the singing began, the dancers stood and danced near where they had been sitting; that is, they did not move about as was the case in other dances. They danced in this manner three times, and then a fourth time, after which they went outside and chased the people into their tipis. Imitating mosquitoes they scratched any man or woman they were able to catch outside. For this purpose, they used the eagle claws worn on the right wrist, mentioned above. One of these claws was obtained among other specimens from the Sarsi in 1905.

The informant said the originator of this society was a Sarsi named Milkaiye. Having had a dream about bumblebees (nadisnane) he prepared the claws, the feathers, and the sash, and asked the young men to provide a

big tipi. When the tipi was ready, they all gathered inside. The old man sat down with a common stick standing before himself on which hung the sash and at the base of which lay the eagle claws.

He told the young men he would sing and shake his hair. If they did not see bees coming from his hair when he sang he would not give them the sash and claws. He sang three songs, after which he sang a fourth song and shook his side locks with his fingers. Bees issued from them. He gave the sash to a man who paid a horse for it, and became the leader, and the claws to the others who also gave him presents and became regular members.

It is interesting to note that the Sarsi informant, the only one employed, should have voluntarily given a detailed account of the origin of this society which the Northern Blackfoot claimed to have secured from the Sarsi. While the name is mosquito, the bumble bee is the insect named in the story of its origin. The Northern Blackfoot seem to have had two separate societies, one the mosquitoes and the second the bees.¹

Dogs.

There were four leaders who theoretically, at least, were equal in rank. Each of them had a pipe the possession of which secured for him his position as leader in the society. The pipes were obtained by the payment of ten horses from those who had previously been leaders. One of these pipes is still in the possession of a Sarsi. The members, numbering fifty or sixty, were young unmarried and married men. They had their bodies painted yellow with zigzag lines made by drawing the tips of the fingers down the chest on either side. Their faces were also painted yellow with zigzags on each cheek, and in addition a red line was drawn from the outer corner of the right eye to the top of the ear and from the left corner of the mouth horizontally across the cheek. A bunch of feathers from the tail of the owl was tied to the hair behind.

Each of the four leaders had a strip of red cloth which passed over the left shoulder and under the right arm where it joined. One end was continued in a long streamer. Where the cloth was joined under the arm, an owl feather was tied, and at four points along the extended portion single eagle feathers were attached.

The members sat in a circle with an opening towards the east. On the south side sat the four leaders. Their long sashes, mentioned above, were stretched across the circle in parallel lines. There were four drummers

¹ Wissler, 420, this volume.

who sat eastward of the center of the circle. Older men, no longer members, led the singing. In the opening of the circle sat two men, who, when the dancing was to begin, took up the long sashes of the leaders and carried them to the wearers. These leaders then got up and danced, two in one direction and two in the opposite direction. The ordinary members danced in the center of the circle. The regular dance was held in the early summer, about midday and continued as many days as the members or leaders desired. The wives of the members joined in the dances of this society. They danced behind their husbands, the wives of the leaders holding the ends of the long sashes as they danced.

When the sun dance was held the dogs put up their tipi, north of the tipi of the giver of the sun dance. It was a duty of the members of this society to keep order among the people. The four leaders told the people what was or what was not to be done. If anyone disobeyed, the dogs might cut up his tipi. Some of the members were always in their tipi and at night the members gathered there and sang their songs, but did not dance.

The society was said to have been originated by an old man in accordance with a vision he had received. To this originator of the society prayers were addressed whenever the dance was held. Membership was transferred by purchase; the purchaser gave clothes and beadwork to the one selling out, and to each of the four leaders, a horse.

The Sarsi consider this society to be equivalent to the Blackfoot dog society.

POLICE.

There were two leaders who wore wolfskins which had a hole cut in the back through which the wearer put his head. The head of the skin fell on the wearer's breast and the tail on his back. The regular members were painted with red. A strip of buffalo skin was tied around the head in which two feathers were so stuck as to give the appearance of horns.

There were four singers with drums who had their positions in the center. They sang four times, the members dancing in front of the places where they sat. At the conclusion of the fourth song, they all left the tipi and went outside where their horses were in readiness. Jumping on their horses, they caught all the people they could who happened to be outside of their lodges. They pulled the blankets from those who were so unfortunate as to be caught, and carried them away to the society tipi. The owners had to pay for them in order to recover them.

The Sarsi connect this society with the black soldiers of the Blackfoot.

PREVENTERS.

There were two head men, one of whom had a bow and four arrows, and the other a beaded flat disk about six inches in diameter. This disk he placed on the ground using it as a small mat on which he rested the bowl of his pipe when smoking. The members were painted in red and wore one eagle tail feather on their heads.

They sang and danced four times and then left their tipi. They took the blankets away from any persons they caught outside and tore them up to make breech cloths for themselves. If when they were chasing anyone he ran into a creek, they did not go after him, but let him escape.¹ If a man who was being pursued gave his blanket to a woman the pursuers did not take it from her.

When the arrows used by the leader of this society were to be transferred to another, a man who had killed an enemy with arrows made new ones. He was paid for doing this.

All the people were much afraid of this society. They had to do whatever its members directed. If their commands were not obeyed, they pulled down and cut up the tipis of the disobedient ones. This, however, could only be done when the society was having a dance, or during the sun dance when they assisted the dogs in keeping order.

This society is looked upon by the Sarsi as related to the catchers of the Blackfoot.

DAWŌ'.²

There were two leaders who sat in the doorway during the dance. Each wore a strip of bearskin around the waist and had black stripes down each cheek. The members were painted red. They wore a breech cloth and moccasins. The latter were not tied, but had the tops turned down. A blanket was thrown over the shoulders, which had a hole cut in it in such a position that it came on the back. A cluster of soft eagle feathers was tied to the right side of the head near the crown, and a whistle was worn suspended from the neck. Each member carried a bow and four arrows.

There were four singers in the center. After the three preliminary songs had been sung, the fourth one was rendered and the two men, sitting in the doorway arose and danced in opposite directions, holding their bows and arrows as if they were about to shoot the ground. The other members

¹ The reason for this is given by the Piegan. Wissler, 404, this volume.

² Said to be a small water bird which lays its eggs on the shore of the lake.

danced in a circle, sunwise. When they had danced inside for a time, they went outside, pretended to get scared, and ran about keeping together in a band. If a member stumbled and fell, the others gathered about him and danced. When they had danced the fourth time, the fallen member got up and all the members of the society returned to the tipi. When the dance was over, the men did not tie their own moccasins, but each requested some woman to do it for him. He might ask any woman he chose to do this in payment for which service he gave her a present.

The number of days the dance continued was not fixed. There was no pipe owned by the society. This society in several particulars suggests the Blackfoot braves and the informant gave the Blackfoot name of that society as the equivalent of Sarsi dawō'.

HAIR PARTERS.

The Sarsi have a dancing organization which is evidently of foreign origin. It is called by them Mitsikistagūlinna, "those who part their hair in the middle." This is the widely distributed "Omaha" or "grass" dance, which in recent years has been taken up by the Northern Plains tribes. The Sarsi have had it since 1883. It was not learned from what tribe it was secured, but some of the properties in use in 1905 were obtained from the Southern Piegan. Among the Sarsi it was clearly a social organization, largely in the control of the younger members of the tribe.

Notwithstanding this foreign source of the organization, there are several concepts associated with it which are important in the native ceremonies of the Blackfoot and Sarsi. The possession of certain objects confers certain rank, power, and duties upon the individual. These are transferred by the sale of the objects, as is the case with medicine bundles. Membership is secured by the payment of one dollar. The recounting of war deeds and the discarding of property, which is afterwards distributed, follows the customs of the sun dance. The dog feast ceremony of this organization is vowed in a manner similar to the sun dance.

The account of this dance which follows was given by Pat Grasshopper in 1905, who was then about thirty-five years of age. The leader's dance hat was purchased of him. The narrative is not a detailed account of a single performance, but the theoretically correct method of conducting the ceremony with variations to suit hypothetical situations.

They place the wagons in a circle leaving an opening toward the south. The women sit on the left (east?) and the young men on the right (west). Four young men sit in the doorway. Before two of these a sword is stuck in the ground and beside the other two a horse whip lies.

A big drum is on the right side, supported by sticks stuck in the ground. Four young men who sing sit beside it. Four small drums lie in the middle. Four sticks stand opposite the doorway between the men and women. On these sticks are four high hats. Behind the semicircle of young men two sticks stand, on which are two feathered belts. The two young men who own them sit in front of them. The leader of the dance sits opposite where these hang, in front of the line of women. Beside this leader sits the young man who fills the pipes. He is the owner of the ax. The young man who owns the whistle sits with the other young men. When they sing for him he dances around the circle. When he has gone four times around the circle he blows on the whistle. The owner of the shield sits by him. The woman who owns the horsewhip sits at the end of the line of women. The owner of the guns sits among the other men. The owner of the drum sits opposite the doorway. The man who owns the arrows sits beside the owner of the drum. The young man who waits on the women sits in the same place, beside the women. One young man who passes the drinking water sits by the drum with a pail and drinking cup near him. With him sits another young man who brings in the food for the dancers. A young man who owns the arrows also sits among them opposite the doorway. He holds a long stick in his hand. There are two young men who gather the wagons and arrange them in a circle. They sit with the others opposite the doorway. The last mentioned two young men, when the dance is held in a tipi, arrange two tipis together. When the dance is inside a house, they clear up the house, sweep it out, take out the rubbish, and hang blankets around the room. If the dance is at night, they fill the lamps. The young men who sing put the drums in the middle of the circle. They burn sweetgrass under the small drums and then give them to the singers. While they are standing they sing four songs.

When these songs have been sung the four women who own the dance hats get up, then the other women arise, and finally all the men stand up. When all are standing the women sing. When they dance the owner of the whip arranges the young men between the women, and they dance around four times in a circle. The woman who owns the whip dances in the opposite direction. She strikes hard with her whip any man or woman who is still seated. She gives the person so struck a horse unless that person becomes angry, when nothing is given him.

The leader dances in the middle. The men who own whips stand outside the ring. The young man who looks after the women stands on the side on which the women sit. The young men who own the swords stand there, too, and look after the women. If a young man takes the hand of a woman these young men pull him back outside the ring so he cannot dance. When the dance is finished the man who held the woman's hand is placed in the center of the circle. The leader gets up and says: "Friends, this person sitting in the center held a woman's hand. Because he has acted foolishly all of you (men) kiss him and shake his hand." Then they shake his hand and kiss him. He is taken outside and the leader warns the others against committing a similar offense. "If any one else does that he shall never dance again." The women dance four times and then the men dance four times. After that the men and women dance together.

A blanket is spread in the middle on which four men sit who have had experience in war. The four young men who act as singers sing four songs for them. With the fifth song they start dancing toward the four tall hats. They place guns and scalps for them in the center. They take them up as if they were capturing them. They make a fair sized boy sit in the center. The four men sit by this boy and pretend to

cut him up and scalp him with their knives. As they dance up to the hats four times they do this to him. Each of the four men gives a horse to the boy. After this they put on the hats and dance around with them. They tell stories of their exploits. When one says, "I captured a horse, or a scalp," they beat the drum for him. "I killed someone," some of them say. They tell about different things. They say, "I fought many times. I captured many horses." After that the man who waits on the women hangs up the women's hats which have been taken down.

They throw away horses and clothing. The leader then says to the young men, "Now it is your turn to dance. You are to throw away clothing." If one wishes to give away a horse he puts a stick with the other gifts.

One by one the young men dance. The drum owner dances first of all. Next the owners of the belts dance. They dance up to the belts and back again four times with different songs and then they put them on. They dance around the circle four times and then they hang up the belts again and sit down. The sword owner dances next. He dances around the circle in one direction while a young woman dances in the opposite direction. They make four circuits in this manner. The young man holds the sword pointing upward.

After they have taken their seats the owners of the horsewhips dance in front of the women four times and take their seats. The leader then dances by himself. The owner of the ax, in his turn, dances four times. When he has taken his seat, the owner of the whistle dances twice and blows on his whistle. At this signal all the men get up and dance. If a man fails to get up the owner of the whistle hits him with his whistle, but he must make him a present for treating him so. When he has whistled four times he takes his seat.

The two owners of the arrows then dance one behind the other. As they pass the women they hold the arrow in their faces. If any woman draws her head back they poke the arrow in her face. They go around the circle four times in this manner. If a person's face has been hit, the one doing it goes up to the leader and says; "I poked such a person's face and I gave him a horse and saddle."

Next it is the turn of the young men who make the preparations to dance. When they have danced four times, the water bringer dances around four times holding up his pail. The shield owner then dances. Last of all the woman owner of the horse whip dances. All the men dance with her.

Each man has a different song. They place young men who have voices that do not easily get tired in the middle to sing. These are the ones who sing for the women. When they begin to sing the young man who waits on the women takes the hats down and gives them to the women. He then dances in front of the women leading them around sun-wise. Then another young man, the owner of the horse whip, arranges the young men between the women. The woman who owns the horse whip dances counter sunwise. She dances around four times. When the women have danced around the circle, the young man takes the hats to other women whose turn it is to wear them. In this manner all the women dance with the hats in turn. Altogether they dance with them a hundred times.

The leader who owns the hat gets up and directs that food for the feast shall be brought in. The leader also gives the clothing and the horses to the spectators. The two young men bring in the food. As they take it around four songs are sung. When they give the food to anyone the recipient says "hau." If anyone fails to say "hau" all the food is placed before him. If he fails to eat it all, he must give a horse. If, however, he does succeed in eating it he receives a horse. If the food causes the man to vomit he receives a horse also. They take the food to all the dancers. There

are ten pails of tea, as much bread as a sack of flour will make, five boxes of crackers, a little beef, and five pails of berry soup. They give some of the food to the spectators.

When they have finished eating the women and the men take turns in dancing. They sing four songs. The leader then stands up and says, "You have finished dancing." When they all get up the withdrawal song is sung. The hat is given to a man who has received wounds in battle. Wearing the hat, he approaches the door four times. When he reaches the doorway the fourth time he goes out. When he is outside he gives the hat to its owner. If no person who has been wounded is present, the owner of the hat leads them out.

THE DOG FEAST.

The preceding narrative applies to the ordinary social gatherings of the organization. In the following pages the same informant describes the procedure when a pledged ceremony is held by the same organization. From the context it is apparent that it then becomes largely religious instead of purely social.

The relatives of one who is very sick make a vow saying, "I will make a dog feast that this person may get well."

When prayers have been said a young dog is hung. A neat woman cooks it. A fire is kindled for it and the hair is carefully singed off. They put it in a good kettle to boil. The water is poured off four times and then sugar is added. The woman who is cooking it leaves it in her own tipi.

When they have danced a long time, the leader says: "Bring the dog." The sword owners go for it, bring it in, and place it on the ground. The young man who waits on the women burns sweetgrass under the kettle. Then it is held up to the east, the south, the west, and the north. The kettle is then approached to the sweetgrass altar four times and brought to rest near it. A good blanket is spread over it. Another blanket is spread in the doorway on which the owner of one of the belts sits with his belt by his side. Four men sit behind the fire. The blanket is taken from the kettle. They sing for the belt owner who dances twice backwards and forwards without the belt. He repeats this four times. They sing other songs for him and he dances toward the kettle three times. The fourth time he approaches it dancing like a prairie chicken. Before he begins dancing an arrow has been given him. He thrusts this arrow into the kettle and conveys with it a piece of the meat to the man who sits at the end of the line. Again he dances four times, the last time imitating a prairie chicken and gives meat to another man. He continues this way until the four men sitting there have received a portion. The four sword owners are given small pieces of the meat. The head is given to the man who sits at the end of the line as his portion. When the flesh has been removed, the skull is placed in the center of the tipi.

All the men and women are served with the dog meat. The owner of the woman's hat says, "Friends let us eat." The others respond "hau." If any one fails to say "hau" all the food is given him. Songs are sung and the owners of the woman's hat dance. After that all present dance. As they dance they approach the skull by which all the other bones lie. The four men who sit in the middle dance toward it. They sing one song then all the men stand up, raise the right hand, and shout. Then they all sit down again. One of the chiefs then dances around four times with an

arrow with which he gently pokes the skull. Each of the four men do that. All of those who dance throw down property. Those who wish, throw down sticks representing horses. The sword owner goes about with a thin cloth on which the dog's bones are placed. The giver of the dog feast asks some one to pray who knows how. The pipe being presented to him, he says a prayer for those sitting in front.

"May he who invoked the aid of this dog live happily together with his relatives."

A blanket is spread, and on it the hat is placed. A prayer is made for it, and sweetgrass burned under it. It is then hung up again.

When the feast is over, the four men go to the belt, bring it back and approach the doorway where they stand facing first the south, the west, and then the north. After that they come in again. The owners of the belt take seats in the middle. A blanket is spread behind them. The belt is placed on this as four songs are sung for them. With these songs the belt is put around their waists. They then dance around the tipi. When they have done this, all the men in turn put on the belt and then return it to the owners. They take it out again and take it into the tipi. They give the hats to some of the men who put them on and dance around with them.

Those who own many horses are placed in the middle. They sit by the owner of the hat. They give him a coat and other good presents such as a new blanket, beaded moccasins, and earrings. They sing for these gifts and dance in front of them. They dance in front of the one to whom they intend to give them. They dance by the husband of the woman who gives the feast. They give him two or three good horses and many good clothes. When they have finished singing the women get up. They recount deeds for the benefit of the one for whom the feast is given.

The following list was furnished of the objects the ownership of which gives the owner a particular rank and definite duties in the society.

One hat with eagle tail-feathers and very many weasel skins.

A sword with an otterskin which has been sewed up and hawk feathers tied to its hilt.

A horsewhip to which four eagle tail-feathers are tied. These must be tied on by a person who has killed an enemy or struck a coup. A man who has captured a gun paints a gun on the whip. A wide piece of otterskin is tied on for the handle of the whip. Weasel skins are tied along the whip in bunches.

An arrow with beads placed spirally around it. The arrow is forked. At the ends two eagle tail-feathers are tied.

A shield of deerskin stretched over a curved stick. Inside four eagle tail-feathers are tied. It is painted yellow. There is a carrying strap which passes over the right shoulder and under the left arm of the owner who has his body painted yellow.

A crow necklace of crow wing- and tail-feathers covered with beads or porcupine quills.

A belt with eagle tail-feathers so attached that they stick out like a tail ornamented with beads placed on them spirally. Cloth of good quality is fastened to the belt so as to hang crosswise.

**POLITICAL AND CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE
PLAINS-OJIBWAY.**

BY ALANSON SKINNER.

INTRODUCTION.

The Plains-Ojibway, or the Bûngi, as they call themselves, are a small Algonkin group occupying several reservations in southern Manitoba, notably Long Plains on the Assiniboine River near Portage La Prairie, and Swan Lake. Some of them are also at Turtle Mountain in North Dakota, but whether or not all of the Turtle Mountain Ojibway are connected with the Bûngi is not satisfactorily apparent. Apparently the Bûngi were originally part of the great Ojibway tribe, as they speak a dialect of that language. They now consider themselves distinct from the Ojibway, comparing their relation to that tribe with the relationship of the Assiniboine to the Sioux. They do, however, refer to their language as "Odjibwe."

The separation of the Bûngi from the Ojibway must have been in relatively recent times, probably not long prior to the first advent of white traders in the country. That they were already established on the Assiniboine River when the whites first met them seems more probable than that they formed one of the more eastern bands of Ojibway urged westward by the traders. Alexander Henry the younger, apparently refers to this group when he states in his journal ¹ for August 19th, 1800:

This afternoon a few Indians arrived on horseback. They came from the direction of Portage La Prairie, and were of the tribe called Snakes, who formerly inhabited Lake of the Woods. They once were numerous but now cannot muster more than 50 men. They may be said to be of the same nation as the Crees, but have a different dialect, somewhat resembling the Saulteur language. They are a thieving set of scoundrels. They now inhabit a tract of land upon the Assiniboine, about 30 leagues west from this place, and some of them are to be found almost all over the country where there are Saulteurs or Crees.

In another place Henry adds: ² "N. B. The Ogeebois are commonly called by the English Algonquins, by the Canadians Saulteurs, and by the H. B. Co. servants Bungees." There seems to be no reference to them whatever in the writings of Alexander Henry, the elder. Whether or not the Bûngi may later be found identical with the Plains-Ojibway or Saulteaux proper, as seems probable, we shall for the purpose of our paper look upon them as an independent group. Henry Youle Hind ³ refers to them as "Bungays" as distinct from the Ojibway and Cree, and calls them a mixture of both tribes.

¹ Henry and Thompson, Vol. 1, 46.

² Henry and Thompson, 533.

³ Canadian Red River and Assiniboine and Saskatchewan expeditions, Vol. 1, p. 333 (1857-8).

According to their own account the Bûngi have intermarried to some extent with the Cree, Ojibway, Assiniboine, and, some generations ago, with the Ottawa. Probably the band with whom Tanner was affiliated supplied this strain. Of late years they have associated with their ancient enemies the Sisseton and Santee-Sioux, a band of whom, refugees from Minnesota after the Minnesota massacre, are now settled about three miles from Portage La Prairie. At the close of the eighteenth century there was also a small Iroquois colony on the Red River, not far distant, with whom the Bûngi no doubt came in contact.

Taking these facts into consideration we find that we seem to have an Algonkin tribe which was formerly resident in the Woodlands, and which may be supposed to have had a typical forest culture, which has moved out beyond the border of plains, presumably of its own volition, in pursuit of the buffalo.

The information offered here was obtained in the summer of 1913 on the Long Plains Reserve, Manitoba, from Ogimâuwini, Cenuwigabo', Nénawigabo', Piziki, Tobacco, Joe Countois, Joe and Dauphin Myron and others. Some supplementary data were also gathered on the Cowesses and Sakimay Reserves, Saskatchewan, from Saulteaux resident there. The writer has taken pains to specify whenever this Saulteaux material is given, feeling that the Bûngi may after all have more cultural differences from the Saulteaux than are now recognized.

The writer wishes to express his gratitude to Mr. Duncan Campbell Scot, Rev. W. A. Hendry, and Mr. Edwin Boak, for their courtesy and kindness in assisting the expedition in every possible way.

March, 1914.

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CAMP ORGANIZATION.

The Bûngi were formerly divided into several local bands, each one of which derived its name from the locality which it inhabited. In more recent times at least, some of the bands were called after their chiefs, witness "Yellow Quill's band," now on the Long Plains Reserve. This, however, seems to be an innovation due to white contact. The following bands, each of which had its chief, were recognized by the Bûngi.

Mistowaiiau-wininiwûk	Winnipeg men
Wûnikaming-wininiwûk	Bay or Portage men
Moswatcing-wininiwûk	Moose Mountain men
Kipaukaning-wininiwûk	"Qu'Appelle" men
Ninantakau-wininiwûk	Cypress Hills (?) men
Mitigwatci-wininiwûk	Forest (?) men
Saganatci-wininiwûk	?
Mostapikau-wininiwûk	?

Besides these larger divisions, the Bûngi, like the forest Ojibway from whom they sprang, were further divided into various exogamic totemic groups with descent in the male line. Members of each of these gentes were distributed throughout the various bands. The gentes still remembered at Long Plains are: —

catfish (awasi)	snake
rattlesnake (cicikwe)	moose
beaver	bear
sturgeon	martin (wabpise)
raccoon	crane (great blue heron?)
loon	elk
rabbit	thunderbird

At Cowesses Reserve, Saskatchewan, blue jay (okiskimanisi) and eagle were added to the list.

An attempt was made to get several genealogical tables in order to ascertain in how far the statements of the Indians with regard to the theory of their totem system worked out in practice. It was found to be very difficult to gather data on this subject, inasmuch as the Bûngi are nowadays inclined to disregard the rules and no historical account of the totems of the women in olden times could be gathered. A brief list was obtained however, at Long Plains.

OGIMÁUWININI'S LIST

<i>Name</i>	<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Totem</i>	<i>Wife's Totem</i>
?	Great grandfather	Awasi	?
Kitcimekutewimewe or (Big Black robe)	grandfather (an Ottawa)	Awasi	?
	father	Awasi	Cicikwe
Ogimáuwini (chief man)	informant	Awasi	Awasi ¹
"Charlie Assiniboin"	son	Awasi	?
Money-boy	grandson	Awasi	unmarried

According to one informant, Sewekúmikük, an old woman on the Cowesses Reserve, Saskatchewan, the members of the various gentes pitched their lodges together when a band was encamped, but not in any rotation. All were unanimous that no one gens was considered more important than another, nor could it be learned that any gens possessed any specific rites or properties differentiating it from any other.

In olden times the Bûngi camped in a circle. There was no systematic arrangement of the lodges in the camp, but the more important and influential families tried to get as close to the chief as possible. However, it was largely a matter of first come, first served. When the entire tribe came together each band camped by itself, but there was no regular sequence.

The general council was composed of those accredited warriors, or okitcitak, who had achieved one or more of the recognized deeds of valor, to be enumerated later, according to Nenawigabo'. These men selected the chief, who was a man chosen because of his superior bravery, generosity, and wisdom. In other words, an aspirant to the chieftaincy had to have deeds of valor to his credit, he must have been poor because he had given away all his worldly goods, and he must have had a reputation for common sense.

THE OKITCITA.

In addition to forming the council, the okitcitak (singular, okitcita) or, "strong-hearted men," maintained order in the camp and regulated the buffalo hunt. Ogimáuwini, himself an okitcita, declared that twenty was the proper number of okitcita, or "soldiers," and that they were chosen by the chief, but according to Dauphin Myron and Nenawigabo', the number was only limited by the abundance of worthy warriors. Age was not a factor.

¹ When I was about to ask the old man what totem his wife had had, my interpreter begged me to desist, promising to explain later. Afterwards he told me that it was an old scandal that Ogimáuwini had married into his own totem, and that he was generally condemned by his people for this unusual breach.

In spite of the statement by Ogimáuwinini to the effect that the okitcita were appointed to serve, he later contradicted himself and added that under certain circumstances a warrior might automatically become an okitcita. For instance, when two opposing forces were drawn up on the prairie, two men might ride forward from the Búngi ranks and halt midway between the rival factions. They would taunt the enemy and challenge two of their number to mortal combat with knives. If one of the men was worsted and turned to flee, it was permissible for his opponent to shoot him in the back, otherwise only hand weapons were used. If a warrior were victorious in such a duel, he became an okitcita at once.

On the other hand, the popular conception of the okitcita among the Búngi, Ogimáuwinini to the contrary, is that any man, woman, or child, performing an act of valor thereby tacitly became an okitcita, and so remained for life, unless he wished to resign.

The recognized deeds of valor were: —

Slaying an enemy: A warrior achieving this honor was privileged to wear a plain eagle feather, white for a man, black for a woman.

Counting coup (one of the first four to strike an enemy, dead or alive, with the hand or a hand weapon): For this a man gained the right to wear an eagle feather stripped in front as in Fig. 1.

Taking a scalp: This deed was equally valued with the preceding, and bore as its reward the same honor feather.

Wounded in battle (naicwagen): For this an eagle feather painted red, trimmed, and notched on both sides (Fig. 1) was granted.¹



Fig. 1. Eagle Feathers worn to symbolize War Honors. a, Worn by one of the first four to strike an enemy; b, Worn for a wound received in battle.

¹ Referring to Odjibwe, an Ojibway warrior at White Earth, Minnesota, Frances Densmore (62) remarks:

"Odjib'we's prowess won for him the right to wear 11 war-honor feathers, each indicating that he had taken a Sioux scalp; these were eagle feathers and were worn upright in a band around the head. . . . Three of the feathers are notched, and the right to wear these was acquired by killing and scalping Sioux; the unnotched feathers indicated that he had scalped Sioux who had been killed by other warriors. The dots of rabbit skin on the feathers indicate the number of bullets in his gun at the time of securing the scalp. Bits of once bright ribbon are at the tip of each feather. Odjib'we stated that 'four feathers could be counted for the death of each Sioux; one was worn by the man who killed him, one by the man who scalped him, and the others by men who assisted in the scalping!'"

It would seem that the war honors in vogue among the various bands of the Ojibway and their neighbors differ locally. The writer has collected data on the honor count of the Wahpeton Sioux, and feels that the Sioux and Ojibway have greatly influenced each other in this regard. Further accounts are given by Miss Densmore, who says that because he caught a wounded Sioux by the arm, Odjib'we was entitled to wear a skunk skin badge on his right arm (71). A'kiwén'zi killed two dead Sioux and consequently acquired the right to wear skunkskin attached to his ankles (86).

Stealing a picketed horse: There was some controversy among my informants as to whether this was a first class deed of valor. Some of them considered it not quite in the same category as the other deeds, though a brave act. However, the consensus of opinion seemed to be that it was equally creditable.

Giving great presents: A man who beggared himself by giving presents might become an okitcita.

By purchase: A man might go to an old okitcita and buy his regalia at a great price, thus becoming an okitcita himself. I could not learn, however, that this act deprived the vendor of his status as a warrior. For instance, having purchased the insignia of Ogimáuwinini, he informed me that I was then an okitcita, but next day I found him at work making new paraphernalia.

Besides the regalia mentioned in connection with the above listed war honors, warriors who were successful spoilers of the enemy's horses painted horses' tracks on their tents and garments. They also made transverse marks on their sleeves to the number of times that they had been to war or on horse-stealing excursions. Fig. 2 shows a design copied from a crayon portrait of an old okitcita, a relative of Dauphin Myron, who died about 1905. In this, *a* represents a camp circle of the enemy, *b* the lodges of the enemy, *c* hoof prints of stolen horses. The whole signifies that the owner had often visited the camp circles and lodges of the enemy and had stolen many horses.

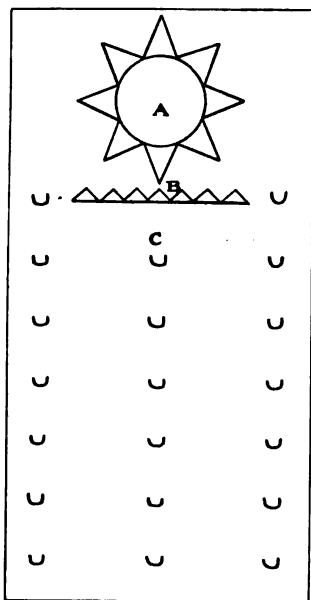


Fig. 2. Symbolic Design on a Plains-Ojibway Breechclout. *a*, A camp circle; *b*, The lodges of the enemy; *c*, Hoofprints of stolen horses.

Ogimáuwinini himself possessed a cloth shirt made in imitation of the old-time leather garments. It was ornamented with okitcita paintings which were alike front and back. Just above each breast was depicted a red hand, where Ogimáuwinini had been seized by a Sioux, and below the waist on each side, was painted an armed Sioux, for the old man had wounded two Sioux during his life.

The story of the way in which Ogimáuwinini obtained his first war honors he gave as follows: —

When the Eastern Sioux first fled from Minnesota to Portage La Prairie, after the Minnesota massacre, Ogimáuwinini went to visit them, riding on a spirited pony. He had not been in the village long, talking and gambling with the young men, when the chief sent a messenger with tobacco to him asking him to come at once to his tipi. When he arrived the chief filled and lighted a red stone pipe which he gave him to smoke, and then warned him that his fine horse would tempt the youths and advised him to go. This Ogimáuwinini refused to do, striking himself on the chest and exclaiming, "I am a man." He then left the chief and spent the rest of the day with the young warriors.

After nightfall, he withdrew a short distance from the village, hobbled his pony, and tied to his wrist a buffalo hair rope, which was twisted about its jaws. He then rolled up in his blanket and went to sleep. About midnight, when the moon was high, the horse snorted and woke him. By the light of the moon Ogimáuwinini could see a number of armed Sioux crawling towards him. Afraid to stand upright lest they see him and shoot him down, he also crawled in their direction and met the foremost Sioux, a powerful man, face to face. They sprang at each other's throats and grappled, the Sioux seizing him by both shoulders. (Hence the red hands afterwards painted on Ogimáuwinini's shirt).

After a considerable struggle Ogimáuwinini managed to loosen his tomahawk and strike the Sioux over the head. The Sioux fell down and escaped, wounded, with the rest of his party. Ogimáuwinini spent the rest of the night expecting a second attack, but, when none materialized, he went to the chief in the morning and gave him tobacco, recounting the incident. The chief sent out a crier and soon had all the youths of the camp in his presence, where he scolded them for their lack of hospitality, and presented them with a pipe. The young man who was wounded, and his relatives, were conspicuously absent, so the chief warned Ogimáuwinini to flee lest they seek vengeance.

This story proves the assertion by the other members of the camp that it was not necessary for a man who had achieved a war honor to be appointed an okitcita, Ogimáuwinini himself admitting that he had never received such an appointment, although he considered himself an okitcita, and was provided with soldier regalia.

The okitcita formerly carried canes or wands from which the bark was peeled away at intervals, and the wood beneath was daubed with white paint or vermilion. Each painted ring signified a war or a horse-stealing expedition. Okitcita leaders bore straight staves ornamented with eagle feathers. These were formerly lances furnished with metal points. These lances were also used in striking coups. The leaders also carried hollow bone whistles.

WOMEN AS OKITCITA.

Women have often achieved great fame as warriors. Sometimes, when a man went to war, his wife would insist on accompanying him, and sometimes she was lucky enough to succeed in obtaining a war honor before the

return of the party, in which case she received the customary feather insignia but never wore them herself, designating one of her male relatives, preferably a son or grandson, to wear it for her. She was also called by the title *okitcitakwe*, or "Okitcita woman."

An *okitcitakwe* was entitled to go to the soldiers' tent at any time when the warriors were dancing, and to join them, dancing by herself at one side. When the warriors reenacted their valorous deeds, and counted their coups, she was entitled to do the same, and her narration was received with the same respect. She might not remain in the tent over night, however.

A Bûngi woman stated that her husband had seen a Cree woman, who was allowed to abide in a soldiers' tent with the men as a reward for some brave deed and later some Cree assured me that the head *okitcita* might keep his wife in the lodge. Of *okitcitakwe*, at least two still survived at Long Plains last summer (1913). One of these, *Cinoskinige*, obtained her title in this manner:—

She always went out with the warriors, and on one occasion when a Sioux was shot from his horse, she ran to count coup upon him. Being a woman she was outstripped in the race by three men, but succeeded in striking the fourth coup, killing the Dakota with her turnip digging-stick. The men then scalped him, and she painted her face with his blood.

Another renowned old woman at Long Plains was out with a party who were digging turnips on the prairie. They were attacked and surrounded by Sioux who rode round and round them, firing. The men fought them off, while the women hastily dug a rifle pit to conceal the party. In the meantime the men were all wounded. The pit being finished, this woman crept out under fire and rescued each of the men, dragging them back to the pit. In this manner she became an *okitcitakwe*.

THE SOLDIERS' TENT.

The *okitcita* were provided with a huge tent called "*okitcita okamik*" (Fig. 3) upon which were emblazoned their warlike exploits and in which they dwelt while the band was encamped together when the camp circle was made. The materials for making this tent were simply confiscated from the ordinary tribesmen by the *okitcita*, according to some informants; others claimed that each lodge voluntarily contributed a pole or a skin, at least during the tribal encampments when all the bands were together and when the *okitcita* from each band lived together in one mammoth long tent with doors at the ends.

In this connection, it is further said, that when the Cree or Assiniboiné camped with the Bûngi there was one great camp circle, one half of the circumference being made up of one of the two tribes. Two soldiers' tents, one for each tribe, were erected. Testimony conflicted as to whether the tents were placed with the others, or in the center of the camp circle. I believe the preponderance of evidence favored the latter.

The soldiers' tent was presided over by the band chief, but in a tribal camp he was superseded by the tribal chief who held his office simply through the superior power of his band or following, or, his own personal magnetism and reputation for prowess and wisdom. In any case, the chief lived in the soldiers' tent because he was necessarily an okitcita before he could attain his office. In a tribal camp the band chiefs became a sort of council to the tribal chief. Some of my informants, including Nenawigabo' and Dauphin Myron, after considerable controversy among themselves, finally decided that among the rank and file of the okitcita those who had achieved the greatest number of war honors were looked upon as leaders, but that the only definite officers were the band and tribal chiefs. I am inclined to believe that this decision is correct, judging by the information which was given me at the time of the debate.

Those who had struck coups, at least, as well as the band chiefs, were provided with feathered lances and eagle bone whistles. They were always supposed to precede the party when going to war, either mounted or on foot, and when the battle began they drove their lances into the earth and blew on their whistles to obtain supernatural assistance. They were supposed to hold their ground provided their party was overwhelmed. They might advance, but for a spear carrier to flee was infinitely more dishonorable than death. The no-flight idea was held by all the okitcita, as will be shown later in this discussion, but was particularly strong among the spear carriers.

One of these spears, once the property of Ogimáuwinini, was obtained. It is straight, terminating in three prongs, and is cloth-wrapped and hung with feathers as was another seen at Long Plains. There seemed some doubt

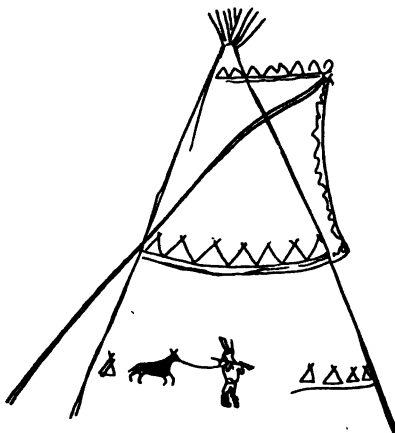


Fig. 3. The Okitcita Tent.

as to whether the curved lance or wand was ever carried, although some of the younger men affirmed this.¹

In the soldiers' tent, another functionary, who served as assistant to the okitcita, was always found. He was a young man approved by the okitcita council, that is, the band and tribal chiefs in a tribal camp, or, the band chief and the soldiers in a band camp. He was hired to act as skaupéwis, or servant, which was considered a great honor. It was the servant's duty to care for and fill the soldiers' pipes and pass them about. He would cut tobacco upon a board, fill and light the pipe, and hand it to the chief who would smoke and pass it. It was also his duty to fan the okitcita with an eagle feather fan. In addition, it was his task to feed the warriors.

The wives or female relatives of the inhabitants of the soldiers' tent prepared food, which they brought to the lodge. They might enter with it, but were immediately relieved of their burdens and dismissed by the servant. The skaupéwis next took the food, cut the meat into convenient morsels, skewered them one by one on a stick (this stick was about three feet long, and decked with feathers), and fed his masters, placing the meat in their mouths. This was the regular procedure at every meal. The skaupéwis also performed all tasks, for it was considered a disgrace to the tribe to let an okitcita work.

The okitcita tent alone was furnished with the triangular willow stick backrests found more generally in use among other Plains tribes. Over these were flung entire robes of buffalo hide, with the heads and horns left on them. They were so draped that when an okitcita lounged back, the head of the buffalo robe fell over his head and he appeared to be horned. This was the regular position assumed, said Nenawigabo' and Joe Countois, when all were smoking together.

OKITCITA PRIVILEGES.

The okitcita had certain privileges which they were granted in consideration of their office. For instance, on his return from a successful war party, a man might marry at once, no matter how many wives he already possessed.

¹ In speaking of the Ojibway on the White Earth Reserve, Minnesota, Frances Densmore (91) says, "Part of the equipment [of a war party] was provided by the leader, who also borrowed the 'banner' or 'flag' borne by the war party. This was made of eagle feathers sewed on a strip of cloth about 4 feet long, which was fastened lengthwise to a pole. Odjib'we stated that in the old days he knew of only one such banner among the Mississippi Band of Chippewa, made by a man named Gagágiwigwún' ('raven feather') and loaned to the war parties. It was considered the common property of the warriors, but this man was its custodian in time of peace, and it was preserved in his family after hostilities ceased." Plates of this and a similar banner used at Wabacífig are shown. These banners are apparently related to the okitcita staves.

On the other hand, the custom of changing the name as a war honor did not exist. Inasmuch as the okitcita functioned as camp police, becoming such automatically as soon as the camp was collected, they were exempt from blood vengeance. In fact they were permitted to kill anyone who resisted their commands or offended them. They were excused from all labor, as has been pointed out before. They had their own songs and dances during which they recounted their coups, according to Nenawigabo' and Joe Countois. Ogimáuwinini, on the other hand, declared that they were obliged to hire some outsider, who had supernatural sanction, to give dances for them in which they took part. He added that sometimes they would hire someone to get up a lacrosse game that they might either watch or play in it.

OKITCITA DUTIES AND OBLIGATIONS.

On the other hand, there were certain duties or obligations which devolved upon the okitcita. The okitcita were usually expected to undergo torture during the sun dance, though it was not demanded of them. They were bound to be camp police and stop all trouble, making it a point of honor to advance on quarreling parties, even though threatened or fired upon. On the other hand, if armed at the time the squabble broke out, the okitcita might summarily execute those who were disobedient. Quarreling of a serious nature was stopped by running out with a pipe which was held by the bowl and thrust between the wranglers, when it was revolved so that the stem was offered to all the points of the compass, to zenith and nadir. After this the contestants were obliged to cease and submit to arbitration. The officers of the okitcita who bore the feathered lances, or as Joe Countois added, crooked staves, were considered special peace officers. It is said that they might stop a quarrel without the pipe by thrusting their lances in the ground between the participants.

The following story was told by Ogimáuwinini to demonstrate the powers of the okitcita as peace officers. A warrior once asked another what was the most useful of all things to man: a gun, a horse, water, or fire. The other man replied, "Only one thing is the best, and it is none of these." Some of the bystanders said all things were equally good, but the original propounder of the question said that a horse was best of all. Another man spoke up, and said that a gun was quite as good as a horse. "For," said he, "you cannot live without help, even if you have a horse." The other got angry and replied, "A gun is worthless." "All right," replied the man who favored the weapon, "go and get your horse and I will get a gun and we will see which is the best."

Each ran to his tent, and in a few moments they came out prepared to fight, but, in the meantime, the okitcita had heard of it, and they came between the two parties, ordering them to cease quarreling. They rebuked the man who spoke in favor of the gun, saying, "You know well enough that this would be murder, the other man has no chance."

An obligation rather than a duty on the part of the lance bearers was generosity. Immediately on the return from a war party such a man would publicly give away all the horses and trophies he had captured, thus acquiring great renown. Others than the leaders were privileged to do the same, but, it is said, seldom availed themselves of the right.

In the old time camps, as we have said, the tents were pitched in a great circle, which in later years was itself surrounded by a ring of Red River carts, the horses being herded between the carts and the lodges. Four okitcita were delegated each night to guard these, and they were ordinarily supposed to challenge all comers once, and then shoot to kill. When there was danger of horse thieves or a night attack, the challenging feature was dispensed with, and the chief sent a crier on horseback through the camp to warn the people, especially to forbid the youths to go courting after dark.

FUNCTIONS OF THE OKITCITA IN WAR.

Generally war was declared by sending a runner with tobacco to each camp and band bearing the message; but this procedure was rare, most war parties being small semi-private enterprises. Only those who had propitious dreams could call a war party. A long lodge was built, offerings to the gods, especially the thunderbirds, were hung up in it, and the war songs were sung. The party never started off in the daytime, but always at night, usually just before dawn. Often they went naked and on foot, armed only with a knife, and supplied with many pairs of moccasins and some dried meat. Their idea in starting off on foot was that they would ride back on horses stolen from the enemy.

The leader of such a war party, which was usually small, and hardly ever exceeded one hundred members, was often, if not always, a tried okitcita, who indulged in shamanistic practices. At night he would cover his head with his blanket and order all the party to do the same; he was then supposed to have the power to see what lay before them on their journey, as plain as though it were daylight. He then prophesied, telling just where the party would meet the enemy, and whom they would see first. He would announce that the enemy would be beaten, for the Great Spirit helped him, or if he should see a black cloud approaching, he would suggest that the party turn back, as this was a sure sign that they would lose.

The party was always preceded by scouts, famous runners always being selected. These led the van by about ten or fifteen miles. The scouts being necessarily brave men, were usually okitcita. While in service they wore headdresses of grass to conceal them the better when they lay flattened out on the prairie. Those who had successfully served as scouts were entitled to wear a similar grass headdress while in the soldiers' tent. Ogimáuwini said that once, while hunting, he saw five of the enemy disguised in this manner, but escaped and warned his people in time for them to flee. If a scout saw danger ahead he would return, zigzagging as he ran, to warn the party. Sometimes, when on a horse-stealing raid rather than a war party, the scouts would crawl right into the enemy's herd and choose the best steeds with which to flee. On a party out for blood they would cover themselves with their robes, and, so muffled up with them that they could not be recognized, they would enter the camp, mingle with the enemy, noting everything, and then slip away to inform the others.

Dauphin Myron's grandfather went out with a horse-stealing party. He and his two brothers went ahead as scouts. They reconnoitered around a Sioux camp all night intending to return to their party before dawn. Dauphin's grandfather being very tired, he lay down on the prairie just across the river from the enemy's camp and fell asleep. When he awoke it was already daylight and his companions were gone. Across the creek he could see women moving about, engaged in their daily tasks, so he dared not stir. He was obliged to lie still, although naked, and endure the rays of the hot sun all day.

One of the women noticed his red breechclout, stared at it for a while, and then called to others who gathered around and began to point and gesticulate. Finally, they called out a man. He looked at it, laughed, and then they all went away. After nightfall the scout got up and returned to his party who came back with him and stampeded all the horses. Long afterwards he met the Sioux warrior whom the women had called out to look at him. The Sioux told him that he had assured the women that the red patch had been lying there in the grass ever since they had camped at that place. The Bûngi name for a scout is n'dowatu and it is considered a very honorable title.

The following war story was told by Joe Countois and illustrates the custom of a war party leaving something behind by which the identity of the tribe striking the blow might be apparent to the victims. On one occasion a Blackfoot war party attacked the Bûngi, killing a girl and leaving stuck in her head a tomahawk which had marks on it betraying the identity of the marauders. The next summer a party of Bûngi carried the tomahawk to the Blackfoot and did the same with them. The following year it

came back, carried by a Blackfoot war party, and this happened for several years in succession. The fourth time it never came back. On each occasion the Búngi claimed that they drove the Blackfoot further west and that after the last raid they were too far away to make a reprisal.

A marauding party always attacked at dawn. If one war party met another from the enemy, they fought, and if the Búngi succeeded in slaying one of their foemen, it was enough, and they returned home with honors or victory. This was considered a far more notable deed than slaying several of the enemy in an early morning attack, for, in this case, the foe were all armed men and prepared for battle. On the return from a successful war party, the warriors halted a short distance from the village and blackened their faces with charcoal. They then rode in singing laudatory songs in which the names of those who had counted coup were vaunted. When the people saw them coming they knew by their darkened faces that a blow had been struck, and they rushed forth to greet the warriors. The women, as has been noted among the Menomini, came forward with presents which they gave to the men, and for which they received the scalps in return. The women then danced the kumateciwin, or scalp dance, amid rejoicing.¹

The leader of the war party, at this time or some time previously, was accustomed to take a small strip of human flesh and feed it to one of his own party. He placed it on the end of a stick and it was supposed to fly some distance to the man's mouth. The man would then eat it as though he were a bird. Joe Countois' explanation was that this was done to pacify the warrior's dream spirit. I am convinced that this was merely a personal dream obligation and not a general custom, since all my other informants denied that the Búngi ever ate any portion of the body of a slain enemy, even the heart, although this custom was fairly widespread in the Eastern Woodlands.

In case the war party was defeated or lost some of its members, the remainder returned with flowing hair, gashing themselves with their knives and singing songs in which they dwelt upon the names of their dead. They entered the village, dismounted, and danced while the people wailed and cut themselves. It was not customary among the Búngi to hack off their finger joints as a sign of mourning. Six months after the return of a successful war party, a victory dance was held.

Scalping was extensively practised, and, as usual among the forest tribes, at least, it was only necessary to remove the crown, although the entire scalp was frequently taken. Sometimes one of the enemy's hands was chopped off and borne home as a trophy. Although the scalps were usually

¹ This series, vol. 13, 119. This seems to be a widespread custom.

turned over to the women on the return of the war party, some men availed themselves of the right to give them to their fathers, or fathers-in-law, which was considered a very creditable performance.

War Charms. So far as could be learned, no war bundles (or in fact medicine bundles of any kind) were used or known by the Bûngi. Instead, they had personal war charms. These were made generally from the skin of some animal such as a fox, wolf, or coyote, with a slit made longitudinally in the back. These were worn poncho-wise with the animal's head falling over the owner's breast, and the tail dangling behind. Such objects were acquired by those who had dreamed the right to make and use them. The animal skin was often that of the user's dream guardian.

A war charm, which was collected at Long-claw's camp at Long Plains, partakes more of the nature of a bundle. It consists of a foxskin neck ornament, a head band of muskrat fur, red flannel, and a round stone supposed to be a thunderbolt.¹ These were all kept wrapped together in a little packet which was carried as a talisman. Such little packages are akin to the war bundle, although still private, rather than public medicines.

A third charm is merely a small spirit rock contained in a beaded receptacle of heart shape. It was worn about the neck by means of a braided cord and was also a sacred dream charm.

On taking a prisoner in the old days, a warrior would throw his charm regalia over the captive's head and the other members of his crew, recognizing whose property it was, would spare the prisoner. Captives, by the way, were held as semi-slaves. Their lives were often in jeopardy but they were never tortured. The Bûngi, however, were well aware that the Sioux frequently tortured prisoners and told with horror how the Eastern Sioux chief, Shakopee, had boasted before them of placing white children in an oven and roasting them alive, during the Minnesota massacre. Women were often taken to wife by their captors.

Men who were on the warpath never took off their moccasins while they slept, and kept their guns handy all night. They usually carried as many as eight pairs of moccasins and ropes of rawhide or buffalo hair to use on their stolen horses. They also carried medicines in which they steeped their bullets to make them fatal. It was one of the functions of the okitcita to count their coups at the funeral ceremony while the body was being lowered into the grave. This custom is also found among the Menomini and other Central Algonkin tribes, and will be described more in detail in a future publication on the ethnology of the Bûngi.

¹ Such charms are also found among the Menomini, Potawatomi, and the Eastern Ojibway, among all of whom round stones are often regarded as thunderbolts.

THE OKITCITA AND THE BUFFALO HUNT.

Turning from war and warlike exploits we find the next great field for the okitcita was the tribal buffalo hunt. In fact, it was true that the most important duty of the soldiers, so far as the general body of the people was concerned, was the regulation of the buffalo drive, with especial reference to the prevention of individuals from rushing ahead of the main party and hunting alone, since this rendered liable the stampeding of the herd and the consequent loss of food and privation of the entire band. In order to place the facts of the case before the reader in the best and most easily comprehensible light, the writer begs permission to digress from his theme and consider in detail the problem of the buffalo hunt among the Bûngi.

According to Ogimâuwini, and this was afterwards corroborated by all my informants, the okitcita had particular jurisdiction over the summer buffalo hunt. During the warm part of the year, the entire band would wander on the plains in search of the herds. When one was located it was announced through the camp by a crier, and the men would mount their ponies and go out in a body which was in charge of the chief of the okitcita. It was always customary for the buffalo hunters to bring with them their fastest ponies which they did not ride until they came within sight of the herd.

They would approach as much under cover as possible until they reached a place where they could surround or charge the herd. When all were ready, the chief would shout a single loud, "hau," and the band surged forward. The horses were guided by the pressure of the knees, a single rope only being twisted around the lower jaw for a bridle. This was not much used. The guns were loaded with a light charge of powder, although as a matter of fact, the Indians preferred the bow and arrow for buffalo hunting long after they had rifles, for the reason that the arrow made an injury which bled more than a bullet wound, and thus rendered it more easy to trail wounded buffalo. In addition, the arrows furnished marks by which the men who had killed the buffalo could claim their game.

If any individual broke away from the band and hunted by himself, no notice was taken of his defection at the immediate time, but that night a party of okitcita would approach his tent and call him out. When he came he was seized by these men and his shirt was cut to shreds. In addition he was severely flogged with a quirt carried by the leader. When the punishment was inflicted he was then asked whether he would ever again violate custom by hunting ahead of the party. If he said no, he was freed. If he was defiant he was driven away from the camp.

If a man agreed not to disobey again and he neglected to keep his word, he was likely to be killed. At any event his punishment would be much more severe than before. In the case of a man receiving his punishment in good part and saying, "It is nothing," at the end of a few days the *okitcita* would go about the camp and confiscate a tent pole here, and a cover there, a pony in another place, and so restore his property to him, usually with considerable addition.

The influence of Plains-Ojibway customs upon their white neighbors and more especially upon the half breeds of the neighboring settlements was formerly quite marked. Alexander Ross, speaking of the annual buffalo hunt from Red River in 1840, gives the following data which I quote to show to how large an extent Indian methods prevailed in the regulation of the hunt. Of course, as will be obvious to the reader, a number of innovations have been adopted from European sources.

The first step was to hold a council for the nomination of chiefs or officers, for conducting the expedition. Ten captains were named, the senior on this occasion being Jean Baptiste Wilkie, an English half-breed, brought up among the French; a man of good sound sense and long experience, and withal a fine bold-looking and discreet fellow; a second Nimrod in his way. Besides being captain, in common with the others, he was styled the great war chief or head of the camp; and on all public occasions he occupied the place of president. All articles of property found, without an owner, were carried to him, and he disposed of them by a crier, who went round the camp every evening, were it only an awl. Each captain had ten soldiers under his orders; in much the same way that policemen are subject to the magistrate. Ten guides were likewise appointed; and here we may remark, that people in a rude state of society, unable either to read or write, are generally partial to the number ten. Their duties were to guide the camp, each in his turn — that is day about — during the expedition. The camp flag belongs to the guide of the day; he is therefore standard-bearer in virtue of his office.

The hoisting of the flag every morning is the signal for raising camp. Half an hour is the full time allowed to prepare for the march; but if any one is sick or their animals have strayed, notice is sent to the guide, who halts till all is made right. From the time the flag is hoisted, however, till the hour of camping arrives, it is never taken down. The flag taken down is the signal for encamping. While it is up, the guide is chief of the expedition. Captains are subject to him, and the soldiers of the day are his messengers; he commands all. The moment the flag is lowered, his functions cease, and the captains' and soldiers' duties commence. They point out the order of the camp, and every cart, as it arrives, moves to its appointed place. This business usually occupies about the same time as raising camp in the morning; for everything moves with the regularity of clock-work.

All being ready to leave Pembina, the captains and other chief men hold another council, and lay down the rules to be observed during the expedition. Those made on the present occasion were:—

1. No buffalo to be run on the Sabbath-day.
2. No party to fork off, lag behind, or go before, without permission.
3. No person or party to run buffalo before the general order.

4. Every captain with his men, in turn, to patrol the camp, and keep guard.
5. For the first trespass against these laws, the offender to have his saddle and bridle cut up.
6. For the second offence, the coat to be taken off the offender's back, and be cut up.
7. For the third offence, the offender to be flogged.
8. Any person convicted of theft, even to the value of a sinew, to be brought to the middle of the camp, and the crier to call out his or her name three times, adding the word "Thief," at each time.¹

Sometimes instead of employing the surround and charge method of hunting the bison, the Indians would endeavor to locate a creek with steep banks and a muddy bottom or margin. They would then, under direction of the okitcita, surround the herd and drive it into the ravine, where the animals would become bogged and might easily be shot. The beasts were then slaughtered at leisure, and dragged out of the muck by means of buffalo rawhide ropes attached to them and fastened to the horses' saddles. This was a variation of the winter method of driving the herds into the snowdrifts.

In cold weather buffalo were hunted when the snow was deep. Running on their snowshoes the Indians easily drove the heavy beasts into the high drifts, where they were despatched with arrows and bullets. The men hunted in companies but there was no need of the supervision of the okitcita in this season. The Bungi never drove buffalo over a precipice or used the fire hunt on the prairie, according to all the old men now surviving.

Another method of hunting in winter was to stampede the herd down hill and out on some frozen lake. The animals could not keep their feet on the ice and were readily slaughtered. The old men said that buffalo carcasses would keep well in winter, but were emphatic that they never killed more buffalo than they had immediate need for.

Ogimáuwiniini hunted buffalo from a dog sledge on at least one occasion. Traveling along he overtook a herd and set his dogs on the buffalo. He overhauled them and shot one, but the sledge slipped and threw him under their hoofs, and he barely escaped alive, uninjured but badly frightened.

In winter the great method of hunting was by impounding. Not every man could be a poundmaker, only those who had received supernatural power. The Bungi practised the custom, so well known among the Central Algonkin, of sending their youths out into the bush to fast when they had reached the age of puberty. There the young man was obliged to remain in seclusion without food or drink for a period varying from two to four days, during which time he prayed and strained every nerve to obtain a vision in which he might acquire supernatural power, given him through the pity of

one of the gods. Some young men at this time received the right to call the buffalo when the people were in want.

When the people were starving they would approach the buffalo dreamer and ask him to aid them. Accordingly he would require them to attend an all night ceremony and assist him in making prayers and offerings to the great Powers Above for success, begging for a stormy night so that there

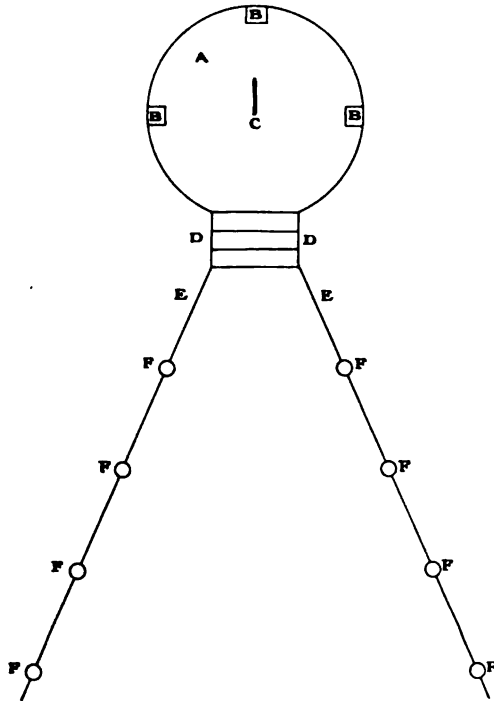


Fig. 4. Diagram of a Buffalo Pound. a, A circular pen; b, Tunnel exits; c, Pole for hanging medicines; d, Doors for the escape of the decoy; e-e, Fences; f, Snow banked along fence.

might be banks of snow on the prairie. In the meantime a great enclosure was constructed after the fashion of the accompanying sketch, (Fig. 4) which was made from a native drawing furnished by Cenuwigabô, (Sound-standing).

First a circular pen (a) was made, with tunnel exits (b). This was the pound proper. In the center was a pole (c), upon which hung the dreamer's or poundmaker's medicine. At the entrance of the pound (d-d) were openings or doors of upright logs for the escape of the decoy, which will be explained later. From the entrance spread away two long log wings or

fences (e-e) with snow banked up at intervals (f), on or behind which were concealed men whose duty it was to urge on the herd when driven into the chute. When everything was in readiness and the buffalo located, the dreamer went out on horseback, wrapped in his buffalo robe. He made his way to the herd, and when quite close to them he took off his robe and waved it crying, "Wu! wu!" *ad libitum*. This attracted the buffalo, who commenced to follow him, urged on, as the Indians believe, by the power of the dreamer's medicine.

The decoy now began to ride slowly towards the wings of the pound shouting, swinging his robe, and traveling in a zigzag course as he went. As he approached the trap he constantly increased his pace until the buffalo had well entered the wings. Then the men hidden behind the snow banks sprang up, yelping, making a great demonstration, flourishing their robes, and discharging their firearms. The herd then stampeded, rushing headlong down the funnel, and, at the entrance to the pen, the dreamer who had decoyed them so far, then urged his horse through one of the doors (d-d). The buffalo however, carried on by the impetus of their flight, dashed into the enclosure, where the Indians who had been waiting on the wall endeavored to force the foremost to mill, while the herd surged in behind.

Ogimáuwiniini claimed to have seen the bison pour in in such numbers that the last ones ran over the backs of those already entrapped and escaped over the corral walls. While the buffalo were milling, the Indians swarmed on the walls of the pen and shot such of the brutes as they desired, afterwards drawing the carcasses out through the underground doors (bbb) to be butchered.

It is said that sometimes the buffalo were driven into the pen, but not slaughtered till the next day. In such a case they were counted the night before; on the morrow it was invariably found that one buffalo had escaped.

It was a rule of the hunt to give one whole buffalo to each destitute old person and each head of a normal family. Men with large families were given more.

An interesting transference of the okitcita buffalo hunting customs is found among the Central Algonkin Menomini, where the okitcita, or to use the more common Menomini term, Nānāw'etauwók, or police, took charge of the wild rice fields, and guarded the rice just before the harvest, while the people were gathered on the shores of the lakes, and allowed no one to trespass upon the fields until the rice was entirely ripe. At intervals the soldiers went out to the fields and examined the grain. When they had finally decided that it was ready to be gathered, they informed the chief, who ordered them to go from lodge to lodge announcing that the harvesting, would be commenced on the following day.¹

¹ This series, vol. 13. 24.

The Sauk and Fox, according to Major Morrell Marston, also had a soldier band, at least that is the inference; he says:—

Except in particular cases all the Indian nations mentioned in the foregoing are governed almost altogether by the advice of their chiefs and the fear of punishment from the evil spirit not only in this, but in the other world. The only instances wherein I have ever known any laws enforced or penalties exacted for a disobedience of them by the Sauks and Foxes, are when they are returning in the spring from their hunting grounds to their village. The village chiefs then advise the war chiefs to declare the martial law to be in force, which is soon proclaimed and the whole authority placed in the hands of the war chiefs. Their principal object in so doing appears to be to prevent one family from returning before another whereby it might be exposed to an enemy; or by arriving at the village before the others, dig up its neighbours' corn. It is the business of the war chiefs in these cases to keep all the canoes together; and on land to regulate the march of those who are mounted or on foot. One of the chiefs goes ahead to pitch upon the encamping ground for each night, where he will set up a painted pole or stake as a signal for them to halt; any Indian going beyond this is punished, by having his canoe, and whatever else he may have along with him, destroyed. On their arrival at their respective villages, sentinels are posted, and no one is allowed to leave his village until every thing is put in order; when this is accomplished the martial law ceases to be in force.¹

This shows that the okitcita system was fairly well known among the Central Algonkin. I have been informed by Wisconsin Potawatomi and Ojibway, descendants of Manitowauk bands of these nations, that *nānāw'e-tauwūk* or *okitcita* were employed by both of these tribes.

¹ Blair, 2, 163.

THE WINDIGOKAN OR CANNIBAL CULT.

Certain men used to dream of *pägûk*, a Skeleton Being, with glaring eyes, which is sometimes seen flitting through the air,¹ and obtained from him the right to be Windigokan or cannibal dancers. Such a man made for himself a costume of rags with a hideous mask, having an enormous crooked beak-like nose, the whole being daubed with paint. (Fig. 5). He also provided for himself a feathered staff, like those of the *okitcita*, except that it was hung with deer's hoof rattles; moreover, he had a bone whistle of the



Fig. 5. Windigokan, or Cannibal Dancers in their characteristic Costumes.

okitcita type. Such a man might and nearly always did, when the band was encamped, gather to himself a group of followers, for all of whom he, and he alone, made costumes. They set up a tent for themselves like that of the *okitcita*, and, in fact, though I do not remember that any old Indian so stated to me, the impression which I received throughout was that the windigokan were regarded more or less as burlesque *okitcita*.

¹ Among the Menomini this same character is known under the title of *Pa'ka'*. He is a well known Central Algonkin ogre. See vol. 13, 83.

The functions of the cannibal dancers were of two sorts, for the healing of the sick and exorcising the demons of disease, much as was done by the false face dancers of the Iroquois. When a sick person's case had been diagnosed by the doctor or seer as one of infection by disease demons, word was sent to the leader of the windigokan who brought his troop into the patient's lodge where they danced before the invalid, pounding their rattles on the ground, singing, whistling, and dancing. They approached, looked at the sufferer, started back, ran away, and reapproached with all manner of grotesque and fantastic actions, until the demons of ill health had been frightened away.

When the windigokan were living in their tent, they obtained food by making the rounds of the camp and all those who cared to contribute would hang something eatable on the outside of their lodges, suspended from sticks about four feet high.

When the windigokan drew near, one of their number, provided with a bow and arrow, would stalk the offering most elaborately. He would lie down and crawl on his belly, get up, peep, crouch, and crawl along till he was very close. Then he would draw his bow at very short range and shoot at the gift. If he missed, the party passed by and it was never claimed. But if he hit it, he would call and beckon frantically to others, who would rush up and smell the point of the arrow amid great palaver and gesticulation. At length one of the band would be ordered to carry the food, and this office was performed by a hired servant, just as among the okitcita.

The party would then start off on their rounds, to the huge delight of the populace, who followed in a dense crowd to see the fun. When they arrived at their own lodge they never dreamed of taking the food in through the door, but instead threw it through the smoke hole. If anything missed the hole and fell outside they never attempted to recover it, and it was the lawful prey of any bystander, the knowledge of which kept the frolicsome crowd always on the *qui vive*.

The windigokan always used inverted speech, that is, they said the exact opposite of what they meant. If, for instance, a man announced that he was not hungry, he meant that he would like to be fed; and if one was forbidden to dance, he straightway began to do so.

The following story is told of a party of windigokan:—

There was once a camp in which there was organized a company of twelve windigokan. One day they came in front of the chief's lodge and danced there. When he came out their leader harangued them as follows: "I am not going to war. I shall not kill the Sioux. I shall not scalp four and let the rest escape. I shall go in the daytime."

The next night they all left on foot; they had not gone far before they met a

large body of Sioux, who greatly outnumbered them. Instead of fleeing, the Bûngi began to dance on the prairie. The Sioux were astonished and thought they must be manitous, so they sat down on the grass to watch their crazy antics. Nearer and nearer pranced the windigokan, until at last the Sioux partisan filled and offered a pipe to them, addressing them as spirits, saying that he was on the warpath hunting for the enemy, and begging them for success. He and his party also proffered them many presents which they piled on the ground before them. The Bûngi windigokan danced on, however, waving their wands, whistling, and singing without paying the slightest attention to the Dakota. The song which they sang was, "Huye, huye, haiyo." They would dance forward, wave their arms, turn round and round, lie down, rise at their leader's signal, and come on again.

At length they were very close to the watching Sioux. They then turned around towards the Dakota, pulling their guns and bows from their clothes where they had been concealed. At a word from their leader they suddenly whirled about and fired on the Sioux, killing four. The rest fled in terror, while the windigokan scalped those that were murdered. Then they began to dance away. In the meantime the Sioux, who had stopped a little distance off, were watching them, so when they had topped a rise and were behind it, the leader said, "Now my old men (they were all youths), you must not run home as fast as you can." So they fled at top speed and escaped. When the people at the home camp heard their songs they knew the party had been successful and came out to meet them.

The clowns cried to the women, "Someone must not take our scalps from us!" So the women advanced and relieved them of their trophies. The windigokan painted the faces of the girls who took them with a dark paint which they carried. The windigokan then ran away and hid, when their leader whistled they approached again, and formed their band as before. In this fashion they entered the village. In the meantime the populace deprived them of their rifles and of anything of value that they carried, for it was customary to take things away from a windigokan, and he dared not resist.

At Long Plains Nenawigabo', Piziki, and Enemoiue have the right to organize the windigokan. The latter called four others to assist him at a recent exhibition at Portage La Prairie where they paraded through the streets. From these men the data which are here presented were obtained and, after a ceremonial request and four sacred offerings of tobacco, they felt that they could not refuse when asked to make costumes and perform.

On June 1, 1913, therefore, after a little council they agreed to perform that evening, although it was very unusual, as nowadays these things are not done except for the exorcising of disease.

A man's dance was held that night, and just at dusk, when the dance was well started in the log cabin used for that purpose, the three were seen approaching. One bore a cane ornamented with owl feathers and down; the others carried green branches with strips of colored cloth tied to them. As they drew near, they paused, danced in a circle, performed ludicrous gyrations, appeared to be terrified at stumps, fled from dogs, and were overcome at faces made by bystanders, so that it took them a long time to

cover one hundred yards of prairie between them and the door. Here the sight of children, or rude taps of the drum given by the musicians of the evening threw them into spasms. Invitations to come in caused them to run away.

At last, when ordered out by some of the men, they came in, whistling, pounding their staves, and dancing, sitting on the floor, rolling around, and rising. They did not speak, but sang windigokan songs and frightened the children. They joined the regular dancers and then danced by themselves. At the conclusion of their antics, the people came forward and gave them tobacco with prayers for good luck. The clowns accepted the tobacco with pantomimes of terror. They would then pretend to smell the gift,

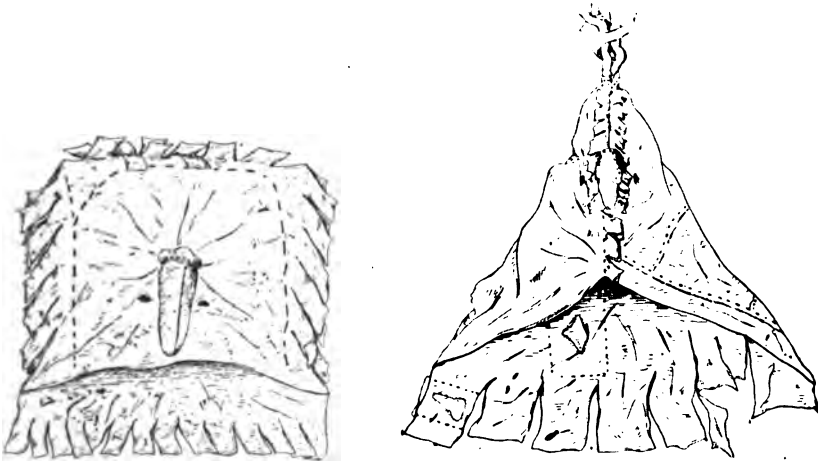


Fig. 6. Masks worn by Windigokan.

and, as each for himself was sure that it was a morsel of the precious weed, he bent backwards and forwards shaking with guffaws, to the delight of everyone. According to tradition, whatever they were told not to do, that they straightway did, thus adding to the merriment. After a short time they withdrew, but paused long enough to permit the writer to take a photograph of them (Fig. 5). The costumes are now in the Museum. They were made of discarded canvas tents and were furnished with ragged masks (Fig. 6), shirts, leggings, and moccasins, which were daubed with paint. This society is also found among the Cree and the Assiniboine.¹

The name of the corresponding society among the Assiniboine as given

¹ See this series, vol. 4.

by Lowie, seems to be an attempt at pronouncing the Bûngi term which may indicate that the Assiniboine borrowed the idea from the latter. The costume of the dancers is not without resemblance to that worn in the dog dance or anamowiwin of the Menomini.

It is interesting and perhaps significant to note the close similarity of the Bûngi masked clowns to the false face dancers of the Iroquois. Admission to the Iroquois society is gained through dreams and the Bûngi windigokan leader likewise must dream the right. The prime function of the Iroquois society is to exorcise demons and cure the sick, this is one of the great duties of the windigokanûk. During public dances the Iroquois beg tobacco, which they smell and receive with uncouth demonstrations of pleasure, so too do the Bûngi clowns. The Iroquois dancers make excursions through the town to obtain food; this is also characteristic of the Bûngi. Both tribes wear dirty and tattered clothes and carry staves.

On the other hand, the Iroquois masked dancers do not go to war, neither do they use inverted speech, in fact they do not speak at all, and only grunt. They do not, so far as I know, possess a special lodge, their masks are wooden, their rattles are of tortoise shell.

But tortoise shell rattles might be difficult to obtain on the plains, and perhaps, likewise, wooden masks. The use of a special lodge in the camp circle, and inverted speech, are rather widespread phenomena of Plains culture, whereas this particular type of clown, so far as we have any knowledge, has only been reported so far from three tribes inhabiting the northern Plains, the Assiniboine, the Cree, and the Bûngi. Can it not, then, be due to Iroquois influence? At the earliest times of which we have knowledge of the region, Iroquois canoe men and trappers, were engaged in business for the fur traders, in fact, Mackenzie says: —

A small company of Iroquois emigrated to the banks of the Saskatchiwin, in 1799, who had been brought up from their infancy under the Romish missionaries, and instructed by them at a village within nine miles of Montreal.¹

The Iroquois are not only known to be very conservative, but they have carried the false face society to Oklahoma, where it is still kept up. The most eastern band of the Ojibway, the one most removed from the Bûngi, I refer to the Missisauga, had a false face band² quite obviously derived from the Iroquois. Of course, it must be borne in mind that nothing similar has been reported in between the two regions, and that the Menomini had a false face ceremony which, however, was rather different in nature

¹ Mackenzie, Vol. 2, 345.

² Peter Jones, 87.

from those under discussion. The heyoka society of the Eastern Dakota also bears many points of resemblance to the cannibal society of the Bûngi.

Before passing to dances and ceremonies it seems only proper to mention the fact that the Bûngi have a cult called Djisakid, the members of which are disassociated, but who build the conical conjuring lodge and prophesy. Either this group, or what is perhaps another, called Nibikid, suck forth disease with bone tubes. As they have generally been treated in connection with the Midéwin or Medicine Lodge, although separate and distinct from that body, I shall not deal with them here, but will await a future opportunity.

The Bûngi deny all knowledge of the Wabano cult, found among the Ojibway proper and the Plains-Cree. This group, like the Siouan heyoka, performs the hot dance, eats fire, swallows sticks, and is adept at all manner of juggling.

DANCES AND CEREMONIES.

The two great ceremonies of the Bûngi both fall outside of the intended scope of this paper. They are the sun dance, or nipagwêcimun, which, by the way, has no reference whatever to the sun, being a ceremony connected with the thunder,¹ and the midéwiwin. It is unusually interesting to find here in contact for the first time the great ceremonies of the Central Algonkin and the great ceremonies of the Northern Plains. Among the Bûngi, both performances have been vigorously repressed by the Canadian Government for a number of years, yet many still living remember the ceremonies, and a considerable body of data was collected on both from participants and eye-witnesses, which, it is hoped, will be published at some future date. The suppression policy of the Canadian Government also made it very difficult to obtain information on the minor ceremonies of the Bûngi, but some data were gathered.

SEXUAL PURITY CONFESSION.

The following ceremony I have noted first because of the importance of sexual purity in the mind of the Indian where participating in a ceremony is concerned. Before any ceremony was to be held a runner was always sent out to invite the guests some time in advance in order that they might abstain from sexual intercourse for four days prior to the function. A person who violated this taboo was obliged to appear with his face painted half black (Fig. 7). Warned by this mark, during the ceremony, the pipe bearer never passes the pipe to anyone so distinguished. Such a person might not dance or take part in the performance in any way, though he might enter and look on.



Fig. 7. Facial Painting denoting Sexual Impurity.

It was formerly the custom to call a public confession of illicit sexual

¹ Amella M. Paget, in her work entitled, "The People of the Plains," says: —

"Passionately attached as are the Crees to this ceremony [the sun dance] it is evidently foreign to the Algonquin stock. While religious beliefs are common to all the tribes of this great family and are persistent everywhere, this extraordinary religious function is known only to the Blackfeet, the Western Crees and the Dakotas. *The Ojibways do not practise it, and there are no traces of it among the eastern divisions of the race.*" (p. 28.) The italics are mine. Mrs. Paget is mistaken.

intercourse at intervals. Some man, given the right in a dream to call such an assembly, gathered the people together in his lodge, where they owned up. First the elders, then the youths, and then the women. A large painted spirit rock was present, placed in the center of the floor, to render the occasion one of solemnity. The stone heard their words, and disaster overtook all liars. Men who did not tell the truth were certain to be slain on their next war party. The participants sat in a circle in the tent about the stone and were quizzed one after another by the dreamer-host. Those who had unnatural intercourse with their spouses were obliged to confess it. Once, according to Dauphin Myron, a girl refused to speak, and her father was sent for, who ordered her to make a clean breast of her sin, whereupon she confessed that she had transgressed with him.

THE BUFFALO DANCE.

This seems to have been merely a variant of a widely spread custom found among the Central Algonkin, the Iroquois, and the Plains tribes. Among the Bûngi, it was held to heal the sick and to bring the buffalo in times of scarcity. From the last statement I am inclined to think it may have been held in connection with making the buffalo pound.

Certain men, who had dreamed of the buffalo, had the right to get up such a feast and dance. A dog feast was prepared, and afterwards four men, wearing buffalo head caps or masks, danced while four others sang. Eight women also took part, and there was, as usual, a *skaupéwis* to fill the pipes. Each participant brought his or her own special dish, kept for this occasion.

A small boy's buffalo skin cap, made in representation of a spike horned calf, was obtained. It had been cut down from the larger buffalo headdress of the lad's father, who was a buffalo dreamer and used his outfit for the ceremony, because the child was ill and he thought the buffalo might cure the little fellow.

Pizikiwûs (Menomini *picăkiwûs*) was a medicine supposed to have been obtained from the buffalo. If given to a patient it would make him vomit blood caused by internal bleeding, and then recover.

THE PITÄWIN, OR WEEPING CEREMONY.

This ceremony is said to have come from the west, perhaps from the Plains-Cree, among whom I later witnessed it. Among the Bûngi it is said always to have been held in the fall, when it was given by a man who had

dreamed of the thunderbirds. After four days' fast by the participants, the ceremony began. The night before they finished their starving a large tent was erected, and a four-foot grill of sticks was set up to serve as a platform, supported by crooked sticks hung with feathers. On this were placed cloths, calicoes, blankets, and other gifts. Bits of cloth about three yards square were hung up thickly on the poles of the lodge.

The participants, at nightfall, circled the tent four times, wailing dismally, finally entered, sat around the wall, and commenced to sing. After a time the *skaupéwis* arose, and taking ten little birchbark cups, filled them with maple syrup and passed them about, after which water was passed. Then all feasted. After this the host delivered harangues about *Kitci Manitu*, and they ate, sang, and danced until dawn, when all was over.

Many of those who starved themselves tried to dream. Some made their horses fast with them, and, as in the sun dance, they would attach the beasts to their bodies, by cutting the flesh over their own shoulders, and inserting a wooden skewer to which a thong was attached, which in turn was hitched to the nag; often a wild stallion was chosen. The devotee then tried to lead it four times around the tent. It is said that the powers would order it so that a stallion would follow like a dog and never hurt its master nor attempt to escape, even though there were mares about. This showed that the man had dream power from the horse. Those who had power from the bison would drag about buffalo skulls secured to their persons by their flesh.

The *Bûngi* say that this "dance," is a ceremony related to, but older than, the sun dance.

THE MAN'S AND WOMAN'S DANCES.

The man's dance seems to be a variant of the Omaha dance of the Plains or the so-called dream dance of the Central Algonkin. At Long Plains it seemed to be a social rather than a religious dance. It was held in a log cabin set aside for that purpose in which respect it differed from the Central Algonkin ceremonies I have seen which were always held in the open. A large drum, supported by curved sticks and beaten with fur-wrapped wands, was struck by a number of youths who squatted on the ground beside it. The drum was very similar to those I have seen in use among the Menomini, Potawatomi, Ojibway, and Winnebago in Wisconsin. Feather dance bustles closely resembling the regalia used by the Central Algonkin hung on the wall but were not used.

One very different feature was the use of large fur-wrapped hoops

through which the dancers gracefully writhed their bodies forwards, backwards, sidewise, head or feet first as they chose, while dancing. This they said was an innovation introduced by the Sioux.

I was told that the woman's dance would take place immediately afterwards and probably outside in a circular pen constructed for it, but I was unable to stay to see it. Apparently it resembles the circular woman's dance of the Winnebago which generally follows their dream dance.

Among the Bûngi the dance is said to be owned by eight women, though how they acquired it could not be learned. They dress all alike, in black, and perform certain rites in honor of the Powers Above. The ceremony is said to have been originated by a very old woman at Turtle Mountain. The paraphernalia consist of a large double-headed drum, similar to that used in the men's dance, and four bent sticks to support it. One man belongs to the society and acts as drummer. The ceremony commences with a song by the eight women, the words of which warn all non-members not to take part. Then they dance, and follow this with another song, after which they retire as a group and anyone, man or woman, may join in. Later on, the eight women sing the same song and dance to close the ceremony. When dancing they remain close together.

The Bûngi hold these innocent functions at night, whereas the Central Algonkin usually dance in the day, but perhaps this is due to fear of government opposition.

BIG DOGS DANCE.

Wapikiniwap (White-eagle-sitting), a Saulteaux resident on the Cowesses Reserve, Saskatchewan, referred to another dance not known at Long Plains. He called it the "Big Dogs Dance" and it is seemingly borrowed from the Cree. Any Indian who had the proper dream could join but he must buy the right from the other members who first prayed to their dream guardians and told their manitous that they were about to admit a new member. The old man could not be persuaded to give a more definite description of the ceremony.

PRAIRIE-CHICKEN AND TEA DANCES.

Neither of these ceremonies are performed at Long Plains, where they are both known and spoken of as Cree dances. At Turtle Mountain, not far away, the tea dance is said to be in vogue among both Cree and Bûngi settled there.

CEREMONIES CONNECTED WITH THE BEAR AND OTHER GAME.

In olden times, when a bear den was located, the hunter would approach it, saying to the bear, "I am thankful that I found you and sorry that I am obliged to kill you," promising the spirit of the bear a sacrifice of maple sugar or berries. When the bear was killed, the tip of its nose was cut off, a few little sticks about six inches long were taken and painted, using one of the bear's claws for a brush, and placed with the bear's muzzle. These were all to be hidden away with some red cloth as an offering a little later. The head with the brisket and four paws was next cut off and cooked, after which the hunter called in all the people to feast. He would pick out some worthy old man, fill a big stone pipe and offer it to him. The elder would accept it, smoke, and explain to the guests the purpose of the feast. He would then pray to the good gods, demonstrating to them that the hunter had killed the bear for food, and not wantonly. At the conclusion of his speech the guests cried, "Oh!" and fell to on the food provided for them. This closely resembles a Plains-Cree bear ceremony seen by the writer in Saskatchewan.

During the feast, the bear's nose lay exposed near by, lying amid various sacrificial offerings. After the ceremony, the slayer carried them off into the woods and hung it up in some secret place. The bones could not be thrown to the dogs, but were carefully preserved, wrapped in a bundle, and hung on a tree. No part of the bear's flesh was taboo to anyone, nor was there any taboo against bear hunting by a person of the bear gens, according to most of my informants. Dauphin Myron, however, declared that children were not permitted to eat of the bear's paws, lest they should acquire the savage nature of the brute while young and impressionable.

So far as could be learned, the Bûngi had no hunting bundles, such as are used by some of the Central Algonkin, but "medicine hunts" were held. The elders would sit up all night singing to a rattle accompaniment and in the morning four men would be sent out. Each would infallibly be successful.

CONCLUSION.

This ends the list of cults, dances, and ceremonies that were obtained from the Bûngi or Plains-Ojibway during two visits in the summer of 1913. To recapitulate, they have the following:—

Societies: Midéwin, Okitcita.

Cults: Windigokan, Djsakid, Nibikid.

Dances and Ceremonies: Sexual Purity Confession, Buffalo Dance, Pitāwin, Man's Dance, Woman's Dance, Tea Dance, Scalp Dance, War, or Victory Dance (see p. 492) and, connected with the preceding, the Medicine Dance, or Midéwiwin, the Sun Dance and the Clowns Dance, or Windigokan ceremonies, and the Bear ceremony.

To these, Wapikiniwap, an old Saulteaux man on the Cowesses Reserve, added the following: Big Dogs Dance, Bear Dance, Horse Dance, and Ghost Dance. The latter is undoubtedly one of the Midéwin ceremonies to be described elsewhere. Possibly these ceremonies are not performed by the Bûngi proper or Long Plains division of the Plains-Ojibway.

**POLITICAL ORGANIZATION, CULTS AND CEREMONIES OF THE
PLAINS-CREE.**

BY ALANSON SKINNER.

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INTRODUCTION.

The data for the subjects treated in the following paper were gathered in the summer of 1913 among the Plains-Cree living on the reservations under the Crooked Lake Agency, Saskatchewan. The group of Indians concerned is part of the so-called "Qu'Appelle River Cree," and forms one of the easternmost bands of the Plains-Cree. They figure in literature chiefly in the works of Henry Youle Hind who gives some account of their ethnology.

The writer's informants were: Kenewuskwahûm (or "Four-clouds"), Spotted-one, Charlie Assiniboine, Chief Walter and Jacob and Andrew Bear. He is also indebted to Dr. Robert H. Lowie for the use of his notes on the Cree of Hobbema, Alberta, and to the manuscripts of Mr. Robert Jefferson on the Cree near Battleford. The Rev. Hugh Mackay of Round Lake Mission also furnished much invaluable material. Dr. P. E. Goddard also furnished data on some of the Cree bands at Battleford. All of these observers find the soldier societies so prominent among the typical Northern Plains tribes lacking among the Cree.

In concluding the writer wishes to express his thanks for the generous, never-failing friendship and assistance, offered by all those connected with the Canadian Indian service or missions with whom he came in contact. Particularly he wishes to express his appreciation for the assistance and hospitality of Messrs. Miller and Boyer of the Crooked Lake Agency, and the Rev. Hugh Mackay of Round Lake Mission, without whose aid the expedition could not have succeeded.

March, 1914.

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CAMP ORGANIZATION.

The Plains-Cree encountered in the vicinity of Broadview belong to the group designated by the whites as Qu'Appelle River Cree. They lack the totemic system of the Ojibway, or at least no evidence that they had ever had such a system could be adduced. They were, however, divided into certain local bands, each of which had its chief.

Niel Osauwustim declared that these bands were exogamous, but all the others consistently denied it, saying that young men usually preferred to pick their wives from the girls of another band, since they possessed the added charm of novelty, but there was no exogamous rule or custom, members of the immediate family only being barred from marriage with each other, first cousins excepted.

Niel Osauwustim, Kenewuskwahûm, and Jacob Bear, gave the following list of bands: —

1. Omuskego, Swampy. Undoubtedly referring to the major division of the Cree who dwell in the forest, rather than one of the local bands.
2. Katepoisipi-wiinuûk, Calling River (Qu'Appelle) band. Supposed to have been the most important; also called Kagiciwuinuûk, Loud Voices Band (or People) after their famous chief, if I understood correctly. Now called Kakiwistaihau-wiinuûk or "Fox's Band," after his son.
3. Wabuswaianûk, Rabbit Skins.
4. Mämäkitce-wiinuûk, Big Gizzard People.
5. Paskokopa-wiinuûk, Willow People.
6. Nutimi-iniuûk, Poplar People.
7. Cipi-winiuûk, River People.
8. Saka-winiuûk, Bush People.
9. Masnipi-winiuûk, Painted or Pictured People.
10. "Little Dogs," Piapot's Band.
11. Asinskau-winiuûk, Stone People.
12. Tcipoaian-winiuûk, Chipewyan People.
13. Niopwätûk, Cree-Assiniboine.
14. Sakbwatsûk, Bush-Assiniboine.

I could not understand, from what my informants said, whether the last three bands were actually Cree who had assumed or been given these nick-names because of their friendship for neighboring tribes, or bands of mixed ancestry.¹

¹ Lowie, this series, vol. 4, 34, gives Cahlaiesakabin, Speakers of Cree (Half Cree) as one of the bands of the Assiniboine.

In the tribal camp circle Kenewuskwahûm and others declared that the Katepoisipi-wiinuûk, as the most important band, always camped in the center of the southern arc. (This place is apparently referred to as the "center" of the circle.) And here the head chief, who was chief of that band (at least during my informants' time) stayed. The other band chiefs pitched their tents with their people, but, as a matter of fact they usually lived in the soldiers' tent.

Councils, which were made up of the band chiefs and the tribal chief, could be held in the tipi of any chief, but the decisions of the council were carried to the soldiers' tent, and the okitcитай announced them to the camp. Kenewuskwahûm denied this, and said the councils were held in the soldiers' tent. Sometimes when all the tribe was camped together, each band retained its own soldiers' lodge, in which case the announcements were made from the soldiers' tent of the main band. The commonalty camped where the okitcитай told them to. Bands remained separate or mingled at will in the tribal camp.

THE OKITCITAU.

An okitcитай was a man whose bravery had been proved in one of several accepted ways. These were, according to Spotted-one, Jacob Bear, and Charlie Assiniboine:—

1. Killing an enemy. This and the next seem to be the most important deeds among both Cree and Bûngi, as is also the case with the Menomini.¹
2. Scalping an enemy.
3. Taking a gun.
4. Striking an enemy with the hand or a hand weapon.
5. Stealing a horse.

When a man had done any of these things and the deed was authenticated, he was automatically an okitcитай. Touching the body of a slain foe, according to these informants, counted nothing; the warrior had to secure either the gun or the scalp of his fallen enemy.

Besides these feats of martial valor, a person who impoverished himself by his generosity became an okitcитай, even though he never went to war. Not every okitcитай was a chief, but every chief had to be an okitcитай. All three informants, and, in addition Big-head, Kenewuskwahûm, Niel Osauwustim, and several women declared that women could never become okitcитай, and laughed at the idea, saying that women never, under any circumstances, went to war. This exactly reverses the statements of the

¹ Cf. this series, vol. 13.

Bûngi. Spotted-one remarked that the chief okitcитай might take his favorite wife into the lodge with him, but that she was forbidden to take part in the dances.

OKITCитай BADGES.

The insignia of the okitcитай were: first, for killing a foe, a whole eagle feather worn upright for each life taken, but no person wore more than one, as a rule; second, for scalping a foe, a split feather.

It was considered vulgar ostentation to wear these feather badges or to carry the feathered lances, except in war and during dances, and many preferred never to wear them. Loud-voice, one of the most famous okitcитай of the Qu'Appelle Valley Cree and chief of the Calling River Band, danced naked, with black dots painted all over his body to signify that whenever bullets struck his flesh, his medicine power was so great that they flattened out and fell off. He usually wore in his hair, sticking up behind, a small stick with bunches of curling shavings on it, to show that he had been in a desperate encounter in a rifle pit. This, said Kenewuskwahûm, and later, others, was the regular badge of such a combat. The same informant added that those who had wounded (counted coup upon?) an enemy, wore a split feather, and those who were themselves wounded wore cut crow feathers in front of their ears.

Those who had stolen horses painted black horizontal marks about three or four inches long on one border of their blankets, one for each raid, and hoof prints to the number of horses stolen on the other margin. Sometimes these marks were made on their leggings, raids on one leg, hoof prints on the other. Those who had been peace makers (taken part in the peace negotiations when the pipe bundle was brought into play, see p. 537) made crosses on their blankets, one for each ceremony they had participated in. War raids were shown by short horizontal lines like those for horse stealing. As among the Bûngi, okitcитай who had grappled with the enemy painted the hands of their foes upon that portion of the anatomy by which they had been gripped. As the soldiers always danced naked in the okitcитай tent they painted the places on their bare skins where they had been wounded. This was done either in blood or yellow ochre. Those okitcитай who had killed an enemy with a lance had the right to carry a straight or crooked feathered lance. They bore no whistles, and the no-flight idea seems wanting.

The okitcитай lodge or "soldiers' tent" was usually pitched in the center (on the south side) of the camp circle. It was a long lodge made of several tipis put together. In it the soldiers abode, and there was the headquarters

of the band chief, or, in a tribal encampment, the assembled band chiefs. Jacob Bear, while a fur trader, always made it a practice to give presents to the soldiers' lodge and dwell there when trading in any village, because the soldiers had the best of everything and overawed intruders. When several bands were together, often each had its own soldiers' tent.

The interior of the soldiers' lodge was furnished with beaded and otherwise ornamented willow backrests for the okitcitau to recline upon, and it is said that originally such backrests were the exclusive property of the okitcitau. It was one of the privileges of their exalted position that they were supposed never to perform any task whatever.

Some person, evidence was contradictory as to whether he was or was not an okitcitau, was picked out as skaupéwis, or servant. It was he who furnished the soldiers' tent and caused it to be erected, and for this service alone he was compensated, all other tasks he had to perform free. Some of the Cree denied that the servant provided the lodge, but said that the head okitcitau struck any lodge he desired with his feathered lance, and it at once became okitcitau property. Food was brought to the door of the tent by the wives of the inmates, and delivered to the servant. He took the kettles within, and there the bravest okitcitau cut a small portion of meat for each of the others and placed it in their mouths with a six inch wooden skewer.

The songs and dances of the okitcitau were derived from some spirit of whom one of their number had dreamed long ago. The dreamer later imparted them to his fellows. During the performance of the dances the okitcitau were fanned by the skaupéwis with an eagle tail fan.

It is said that the mere presence of the soldiers' tent prevented any quarrels among the tribesmen, and my informants denied that they had ever heard of a quarrel in a camp where one existed. However, the soldiers regulated the camp and when the band or tribe was gathered, the okitcitau picked out the place where the tents were to be pitched, although I could not learn that there was any order of precedence. If any individual disobeyed, he was heavily fined. The okitcitau preserved order at the sun dance and on other festal occasions. They also selected the central pole for the sun dance structure.

OKITCITAU RIVALRY.

Sometimes a party of okitcitau would seize a couple of youths, strip them and force them to lie naked beside the fire until their friends could prevail upon someone who could count more or greater coups than any of the tormentors to come into the soldiers' tent, recount his brave deeds and

release the sufferers. The actual counting of his coups before releasing the victims was not required in a case where the rescuer was a person of great renown.

Sometimes when someone was getting up a dog feast, a party of soldiers would enter and count their coups. Those who were bravest would then appropriate the food, to the discomfiture of the unwilling host and the lesser warriors.

THE OKITCITAU AND WAR.

War was the natural occupation and diversion of the okitcitau, and war parties rarely set out without an okitcitau to lead them. A bundle of clothes and blankets was usually thrown away to propitiate the gods before starting. All the warriors carried dried meat, except the okitcitau, who only bore a pipe. He, however, had a servant who carried his food and extra moccasins.

Only those who had had propitious dreams were used as scouts. They bound grass on their heads, like the Bungi, in order to conceal them when stalking the enemy. They often disguised themselves in blankets or wolf skins, and signalled each other by howling. There were always two scouts for each war party. Scouts loved to play practical jokes on the war party, or on the home camp.

Mrs. Paget says:—

Sometimes a scout, coming upon friendly Indians, would wait until nightfall before approaching them, and without any warning would throw a stone into the middle of the encampment; whereupon every dog in the camp would set up the most hideous yelps and barkings, to the alarm of all the Indians. In a moment every brave would rush for his own particular pony and be prepared to do or die, when from the distance they would be greeted by some jocular remark in their own tongue from the author of the alarm. Perhaps they would be informed that the Blackfoot nation was sound asleep many hundreds of miles away, and that the speaker was very sorry that his sneezing had been mistaken for a fusillade of the enemies' guns, and in conclusion the speaker would remark that he was delighted to join a band of Indians who slept so lightly, as he was particularly in need of a few nights' rest at the time, and would be happy to leave the watching for the enemy to them. But, as stated before, this Indian would surely be paid back in full for his trick.¹

In fighting sometimes one okitcitau would rush out ahead of his party toward the enemy, fling his knife down so it stuck in the ground, and fight beside it. A rival soldier would then rush out a little farther and do the same. Then the first would outdo him, and so on.

¹ Mrs. Paget, 135-136.

Sometimes, according to Kenewuskwahûm, a small war party would set out armed only with feather-ornamented double-edged knives. They would go forth at night, singing: —

He yai yewe
Heyauwutcnitawe
He yu he he
N'yoh, etc.

Before they left they would make a big fire and the leader, stripping, would stand in it (fire-walk?) without injury. When he came out the others would cut willows, and line up to make him run the gauntlet. He was beaten on his bare skin without mercy. At the conclusion of these ordeals he would prophesy what success the party would have: how many of the enemy they would kill, and where the foe would be encountered. How many horses they would capture was also announced. If the prophet saw a dark cloud, it meant death to himself or some other member of the party, even if success attended the raid.

Sometimes an okitcatau leader would be approached by the people bearing gifts, and asking him to take out a party. He would accept and when the party had camped twice after leaving the soldiers' tent, he would spread out the gifts and sing, in part as follows: —

Hai yi ye ye ye
Hai yi ye ye
Hai hi hi hi ye.

The others kept silent, and when the leader was through, he would prophesy, perhaps as follows, in an oracular manner. "If we meet them we will kill none. If we pass them we will kill many."

A man on his first war party was servant to the others and cooked for them. It was customary for the warriors to eat raw buffalo liver when they had killed a bison, but the novice could not partake until the leader had blackened it with charcoal and presented it to him. He was obliged to have the leader split and blacken all marrow bones for him. He might not scratch his own head, and had to ask another to do it for him with a stick. On a war party all meat was roasted on spits before the fire. It was a perilous task, and had to be done carefully lest the enemy catch the party at it.

Although the mother-in-law and father-in-law taboos were formerly very strong, there was one occasion when they might be temporarily lifted. When a man returned from a successful raid, he blackened his face with charcoal and went directly to his parents-in-law, told them what he had done, gave them part or all of his spoils, and, beginning with his father-in-law, blackened their faces. This was a great honor to them.

In former times it was taboo to ask a Cree for his name, and no man ever mentioned his own name except when boasting of his coups, especially on the return of a war party. On such an occasion he might repeat the story of his exploit and add: "I am So-and-so, and that is the way I am accustomed to do!"

THE OKITCITAU AND THE BUFFALO HUNT.

One of the most important phases of the work of the okitcitau was the regulation of the buffalo hunt. In those days the okitcitau of the head tent would choose two or four of their men, taking those who had swiftest horses, to scout for buffalo. The scouts reported to the chief of the leading band who in turn told the okitcitau who announced to the camp that buffalo had been sighted, and what the chief's orders were. Announcements were made by the servant of the okitcitau.

If the camp was ordered to pursue the buffalo and for any reason any families did not wish to move with the rest they prepared some fine food and brought it to the door of the soldiers' tent with the request that they might remain behind. This was granted cheerfully. The same procedure was demanded of those who wished to turn back on the march. Likewise a destitute person would bring food to the tent and beg for assistance. The okitcitau would then go through the camp levying on everyone until all the needs of the sufferer were supplied.

I propose to give two descriptions of the buffalo hunt. The first received from Spotted-one, assisted by Jacob Bear and Assiniboine; the other from Four-clouds, whose father had been a noted poundmaker. In the former case it will be observed that the narrators deny the uses of medicines, making the procedure unduly simple. The latter affirms them, from his better knowledge.

The warriors on their very fast buffalo horses would steal up on the buffalo and surround them. Then, at the shout of command from the chief, they would encircle the herd, get it to milling, and ride in and shoot the animals, especially with bows and arrows. After the hunt, the meat was taken and apportioned equally, so that all the old and poor were provided for.

When a large band was encamped individual hunting was not permitted for fear of stampeding the herds. It was one of the chief functions of the okitcitau to prevent this. A man who violated the rule would have his property destroyed and his tent torn to ribbons. The punishment was particularly severe in case he resisted either by word or action, but if he took

the penalty quietly, or laughed good-humoredly, within four days his property was restored in greater abundance and better quality than ever. It is said that hunting buffalo by burning the grass was impossible, as the buffalo grazed it down too closely.

Impounding was frequently resorted to. In describing the procedure, Spotted-one and Jacob Bear chose as typical a famous pound near Moose Jaw. A long funnel-shaped entrance was made by setting up bundles of willows about fifty yards apart, and, at various places along the line snow-banks were constructed behind which the watchers lay during the drive,

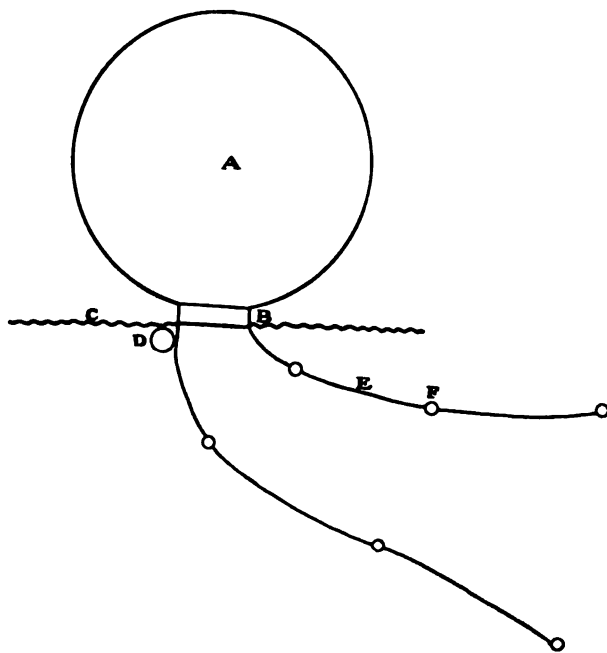


Fig. 1. Diagram of Buffalo Pound at Moose Jaw. a, Circular pen; b, Gate; c, Bluff; d, Escape for decoy; e, Funnel-shaped entrance; f, Watchers.

and observed the progress of the hunt through peepholes. This funnel ran along the top of a bluff, and suddenly turned at right angles over the edge, where there was a steep drop. Just at the angle a low embankment was built, and at the foot of the bluff a gate four feet high was constructed. This gate was at once low enough for the buffalo to spring over on their mad descent of the bluff, and too high for them to leap back in attempting to escape. Beyond this entrance was a solidly constructed circular pen built of logs to a height of seven feet or thereabouts. (Fig. 1.)

When it was desired to make a capture, a certain man was selected from among the few who had the ability to call the buffalo. Spotted-one, Jacob Bear, and Assiniboine, all denied that these people carried medicine or were persons endowed with dream powers, but explained that certain persons seemed to be able to call to the buffalo and get them to follow them without supernatural help.

The buffalo caller would approach the herd cautiously in an oblique direction, and when he had succeeded in attracting the attention of the bison he would stop, generally about thirty or forty yards away. The caller would then cry out, "Heh! heh! heh!" and slowly retreat on a zigzag course. The buffalo would begin to follow, and the caller retired until he had reached the mouth of the funnel and the herd had entered. Here he would make his escape to one side, (d), and the watchers behind the snow-banks would spring up and shout to stampede the herd. The bravest men were stationed at the angle, for here the buffalo were likely to overflow the banks and overwhelm the hunters. This was usually prevented by these watchers who stood up and held their blankets waist high, twitching them a few inches to right or left alternately and calling, "Ha! ha! ha!"

When the herd was run into the pound it was started milling, and this the Indians said was always a rush from east to west, or as the sun travels. These Cree had not heard of the Bûngi tradition that one buffalo escaped no matter how carefully the pound was watched. They denied that there was any central pole in the pound supporting medicine, and declared that there was no stone in the middle and no singer seated there to lure on the bison.

At the conclusion of the slaughter of the impounded buffalo, the tongues of the beasts were cut out and given to the men who had labored in the construction of the pound, and to the caller. The rest was equally distributed throughout the band.

The following information was obtained from Kenewuskwahûm (Four-clouds) whose uncle, Loud-voice, was a poundmaker. Four-clouds has seen all the features mentioned. His story is quite different from that of the mere hunters, Spotted-one, Assiniboine, and Jacob Bear.

The pound was made of logs driven firmly in the ground in a circle. (Fig. 2). There was an entrance gate (b) as described elsewhere and under it was placed a spirit rock and a buffalo skull, flanked by two crooked sticks from which were hung eagle feathers (c). In the center (d) was a pole with medicine tied on it, and at the rear were two exits for carrying off meat, and as a way of escape for persons who happened to be in the pound when the buffalo entered. Sometimes when the people were camping by a pound all winter, they found it too small for their needs, and were obliged to enlarge

it by piling up the buffalo meat already dried or frozen to make new bounds. "Meat Pound," in Saskatchewan, was a well-known trap named from this custom.

When the pound was ready, the maker approached the shrine and sang songs for the buffalo. He first laid his pipe before him and smudged it with sweetgrass. Then he raised the bowl of his pipe to the level of his forehead, offering the mouthpiece to the Powers Above. Then he reversed it and turned the bowl, pointing the mouthpiece in all directions, that all the gods might smoke. All this time he prayed. Then he laid down the pipe and

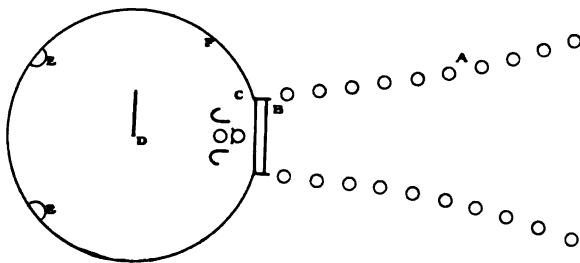


Fig. 2. Diagram of a Buffalo Pound, according to Four-clouds. *a*, Fence; *b*, Entrance gate; *c*, Spirit rock, buffalo skull, and sticks hung with eagle feathers; *d*, Pole for offerings; *e*, Exits for carrying out the meat; *f*, Enclosure.

began to sing. There were two kinds of buffalo, i. e., the black ones that could stand up and run, symbolized by the pipestem; and the white ones, like a robe, symbolized by the pipe bowl. There was a song for each variety. The first song is:—

"Pity my children, my men, and all my camp. Give me buffalo!" The second song was merely a prayer to the Gods Above (*Gitce manitu*) for a general blessing.

During the first song the poundmaker held up the pipestem; during the second he raised the bowl aloft. He then laid his pipe aside, and sang a third song which was merely: "aheyeye haiye" (repeated a number of times). After this came a fourth song. The meaning of these songs was probably magical, as no satisfactory explanation was obtained.

In the meantime a feast of meat and saskatoon or chokecherry soup, had been provided. The poundmaker caused this to be eaten, then whistled on a bone whistle and set forth with a companion. When near the herd he withdrew to a hill and waited until his companion went forward, located them and reported. Then he went to the herd and called them as before described.

When the buffalo were in the pound they were not killed at once. They were first caused to mill, and the poundmaker, from a coign of vantage on

the wall, puffed smoke on each individual as it went by, asking it not to hurt any of its slaughterers. When this had been done he gave the order for the killing to commence, and the shooting was done only with bows and arrows, as it would have been dangerous to the other Indians if rifles were used.

Sometimes the poundmaker did not leave the pen when the buffalo arrived, but stayed behind, standing at the foot of the medicine post to consecrate the buffalo with incense from his pipe as they passed. They never hurt him because of his powers; instead they often came to him and licked him. If one of the herd acted unruly, refused to mill, and turned against the tide, the poundmaker spoke to it without raising his voice, requesting it to go in the proper direction, and it would obey. When impounded late in the afternoon the buffalo were not killed till the next day. They were counted and one always escaped.

Joe Countois added that sometimes buffalo were called by a man who sat inside the pen instead of going out to meet them. He was usually an ordinary man without medicine power. A painted spirit stone was usually placed in the center of the pound at the foot of the pole, and offerings of cloth were hung on it. Henry Youle Hind, (355-359) gives an animated description of the impounding of buffalo by the Qu'Appelle River Cree which agrees in every important detail with that of Four-clouds.

In winter the herds were also surrounded by hunters on snowshoes, who endeavored to overtake the buffalo as they floundered about in the drifts and shot them with arrows. The buffalo were sometimes driven out on the ice and slain in the following manner. Where a point jutted out into a lake, the Indians would make a semi-surround and force the bison down the point on to the ice where they would fall and break their legs or hips, and were so generally helpless and slipped about so that they were readily slaughtered. This was called a "wolf pound," and was so called because the Indians say they first learned to do this by watching the wolves, who made a ready prey of the bison when they got them on the ice.

A variant of this scheme consisted in driving the buffalo out on thin ice where they broke through and were drowned en masse. The cold water preserved their bodies in primitive cold storage so that they were fit to use in the spring.

Individual hunters, off by themselves, usually crawled up to the herds and picked off such beasts as they selected. Sometimes ingenious subterfuges were resorted to in order to lure the buffalo within range. Jacob Bear and a companion hit upon the following device, which may have been generally known. Approaching the herd the other Indian disguised himself in a buffalo robe, got on all fours, and imitating a calf, began to bleat

pitifully, while Jacob, muffled in a white blanket to look like a wolf, pretended to attack him. This brought the buffalo to the succor of the supposed calf and gave the hunters an opportunity to shoot. This was on the Qu'Appelle River.

THE WETIGOKANŪK.

Four-clouds said that when the people were all camped together someone might announce that he would make a wetigokan dance, so a tent was set up in the center of the camp, apparently in imitation of the soldiers' lodge, and before it was placed a rod thickly hung with antelope hoofs or dewclaws. Then the maker of the ceremony, who was always a man who had dreamed the right to do so, set about making for himself a suit of grotesque ragged clothes and a mask with very long nose and small eyes and mouth. When this costume was completed he donned it and began to sneak about the camp peeping into the lodges. If he found a man at home he would enter and point at him with his staff, and that man was then obliged to arise and join him. Many men fled, when it was bruited about that so-and-so was out looking for associates, for many did not care to join. Often as many as ten were members.

The wetigokan, unlike the okitcitau, did their own cooking in their tent. When they needed food they would set off on foot looking for buffalo. If they shot any game they would dance up to it, indicating fear at intervals. When they reached it they would dance about it four times before butchering it. Once, according to Four-clouds and Spotted-one, a party of wetigokanŭk were hunting when the enemy surprised them. The enemy rushed up and fired, missing them, but the wetigokanŭk kept right on dancing with their weapons concealed. The enemy began to think these strange apparitions were manitu, and came close to watch, whereupon the leading wetigokan said to his men, "Don't shoot!" So they drew their guns and fired, killing one of the foe. The rest fled precipitately. The clowns then danced up to the body of the foe with their usual exhibition of fear, scalped it, cut it up, and packed it home.

The wetigokanŭk, following their leader, would go about camp where the buffalo meat was being dried on racks. The leader would stalk some of the best meat, and calling one of his ragamuffins to him, would point it out, saying in a stage whisper, "There is a fine fat buffalo." The clown with absurd pantomime would stalk the meat, and when very close would shoot at it. If he hit it he would fall over backwards in surprise and terror. If

he missed twice, they passed on and never even attempted to recover the arrows.

A great crowd usually followed these callithumpians in order to see the fun. Four-clouds said that the Indians would even leave a sun dance to enjoy the sport if there were wetigokanúk in camp. When the masqueraders had reached their tent the leader stuck up the hoof wand among the poles on the top of the lodge and they began to try to throw their meat in through the smoke hole. If they missed, the people took it, for they never tried to recover it. Spotted-one said that sometimes they would turn and without warning pitch the meat at the heads of the bystanders.

Inverted speech was a prominent feature. The leader always conjured his men to do the exact opposite of what he wanted. If he told them not to dance they fell to dancing at once. When they had meat the leader said grace as follows. "Great spirit, don't treat these old people (they were all youths) well. Don't feed them again." When called upon to scare disease devils out of a sick person, friends of the patient would often come to them with presents and beg them to stay away, saying, "Don't let our friend get well, tell him to die at once." They would come in, dance, and the leader would harangue as follows: — "This sick one will die," which was a sure means to secure his recovery.

Spotted-one said that when the wetigokanúk were feasting in their lodge the leader would cut up the meat and throw each man's share at him. I understood he would try to throw it in his mouth, in absurd imitation of the okitcitau. Of course, the mask wearers couldn't see very well, and if they missed the morsel four times they had to go hungry. Spotted-one said also that the wetigokanúk were men of great bravery. He declared that they did not shoot at the meat outside, and that they never went to war alone. He was probably wrong in the first of these statements, as everyone else told of the imitation buffalo hunt.

It will be observed that the Saulteaux (Bûngi) organization is very similar, and the Cree say that the Assiniboine clowns were the same as theirs.

DANCES AND DANCING ORGANIZATIONS.

It is said that all these dances and organizations were founded by men who dreamed that they had visited some supernatural person or animal, and obtained the characteristic formulae and paraphernalia, anyone might join who asked or who was asked. These dances and organizations were as follows:—

The Wetigokanók, or Cannibal Dancers, already described elsewhere.

The Buffalo Dancers.

The Prairie-Chicken Dance.

The Bear Dance.

The Horse Dance.

Mistuatimuk, or Big Dogs (found only at Touchwood Hills).

Round Dance (resembles Sioux Omaha and Central Algonkin Dreamers).

Throwing or Giving Away Dance.

To these may be added the scalp dance and open-end tent dance recorded by Mr. Robert Jefferson.¹

BUFFALO DANCE.

The buffalo dance was held in order to secure an abundance of buffalo, not to cure the sick, as is the case in many other tribes. At the Crooked Lake Reserves it has not been held for a long time, owing to the fact that the old men who "owned" it are now all dead and their paraphernalia have been buried with them. The men wore masks of bull hide completely covering the head and the women participants had similar masks of cowskin. These masks were made from the entire head of the buffalo. The dancers imitated the action of the buffalo, bellowing, stamping, and hooking the ground. Mrs. Paget, who was probably an eye-witness of such a dance, says:—

The Buffalo Dance was a very peculiar one, and was indulged in by very few of the Indians. Those taking part in it would paint or colour all their bodies with red clay, and would wear a buffalo head or mask, which had been skinned and dried, with horns complete, and which looked wonderfully natural; into their belts at the back they would stick the tail of a buffalo, and around their ankles they wore strips of buffalo hide. The very heaviest part of the fur, taken from the boss or hump, was

¹ Mr. F. E. Pease, in the *Museum Journal*, University of Pennsylvania, Sept. 1912, gives a similar list for the Cree of Montana.

used for these anklets. In their hands the dancers carried long spears, decorated with buffalo tails, and coloured strips of dressed buffalo-skin. The dancers were formed in a very large circle, but not confined to it, in the centre of which stood a young boy and girl, holding in their hands a small vessel containing some kind of medicine. These children would be kept standing for hours at a time while the Indians danced around them; and as the dancers could sit down and rest between intervals of singing and drumming, they never seemed to realize how very tired the two youngsters could become, or if the day was very hot, how harmful it was for them. Upon the last celebration of this dance at Fort Qu'Appelle, the little girl fainted before the ceremony was finished.

The Indians taking part in it would jump up as soon as the musicians started their singing and drumming, and after running around all or part of the circle, would dance about as long as the music lasted; as soon as it stopped they would sit down and rest. This was the most animated and interesting of all the dances. The Indians, daubed with the rusty-red clay, bearing their grotesque and hideous masks, and armed with long spears from which flaunted coloured streamers, rushed hither and thither, charging the spectator as if an infuriated buffalo were about to impale him upon his horns, and, with the cessation of the drumming, sank exhausted to the ground. The airs the musicians sang for this dance were really very tuneful, and were an inspiration to the dancers.¹

PRAIRIE-CHICKEN DANCE.

This dance, performed by both men and women is another mimetic ceremony in which the actions of breeding prairie-chickens, which do dance in company while courting, are reproduced. The Indians strut and hop in ludicrous fashion just as the birds do. It is a religious ceremony the nature of which was not learned. It has a dream leader. To the preceding data, Dr. Robert H. Lowie adds some information obtained at Hobbema, Alberta. Only men danced, generally in the summer, one man dancing at a time, the ceremony ending at sunset. Both men and women sang. The head dancer wore a fringed leather shirt and an eagle cap was donned by each dancer in turn. Small hand drums were used, those seen being painted with red circles with radiating lines in the center to represent the sun. A big lodge was erected for the performers.

BEAR DANCE.

This dance is still performed every year and it will be noted that a similar ceremony is known to the Eastern Cree.² It is done to obtain the good will

¹ Mrs. Paget, 48-50.

² Skinner, this series, vol. 9. 40.

of the bears and as a prayer for their assistance in obtaining long life. The dancers are dressed entirely in bearskins, and imitate bears. Others wear bear masks. Some represent hunters and shot them.

HORSE DANCE.

No information could be obtained about this ceremony. It is, presumably, like the others, a mimetic dance to obtain increase of the herds.

BIG DOGS DANCE.

This dance is not held at any of the reserves under the Crooked Lake agency, but is said to be in vogue at Touchwood Hills. The dancers carry bone whistles and little painted sticks with beaded streamers and brass jinglers pendant from them. They wear crow feathers on their heads. They all carry little rattles and Four-clouds adds they also carry a drum. The chorus of their characteristic song is:—

“Hai ye! hai ye! hai ye! hai ye! Yuue!”

In the case of all the other dances this society was founded by a man who dreamed the rite. He went somewhere during his vision and was there taught.

ROUND DANCE.

This is a very popular performance in which all take part. As the name implies, the participants dance in a circle about or near a large drum. The men and women dance at separate intervals. The men deck themselves with bells and beads, some carry decorated hoops through which they squirm with many contortions without ceasing to dance. The singing is done by the drummers, who carol in high pitched nasal tones. The women wear circular feather bonnets and headdresses bearing buffalo horns during the dance. It seems to be a modification of the Sioux “Omaha” and Central Algonkin “Dream” or “Religion” dance. The steps are unlike the Central type, and resemble those in vogue among the Saulteaux at Long Plains. The Saulteaux, who also use the hoop, which, by the way is foreign to the Central Algonkin, claim that this idea was introduced by the Sioux from whom they got the dance. The dance is called “powowing” by the whites, and is very popular among both boys and girls at the Round Lake Mission, who, though forbidden, do it constantly in secret in the

woods, where I have several times seen and joined them. A feature seems to be the calling out of young men to kiss the girls who are dancing, for which they receive a little present. There seems to be an organization with singers, servant, etc., as among the *Saulteaux*.

THROWING-AWAY DANCE.

Another dance, tabooed by the government is called the "Throwing-Away" or "Giving-Away" dance, and is not the property of an organization. As the proceeding was interdicted it was hard to persuade any of the Indians at the Crooked Lakes agency to speak of it except to say that it was a form of sacrifice to please the Great Spirit. Mrs. Paget says: —

There were other dances of no real importance, which any Indian could begin — for instance, the "Giving-away Dance," which would be started by some Indian who happened to have something he wished to give to some friend of his. He would take a small flat drum, and with his hand beat an accompaniment to a song, the words of which would mean that the present he was giving was the very best of its kind to be had, was new and was very useful. The recipient would have to give something in exchange, and in a little while almost every Indian in the camp would be seen bobbing up and down to the time of the beating of the drum and the song of the "Giving-away Dance."

The Indians have a keen sense of humour, and many of them would make up the most ridiculous words in praise of some article they were giving away, and thus cause no end of amusement to the onlookers. To such an extreme was this dance carried at times, that some of the Indians would give away almost everything they possessed, so that it was a positive blessing when rain came and put a stop to it.¹

Of this ceremony, Mr. Robert Jefferson in an unpublished manuscript in the possession of the museum dealing with the Cree near Battleford, says: —

Another religious ceremony of the Cree Indians, which also takes the form of a dance is the "mah-tah-nit-too-win," a word which is untranslatable. The nearest that can be got to it is: "a passing of something to each other." The man who is competent to "make" this dance must be an adept at all weather practise, and familiar through his visions with the little demons called "Pah-gat-koo-suk."² These are supposed to be ghosts of a mischievous type, surprising people in the scrub, apparently with the sole object of frightening them. They are not given to showing themselves, but manifest their whereabouts by whistling. They are, however, described as small skeletons and they inhabit bushy places. Indians wandering round at night exhibit an almost childish fear of these little goblins on account of the misfortune they can bring, and to propitiate them is observed the ceremony of the "give-away" dance, as it is often called.

¹ Mrs. Paget, 51-52.

² The *Pigûk* of the *Ojibway* and *Pa'ka'* of the *Menomini*.

A large round tent, taking two or three tipi covers to roof it in, is made, the doorway large and open to the north, with a rude carving of a human figure cut in green poplar, on each side of it. Outside, at the cardinal points of the compass are four poplar sticks, stuck in the ground. Each guest brings eating utensils, a big dish or kettle, and a spoon. At the far side of the tent, opposite the door, sits the convener of the meeting, with a little fire in front of him, and by his side are placed a bladder of fat and his magic rattle. This rattle is made of thin rawhide, shaped while green, but now hard and dry, with two or three pieces of metal inside it, and tied in a light handle six or eight inches long. The drum is not used in this dance. Four of the male guests are now deputed to go outside with loaded guns, each at the signal of the rattle to fire at one of the four posts. When all is ready, the maker of the dance starts to sing, accompanying himself on the rattle. Suddenly, the four guns outside are heard and the whole assembled crowd joins in the song. When it is ended, the rattle is passed on to the next man in the row, who sings his song. So the rattle goes round the circle, skipping the women on its way, and is returned to its owner. Next, some of the men take the kettles of food and ladle it out into the dishes of the company, who speedily devour it. All this is only preliminary.

The serious part of the ceremony begins with the rising of the priest of the cult and the man opposite to him. The former takes the bladder of fat, bites a piece out and spits it on the fire as an offering to the "ghosts," then waves it back and forward with both hands, feigning to be about to throw it toward the other, who stands ready to catch it. Finally, it is thrown; caught, seldom missed, the catcher repeating over and over, "I catch such and such a thing as the fly," naming whatever he needs most, as for instance, "I catch long life as the fly," or, "I catch health for my daughter," or, "I catch a good hunt." Then it is thrown back to the first man, who repeats the formula adapted to his needs. So it is passed back and forward along the lines to the end.

Now begins the "Mah-tah-hit-too-win." Any person in the community may go up to another, sing an appropriate tune, dance up and down by bending the knees, and finish by saying, "I bestow such and such a thing on thee." It is then incumbent on the recipient to dance off to somebody something of equal value. It is supposed that any balance between the value of receipts and issues is made up at the expense of the receiver's luck. So, most people want to give as much as they receive for fear that the difference may be taken out of them by fate.

For four nights this goes on, and property changes hands, briskly passing from one person to another. The tent is full of people all the time and the originator of the ceremony spends all his time there, but it is not absolutely necessary to go there to "dance off" property. Any person encountered casually may have something bestowed on him, which, or its equivalent, he seeks an opportunity of passing on to someone else. By request, one more night may be added to the time during which opportunity is given for "doing" a neighbor out of health or good fortune at the expense of worldly possessions.

The sharp ones often "dance off" balky horses or things they are tired of in the hope of bettering themselves, and the young and thoughtless have a general good time during the dance.

SCALP DANCE.

The following data are also from a manuscript by Mr. R. Jefferson.

The scalp of a dead enemy was the first thing taken; indeed, it was not necessary that he be dead so long as he was unable to resist the mutilation. Many even survived it. A cut was made around the head just above the eyebrows and ears, and the skin taken off with the teeth. This operation was often performed hurriedly and imperfectly, in which case the next man came in for the remainder, and one head might furnish two scalps. Even a small portion was cherished. A willow wand was bent into circular form, a little bigger than the scalp, and tied fast. The flesh side of the scalp was then cleaned and the scalp was stretched in the willow ring by means of a string passed through holes in the edges. For the time being the whole thing was hung to the end of a stick five or six feet long which served the purpose of display, and was used as a walking stick.

On the return of a successful war party with one or more scalps, they halt at a short distance from, but out of sight of, the camp, and paint themselves on all exposed parts with a compound of grease, lead, and charcoal. The lead tritured, as it were, by the greased hands, the result with a little charcoal added is rubbed on the body. Thus adorned, they commence their ceremonious entrance into camp. The owners of scalps march in the middle front, bearing their trophies. The others act as a chorus, naming the successful warrior and singing the scalp songs. When the attention of the camp was attracted, all would rush toward them to hear the news. The custom was to rifle the tents of the near relatives of those who brought home scalps; probably with the idea that they were so transported with joy as not to notice the depredation. This was the next step, and all hastened to take what they could lay hands on, so that a returned warrior was often obliged to seek shelter and food in someone else's lodge. It was more profitable for a man to devote his talents and *audacity to horse-stealing rather than the acquisition of scalps, and yet this latter was infinitely more desired.*

The dance is a day dance and only women take part in it. Their faces and hands are blackened like those of the men. The drum is used and the songs are peculiar to the dance. All join in the tune and someone is inspired to set words that suit the occasion. In this recitative, the name of the hero is conspicuous, and then comes the chorus. The scalp wands are snatched at intervals by the dancers who walk round and round in time to the tune.

At night, men as well as women participate and the drum is used. The tunes are of the same kind. All sit round, the sexes on opposite sides. The drumming is begun, a tune started and one after another rises from the ground and promenades round slowly, inside the circle, till the singing ceases, when they suddenly stop and hurry to their places. This goes on until they get tired.

OPEN-END TENT DANCE.

Another ceremony recorded by Mr. Jefferson, and which seems related to the Ojibway Jibai Midéwin, is the Open-End Tent Dance.

It is customary for every Cree family, like the Ojibway and Menomini, to keep what is called "the burden" relics of the dead wrapped in a bundle and enclosed in

colored, generally red strouds, or the best cloth they can afford. When a household loses one of its members by death, everything belonging to the deceased is given away, sometimes even the belongings of the whole family. This is to get out of sight all the articles in everyday use which remind those bereaved of the lost one. But some small memento is preserved and treasured. These accumulate and form the "burden." It falls to the lot of the women to take care of this, and it is faithfully carried round wherever she has a journey to make, or moves camp.

The ceremony of the open-end tent is a sacrifice, a feast, and a dance, a mournful dance. Here again, it seems to fall naturally within the province of female activity to take the lead in celebrating the annual memorial ceremony; but she must be one in communion with the spirits, she must be a dreamer, and she is generally old. The tent is made in the fall in every Indian village. It is a long and narrow structure of small poles, roofed in with tents lent for the occasion and open on the south end, whence its name. Anyone who wishes, which means all those interested in the ceremony, lends a hand in the making.

Every woman goes provided with a kettleful of food, and also takes with her the "burden." She who initiates the ceremony sits at the far end of the tent with a little fire before her. The kettles are deposited around the fire and the "burdens" given over to her by the women as they arrive. The "burdens" she hangs up. Women line one side of the tent and men the other, while young people crawl in under the flaps of the sides and crouch informally behind.

The priestess, when all have arrived, makes a prayer to the spirits and her familiar, burns a piece of sweetgrass, and throws a little of the food on the fire, as a sacrifice. Then the feast begins. Everyone has a dish of some kind, and into these the food is ladled with a cup from the kettles by a server going along the lines. A hash of meat and saskatoon berries is the favorite dish on this occasion, but anything eatable will do. All has to be eaten up; nothing must be left over, and here is where the young ones, nestled down behind prove useful. It is quite a silent feast, outside of the necessary noise of eating and clattering dishes. After the feeding is done, the priestess rises to her feet and starts a wail. All follow, and dance slowly down and back, with heads shrouded, lamenting and weeping. The "burdens" are selected, when reached in the course of the promenade, and nursed in the arms as the dancers go round and round. The priestess starts a song, a melancholy one, without words, and all take up the tune as they dance solemnly up and down the long enclosure. They stop, sit down for a while, and someone else starts a tune, all rise and dance as before. This is kept up till the approach of morning, when everybody goes home and the ceremony is concluded for that year.

There is no particular dress attached to this ceremony; indeed, no attempt at adornment, the idea is to attend with a kettle of food and the bundle of relics. The food that is thrown on the fire is fed to the spirits of the lost ones. The wailing on these occasions has reached the standard of an art, and is horrible to listen to.

SACRED PIPESTEM DANCE.

The sacred pipestem dance was given before going to war on some occasions in order that the harvest of scalps and horses might be rich, and at other times as a sort of sacrifice to the Great Spirit that he might cause the

earth to produce abundance of fruits and plenty of buffalo. A long lodge was made, and cut in the sod, and the ornamented stem was set upon supports in this. Then the bowl was filled and placed beside the stem. The keeper, standing before the altar prayed to all directions, and then laid the pipe bowl on a pile of offerings of clothes, etc., laid before the altar. He next took up the stem, prayed, and raising the pipe heavenward sang a song in part as follows:—

Hai ye, ye, ye (four times repeated)
He, he he he
Kezikomāskiniyan, etc.

As he sings he turns to all the points of the compass holding out the stem. All the others then join in the singing, and the keeper begins to dance, swinging the stem before him over his head and shoulders in a series of graceful arcs. After the ceremony the pipe was lighted and passed to the elders. They did not really smoke, but only puffed a little and stroked the stem with their hands. As soon as this was over it was carefully rewrapped in its bundle and returned to its tripod.

PEACE-MAKING PIPE DANCE.

Another and more important ceremony, if possible, was the making of peace, from which this medicine got its name, "the Peace-Making Pipe." When negotiations with the enemy had been opened with the sending of tobacco, the pipe keeper and his assistants held a feast, at which the pipe and its stem were present, carefully wrapped up. After the feast they set out, carrying the precious calumet. When they encamped they first held a ceremony in which they raised their arms to all the directions and prayed for the blessing of Kitci Manitu upon their undertaking. They also each touched the pipe four times.

When they approached the enemy they did so from the rear, where they were met by the ambassadors of that tribe to whom the pipe was offered. The pipe was lighted, and the following song was sung:

"Keziko mikoaski mitan," etc.

After this the enemy, and then the Cree, each took the pipe in regular right to left rotation, and each puffed four times. Certain songs were sung, and the pipestem dance was performed, after which all cried, "Hau, hau!" and the matter was then arbitrated, and the pipe really smoked.

There have been three pipes among the Cree, but there are only two

now, as the Qu'Appelle River band sent theirs to the Blood to make peace, and the latter still have it.

Andrew Bear said that years ago the Cree and Sioux made peace and agreed to suspend the sacred pipestem from a pole at their camps as a sign that they were at peace. A band of Sioux surprised a camp of Cree at Round Lake, where this sign had been omitted by mistake, and slew most of them, Spotted-one's father and two wives escaping. A war party was organized which pursued the Sioux, missed them but found a Sioux village where the symbol had been omitted likewise, and attacked it by mistake. Both raiding parties found the sacred stems when they looted each other's camps, and both were sorry, so peace was easily restored. This was seventy to seventy-five years ago.

SMOKING TO THE GREAT SPIRIT.

This ceremony, which seems identical with one reported among the Bûngi, save that it lacks the torture features, is an annual sacrifice to the Great Spirit, usually given by some member of the band in fulfillment of a vow made when some relative was ill. According to Chief Walter, the host in 1913, from whom this information was obtained in the lodge, before the function, it must be held every year, and always by a different person. No invitations are sent, but the news is allowed to leak out and all members of the band who are so inclined contribute to the limit of their ability.

The ceremony for 1913 took place during the night of June 8th, and the writer was present at the invitation of Chief Walter, the host, and several of the elders. It was an exceedingly simple procedure and devoid of dramatic elements. The rites began at sun down, and were held on the prairie. An unorganized camp clustered about the tipi which stood in the center with another tent nearby. One tent was merely used as a storehouse for the paraphernalia, and was of the usual form. The other ceremonial lodge was very large, about twenty-five feet in diameter, at least forty lodge poles being employed in its construction. (Fig. 3.) It was minus any door, and was entered by lifting the wall canvas. Between the two tents a poplar pole crowned with leaves was erected, bearing a British flag, a square of red broadcloth, and a human figure of leaves, about three feet high, with a leafy crescent in each hand.

The host was in the lodge long before dark, and just at dusk the servant (skaupéwis) bearing the four pipes to be used, and followed by four boys,

passed from his lodge to the tent, wailing, circled it once, and entered. Immediately the host came out and announced through the camp that the time had drawn nigh and the guests were to assemble.

Entering the lodge it was observed that the center was occupied by an altar about six inches deep, cut out of the sod (Fig. 3). In the middle blazed a fire, and on the east and west sides were incense fires which were constantly supplied with sweetgrass by two attendants seated by them. These men lit the pipes for the host and elders. The host filled them himself. The host's place was to the north, and to his left on the east side were a stuffed grass object, apparently representing a buffalo, and four posts about one foot high, covered with cloth. From the poles above hung calicoes and four strips of scarlet broadcloth, all sacrifices contributed by the devotees.

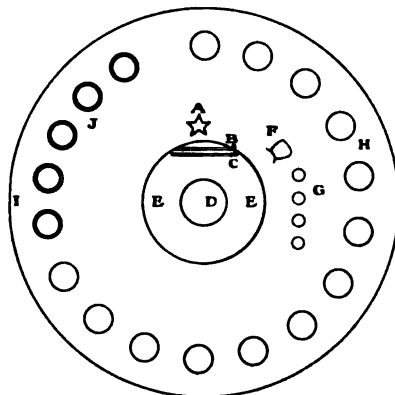


Fig. 3. Diagram of the "Smoking Tent,"
 a, The host's place; b-c, Sacred pipes; d, Fireplace; e, Incense fires; f, Image of a buffalo; g, Stakes with offering; A, Men participants; i, Entrance; j, Women participants.

The participants were seated all about the walls of the lodge, the oldest men in the east, (all entered from the west), and the women together in the northwest. The host was naked, with a blanket about his loins. His hair hung loose, and he should have been painted white, according to Jacob Bear, but was guiltless of pigment. In front of him the four pipes rested on the altar on a little rack of twigs. He talked to me, saying that it was through the pipes that he would appeal to Gitce Manitu. Presently Walter arose and spoke, concluding by stretching his arms skyward in prayer. Food which circled the altar in kettles, and tea were distributed.

The next event, the opening of the ceremony now took place. The host arose, and beginning in the east circled the lodge once, grasping a pole in each hand and weeping, mumbling a prayer between sobs, until he had concluded the circuit. He then incensed and filled the largest pipe, offered it to all the gods and passed it to Four-clouds, who sat on his left. Here an attendant lit it and Four-clouds in an outburst of tears and wailing sobbed a prayer, smoked, and passed the pipe to his left. Thus it circled the lodge.

Reaching behind him, Walter then took up the bundle of rawhide rattles, consecrated them, and passed them to Four-clouds, who intoned a prayer in a broken voice, keeping time with the rattle. Then those furnished with

rattles took up the chant. During the entire evening one man who sat behind Walter hidden by offerings kept up a continuous tooting on a whistle.

This was the scope of the entire function, the pipes and rattles circulated till dawn with endless repetition. Then a crier announced the end of the ceremony which was, as can be seen, simply a prayer meeting. The lodge was instantly dismantled and the offerings carried out into the bushes and there left to rot as sacrifices. The songs and prayers related to the passing of the old days, the vanishing of the buffalo, and the dominance of the whites. They also included thanks to the Great Spirit for his present goodness and prayers that his mercy might continue.

SEXUAL CONFESSION.

The following peculiar sexual confession was sometimes held. A man would erect his tent over a spirit stone or a buffalo skull, and, calling the men together would order them to recount their illicit sexual relations. This they were all obliged to do, and truthfully, otherwise ill luck would overtake them. The ceremony is similar to that found among the Plains-Ojibway (Bûngi), Crow, and Blackfoot.

Once Jacob Bear's nitistawa (son's father-in-law) went to visit another band. A girl, a young widow, of that band was staying with his people, and, having taken a fancy to him, she followed him at a distance. When he made camp and went to bed, she joined him. He had, however, made a vow of temporary sexual purity and that night he refused all her advances. The same thing happened the next night, but the following evening they reached her camp. The girl told her relatives that she had slept with the man every night and was married to him. He denied it, declared that he had no intercourse with her, and refused to marry her. The next day one of her relatives called a sexual confession before a spirit rock especially to entrap him, but he was able to enter the lodge and swear to his purity, an act which those present justly considered a remarkable feat.

BEAR CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

Unlike the Eastern Cree, the Plains-Cree at the Crooked Lake Agency have no ceremony prior to killing a bear, but after the bear is slain it is laid out on its stomach with its head between its paws. A mark is made on its forehead and on the back of its neck with yellow ochre and a pile of red cloth is put on its head. A pipe is then fitted and given to the bear with a prayer for its good will. Then the pipe is offered to all the gods and the dream guardians of those present. The bear is always so treated after having been brought into the slayer's tent, where it is laid out in the guest's place. After the ceremony a feast is made.

According to Four-clouds the skull of the bear is not preserved or hung up, although he stated that the "bell" pendant from the neck of the moose is always hung up on the nearest tree as soon as that animal is slain, as an offering to the gods. The bear's bones too are cast about promiscuously, and allowed to fall a prey to the dogs, something that an Eastern Cree would not tolerate. Jacob Bear, who is an Eastern Cree, told me that he had observed that the customs of the Plains-Cree were at variance with those practised by his father in all these regards. Grizzly bears were considered so formidable that they were only hunted by parties of warriors.

The following synonyms for bear (*múskwú*) were noted. Some are the same as those used by the Eastern Cree, but the Plains people could give no reasons for this: —

wakaiuc — crooked
okemauokusan — chief's son
neokwataicin — ?
nestoiuc — tired (?)

Four-legged human, is still another term.

On the evening of June 16, 1913, Neil Sauwustim shot a bear. The following day at noon the writer visited Kenewuskwahûm's camp where Sauwustim was staying and there partook of the bear feast. The skin had already been removed and was lying folded up, head outermost, in the place of honor. In front of it sat Kétikānakwûs (Spotted-one), Kenewuskwahûm (variously translated as Four-clouds, and as "Piercing-clouds-by-means-of-four-spikes-in-his-breasts), and the writer. The slayer of the bear, Four-clouds' son-in-law, and Four-clouds' son, who acted as *skaupéwis* for the occasion, sat at the right. Other guests were on the left, and the women near the door. The kettle of bear meat seethed and bubbled over a

fire in the center of the lodge. For some time, while the meat cooked, Four-clouds busied himself with preparing tobacco and kinnikinic which he cut up and mixed on a square board. When the meat was ready, the skaupé-wis distributed it, giving the lion's share to Kétikānakwūs.

When the meat was portioned off, Four-clouds made a short address, filled the pipe, gave it to Spotted-one, and lighted it while he puffed. Spotted-one, then, as master of ceremonies, for he is a distinguished old man, smoked a few puffs and then offered the mouthpiece skyward praying that the day should be propitious and that no one should be injured while the sun shone. He then offered it to the ground with a prayer that the powers of darkness should be equally kind to men, then to the four world quarters with prayers to the winds, and last of all to the bear, telling it that it had been slain to furnish food, and begging its good will and future abundance of bears. He then passed back the pipe which was relighted and passed to the rest. Next Spotted-one raised the dish of bear meat before him above his bowed head as an offering to Gitce Manitu to whom he prayed. Lowering the dish he cut off some tiny morsels of each kind of flesh thereon, and cast them in the fire as a sacrifice. The ceremonies were now over, but the pipe passed frequently. Sawustim related how he had seen and slain the bear, and Four-clouds regaled us with bear stories of the past. Each had brought his own dish and at the end each carried home some meat.

PAWNEE INDIAN SOCIETIES.

BY JAMES R. MURIE.

INTRODUCTION.

The following discussion of Pawnee societies was prepared by James R. Murie, a member of the Skidí division, under the direction of the editor who is in the main responsible for its form and limitations. Mr. Murie's method was to collect and write out in full such information on the several topics as could be secured. These notes were then made the subject of several conferences with the editor during which the present manuscript was prepared. It being thus essentially an original contribution, the editor has not considered it necessary to add comments on the previous literature. The important titles on the Pawnee are the three articles by John B. Dunbar in the *Magazine of American History* for 1880-81; *Pawnee Hero Stories* (1893) by George Bird Grinnell; *The Hako* (1894) by Miss Alice C. Fletcher; and two volumes of myths by George A. Dorsey; *Traditions of the Skidí Pawnee* (1904) and *The Pawnee Mythology* (1906). In all of these except the two first, Mr. Murie was a collaborator.

While this paper is primarily concerned with societies as treated in the preceding pages, a general outline of the tribal ceremonial scheme is given for perspective, there being no publication to date that treats this subject systematically. This will probably be sufficient to give a general idea of the place and significance of Pawnee societies as parts of their culture complex.

The drawings are by Mr. S. Ichikawa from specimens and sketches furnished by the author.

The Editor.

September, 1914.

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THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PAWNEE.

The Pawnee formerly lived along the Platte River in what is now Nebraska. They were composed of four independent tribes, the Skidí, Chauf,¹ Kit'kaháxki, and Pítahaurata. Of these, the Skidí was the largest and in most respects the leading tribe. In language, it differs slightly from the other three tribes which have one and the same dialect. The Skidí were composed of thirteen villages, or bands. The Pítahaurata were in two villages, the Kawarakis and Pítahaurat. The Chauf and Kit'kaháxki were each single villages.

These villages, or bands, were the social units but seemingly placed no rigid restrictions upon marriage. A man got his place in a village through his mother. The women never left the village in which they were born, but if a man married a woman from another village, he must go there to live. His children were always considered members of the mother's village. In fact, the villages were in principle endogamous, for a man could not marry outside except with the consent of his village as represented by the governing officials, who usually opposed such unions on the ground that the strength of the village would be depleted.

THE BUNDLE SCHEME.

The basis of the social and political organization of the Skidí is their peculiar sacred bundle scheme, the detailed discussion of which does not fall within the scope of this paper. Hence, we shall but briefly note its general outline. The name for a sacred bundle is *chúharipiru* (*chuhuru*, rainstorm; *ripiru*, wrapped up), but sometimes it is spoken of as *atira* (mother), referring in this case to two ears of corn kept in each bundle and symbolically spoken of as the mother of the people. The reference to rain is due to the conception that the important powers of the world reside in the west, the home of the thunderers, from whence the powers of the bundles

¹ The Chauf were known to the French as the Grand Pawnee and their chief as *le grand chef*. The Skidí all lived on the north side of the Platte in Nebraska while the other three divisions were to the south. In the *Journal of La Vérendrye*, 1743, the lodge of the Grand Chief is mentioned, which incidentally enables us to locate the route of this explorer. In aboriginal days the Skidí seem to have been noted as cultivators of corn and have traditions of visits from distant tribes to replenish their stock of seed. Even the Comanche made such visits. According to Murie, the Skidí villages were often called the *Awahl* (*Harahey*) and when Coronado reached the Wichita they were naturally referred to as the leading people of the country.—Ed.

come. While all these bundles had their individualities, they had certain ceremonies in common: thus at the sound of the first thunder in spring, the keeper of each bundle must immediately open it with the proper procedure and make an offering of dried buffalo meat to the powers in the west.¹ This offering is burned, but after the ceremony the remaining meat is cooked and served.

As to how far this applied to the other divisions of the Pawnee, cannot be determined for they have not preserved their bundles and rituals to the same extent as have the Skidí. The Chauf are known to have had three bundles, the Pítahaurata, two; but those of the Kit'kaháxki passed out so long ago that no definite number can be enumerated. The rituals of all these bundles were seemingly different from those of the Skidí in that so far as we know they did not have the regular thunder ceremony, but consecrated the bundles to certain animals. It is not known for certain if the sacred ears of corn were kept in these bundles as in those of the Skidí, but there are some reasons for believing that they were.

In the Skidí scheme there were thirteen villages, each of which had a bundle:—

- 1 Tu^hrikaku^h, center village; the Evening Star bundle.
- 2 Kitkahapaku^htu, old village; the four leading bundles are kept in this village.
- 3 Tu^hhitspiat, stretching out in the bottom lands.
- 4 Tu^hkitskita, village on branch of a river.
- 5 Tu^hwahukasa, village stretching across a hill; the Morningstar bundle. (This bundle was finally divided into two.)
- 6 Aríkararikuchu, big antlered elk standing.
- 7 Arikarariki^h, small antlered elk standing.
- 8 Tu^hhuchaku, village in a ravine; the left hand bundle, all use left hands in the ceremony.
- 9 Tu^hwarakaku, village in thick timber.
- 10 Akapaxsawa, skull painted on tipi.
- 11 Skisa rikus, fish hawk.
- 12 Stixkautit, black ear of corn.
- 13 Turawi, part of a village.

These thirteen villages were organized or federated under this bundle scheme and so had a common government. The supreme, or original

¹ The Evening Star (calf bundle) is the chief power in the west. Four other stars in the west represent the clouds, thunders, lightning, and the winds, or the four leading bundles. These four stars are supposedly sitting in the west, acting as priests. They are sitting there with a parfleche filled with dried buffalo meat; also, they are sitting with a hill of corn, the stalks always green, and a place in front of them as the altar.

authority resided in the evening star bundle¹ of the center village, but at the time of the federation of these villages, powers were delegated to four special or main bundles which in turn served as the basis of the governing power. These were:—

1. The Yellow Tipi, or Yellow Star bundle, pertaining to the powers of the Northwest (*akarákata*, yellow tipi).

2. The Mother-born-again, or White Star bundle, the powers of the Southwest (*atíratatariwáta*, mother born again).

3. The Leading Cornstalk, or Red Star bundle, the power of the Southeast (*skawá^ha kitáwi*, literally, a lucky woman as leader, but refers to a corn symbol).

4. The Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, or the bundle "with a round thing tied on" pertains to the Northeast (*riwiruchaku*, round thing on).

To this list may be added the Human Skull bundle and the North Star bundle. These bundles may be said to be general in the sense that they are attached to no particular village but minister to the Skidí at large.

There were, however, two independent Skidí villages that refused to enter the federation. These were the Squash Vine village (*pahukstatu*) and Wolf-standing-in-water village (*skirirara*). Each of these villages had a bundle, but little in common with the ritual scheme of the federated villages.

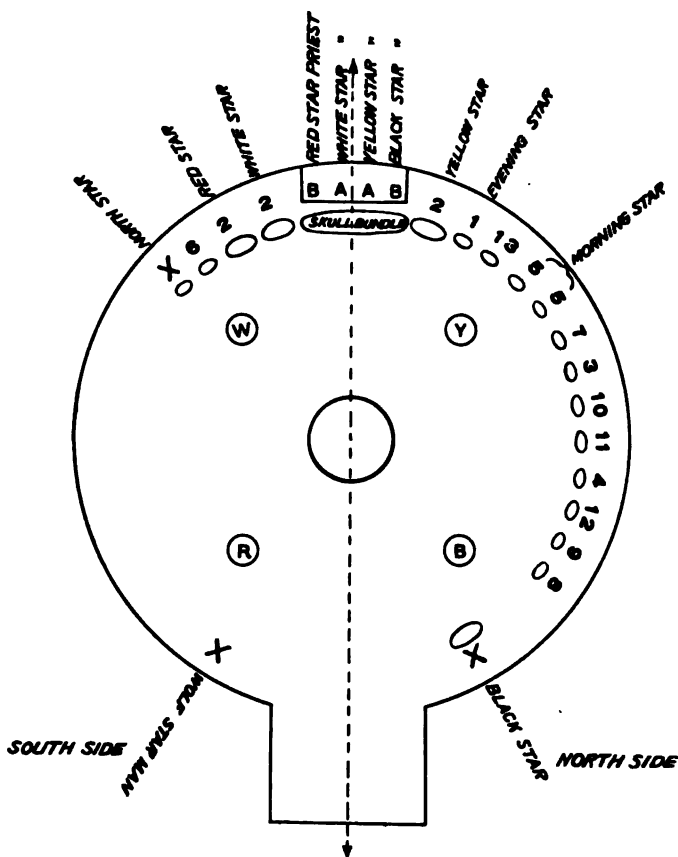
The federation of the thirteen villages is represented and formalized in a ceremony known as the four-pole ceremony. For this a circular embankment was thrown up with an opening to the east. Out in front of this entrance was a small mound of earth taken from the fire pit and inside at the west a raised altar platform. Around the inside of the ring of earth was a screen of green branches set up in the ground. Arranged around the fireplace were four poles bearing a tuft of branches at the top; a white pole of cottonwood, a red of box elder, a black of elm, and a yellow of willow. In the ceremony the bundles enumerated above and their keepers had fixed positions according to their rank and the geographical relations of the respective villages. As will be noted in the diagram most of the bundles are upon the north side of the enclosure, these lived on the north side of the Loupe River, the others upon the south side. The positions of the priests of the bundles are shown in the diagram and in the ceremony the bundles are opened before them in order (Fig. 1).

The leading bundles are associated with the four poles, according to the colors as stated in their enumeration. These bundles, poles, colors, etc.,

¹ The Evening Star, or red calf bundle (*aripahat*, red calf) may be called upon in time of need to supplement the powers of a leading bundle. Because of this relation to the four leading bundles it is sometimes called *rakatra* (lay across them).

represent the powers in the four quarters of the world and also stand for spring, summer, autumn, and winter, but in no fixed order, the season a bundle represents being determined by the order of the ceremony.

A brief abstract of the mythical account of the inauguration of this federation may make the foregoing clearer:—



overcame all of these in turn. Thus, he secured Evening Star. Then follows the familiar vanquishing of vaginal teeth. In course of time, a daughter was born. The earth was then created for the home of this child. The Sun and Moon became parents of a boy and he also was placed upon the earth.

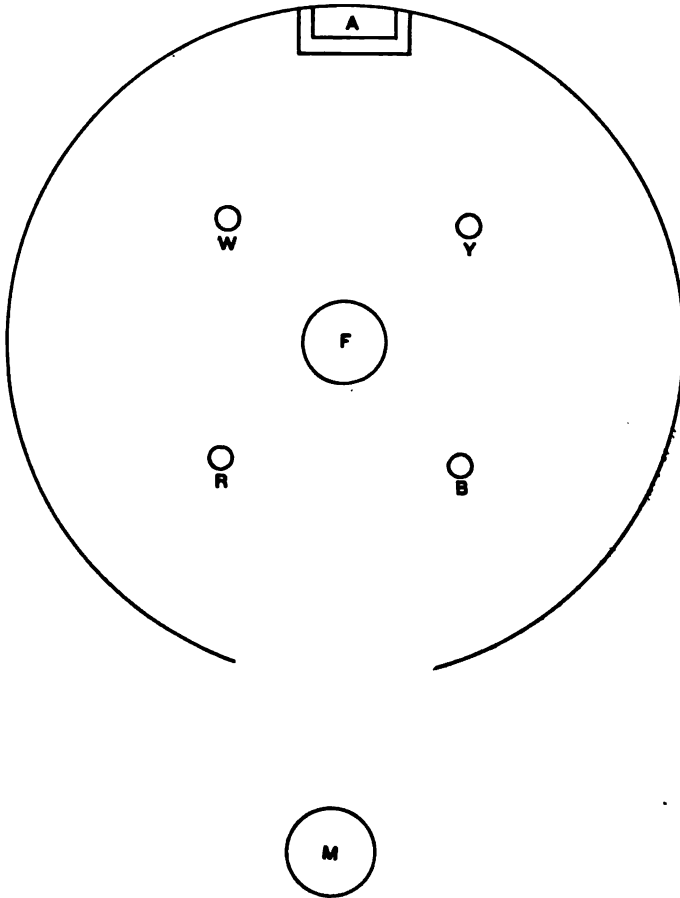


Fig. 2. Diagram of the earthwork Enclosure for the Four-pole Ceremony: A, altar for the buffalo skull; W, white pole (cottonwood); Y, yellow pole (willow); R, red pole (box alder); B, black pole (elm); F, fire pit; M, earth taken from the fire pit. During the ceremony a screen of green branches is set up inside the embankment. The poles are young trees trimmed to a few branches at the top. The seats and positions of bundles were as shown in Fig. 1.

After many years when the people were numerous, Morning Star demanded a human sacrifice as a return for his trials. Evening Star gave one man and woman directions for making the Yellow Calf bundle. Then Evening Star told him that there were many people scattered over the earth and that he should call them to-

gether. So Errand Man was sent out. From each village came the people with their sacred bundle. Errand Man told the chief that upon Elkhorn River he found a village of earth-lodges covered with squash vines in which a bundle ceremony was going on in consequence of which they refused to come. Also on Looking Glass Creek he came to a village where the people had just performed a ceremony to call the buffalo and as the buffalo were at hand, they could not accept the invitation. Most of the buffalo were killed upon the ice which during the day was covered with water. The wolves stood around the carcasses and many were caught by the feet as the ice formed at night. So these two villages did not take part in the general bundle ceremony and were known as the Squash Vine and Wolf-standing-in-the-water.

Those who had assembled now performed the four-pole ceremony. The keeper of the bundle and his priest occupied their regular seats at the back of the lodge and as the bundles of other villages arrived those from the north took seats on that side and those from the south upon the other. The village of the host was then called Center Village.

The special federation of these Skidi villages necessitated a governing organization different from that of the other divisions. The governing body was a society of chiefs, twelve or more in number. It seems that in principle there was to be one chief for each village bundle, though as such he had nothing to do with the bundle. When the chiefs society met in a lodge they took their seats in the same order as indicated in the diagram of the four-pole ceremony, but the bundles were not brought into the lodge. Two errand men were members and sat by the door.¹ The chiefs were of equal rank and inherited their office. However, there was some selection, for the elderly men filled vacancies from those directly descended from chiefs. All the chiefs taken together constituted the tribal council of the Skidi.

The chiefs are, however, not the highest authority, that distinction belonging to the priests of the four main bundles. Their office is hereditary; each priest selects an assistant from his near relatives who thus becomes qualified to become priest in turn. In rotation the four leading priests take over the responsibility for the welfare of the people for one year, counting from the first thunder in the spring until fall. This chief priest is the highest authority; he is the source of final appeal and to him all acts of the council of chiefs must be referred. The buffalo hunt in particular must be regulated according to the ritual of the bundle whose priest happens to be in charge. As noted above, the Red Calf bundle is superior to the leading bundles, but its priest cannot exercise authority except he be

¹ As noted above, two villages refused to join in the federation. Later, they were taken in and their chiefs were given seats in the vacant place on the south side of the lodge, but they were not permitted to enter the four-pole ceremony.

officially called upon to assume it. As previously noted, there was a curious arrangement in that the keeper of the bundle could be endowed with the power of all four bundles. This we do not fully understand, but in case buffalo should fail, owing to the weak powers of the chief priest, special ceremonies would be performed to pool, or unite, the powers of the four main bundles by temporarily merging their power into the ritual of the Red Calf bundle. This bundle alone contains firesticks; its keeper builds the council fire, and in the old Skidí scheme of villages it belonged to the central village. Its keeper must also be present at the ceremonies of the other four bundles, and in a way he alone can call the whole tribe together. Yet, it is only in times of great trial, that he by special ceremonies becomes the chief priest. It is only when the four leading bundles fail to provide buffalo and the people are starving that the chiefs beg the priest whose bundle is then leader to call upon the calf bundle to lead. The priest gives his consent. Then he fills the sacred pipe with native tobacco and hands the pipe to his chief who goes to the tipi of the calf bundle priest. When the chief enters the tipi he walks to the priest who offers the pipe to him and explains why he has done so. The priest, knowing the wants of the people, receives the pipe. The chief thanks him; lights his pipe and waits. When the chief receives the pipe he returns to the other priests' lodge and returns the pipe, telling him that the other priest had received the pipe. The priest and people are glad. Then the ceremony of transferring power is carried out. It is the belief that the buffalo will then come dashing into the village.

The priests of the four leading bundles and the priest of the Red Calf bundle are thus seen to be important personages. While each of the other bundles has its priest, his function is quite secondary; in fact, he is little more than a custodian, providing the meat and corn necessary to the ceremony. The principle of operation is that the ceremony for each bundle is conducted by one of the five leading priests, i. e., the priest of the Red Calf bundle must always be present, and the conductor is either he or one of the four leading priests, as the ritual may require. Normally all five are expected to be present. There is a partial exception in the Morning Star bundle for in this case the conductor of the ceremony was a special official of the village, not its keeper, but even he was under obligation to call in the calf bundle priest who alone knew the creation rituals, and the two leading rituals for all bundles. In short, with the exception just cited, the calf bundle priest was required to know the ritual of each bundle and if need be conduct each ceremony; the four leading priests were to a less degree required to do the same.

In this connection, it may be noted that the custodianship of a bundle is in the hands of the woman. She cares for it at all times and knows some

of the important features of the ritual; yet in all ceremonies except that of the four-pole, she is barred from so much as looking inside while the bundle is open. All the men and boys are at liberty to come in and sit with the bundles at their respective villages.¹

Finally, it may be noted that there is a chief for each village bundle (counting the four leading bundles as one) and he is theoretically at least the custodian, but there is another man in his village who is the keeper of the ritual, or the priest. He conducts the ceremonies. In last resort, he is superior to the chief, especially the priests of the calf bundle and the four leading bundles. Hence, a chief is chief by virtue of his being the custodian of a bundle. This is why the society of chiefs has its seats in the same order as the priests in the four-pole ceremony. It also makes clear the significance of the initial statement that the bundle scheme of the Skidí is the basis of their political and social organization. Likewise, while it is true that the chiefs are all of equal rank, the chief of the four-bundle village who by the way, is attached to the yellow-tipi bundle, sits at the head as may be seen from the diagram for the four-pole ceremony, and so is the leading, or, head chief. He is master of ceremonies, but the chief occupying the seat of Big Black Meteoric Star is the one to conduct all the ritualistic parts of the ceremony.

THE SOCIETY OF CHIEFS.

Among the Pítahauírata there was a special organization of chiefs, which had its less formal counterparts among the other divisions. The first part of the society's ceremony is held privately by the members, or chiefs; i. e., those now holding office and men who have descended from deceased chiefs. The membership is strictly hereditary. In the ceremony the leader, or head chief, must wear an old style beaver hat with a red plume. The hat is covered with a dark neck cloth such as was formerly worn by sailors. The meetings are secret and we have no data; but after these ceremonies the women descended from chiefs were called into the lodge. Each woman has to part her hair and tie it back, painting the part red. Woven sashes are worn over the shoulders and wound around for a belt. Many strands of beads are worn around the neck. The men all have the roached hair and wear feathers through the roach, but the young men wear down feathers only. Some wear leggings bordered with scalplocks and eagle feathers, and black moccasins. Each man and woman carries the skin of an eagle. In arranging the places for the women, a line of two abreast is formed: first the two leading men, behind them their sisters or nearest female relatives;

¹ Among the other divisions of the Pawnee, the regulations are the same, except that men must pay a fee to the priests for witnessing a bundle ceremony.

then two men, and again two of their female relatives, and so on to the end of the line. Before the procession left the lodge two large strong young men were caught in the village, brought in, and the water drums strapped on their backs with one pack strap across the forehead and one across the breast. They then marched out dancing and singing. In leaving the lodge, the procession circles the fire four times and when outside of the door again circles four times. They then march back into the lodge and the women file out and go home, while the men take their seats. The drum bearers are relieved of their burden and sent out, but later they receive a portion of the meat from the feast. After the feast the society disbands.

This society seems to be based upon the bundle of the Pítahauírata village, which is probable considering that chiefs are the leading members. The chiefs painted red with black rings around the face; if yellow, a green circle: these are the two paintings.

THE SOLDIERS OR POLICE.

Each chief selects one elderly warrior as his personal aid and advisor. Only those who have reached a certain high grade of distinction can serve in this capacity. As a body, these aids were known as the braves, rahi-kuchu. There is thus one brave for each village and he selects three men to act as police under his direction (raripakusu, fighting for order). These are strong and aggressive men. Their function was purely that of village and camp police. Their only badge of office was a special form of club for which in recent years a sword was substituted. The braves and police served for life, unless dismissed for cause. It should be noted, however, that these police had nothing whatever to do with the buffalo hunt.

THE BUFFALO HUNT.

The general buffalo hunt at whatever season of the year was under the direction of the priest of the leading bundle which happened at that time to be in charge. Preparatory to the hunt a ceremony was held, with the chiefs present, in which the hunt was planned. The priest selected one of the bundle societies to act as soldiers for the hunt. The regular police still exercised their powers in the camp, but the enforcement of all regulations for the hunt and its conduct were in the hands of the selected society. The appointment was for the hunt only. A special lodge was set up for the soldiers in the east part of the camp, near the center were the lodges of the chiefs society and of the priest. The methods of punishment employed by the soldiers were the same as among other tribes.

THE BUNDLE SOCIETIES.

The organizations here discussed differed from the others in that they were regarded as more powerful and in some manner directly connected with or sanctioned by the leading bundles. Membership in all was for life. One could be a member of all of them at the same time. There were no distinctions of age, a man being eligible at any time. The four leaders of each society exercised the right of election of members, though their own places were hereditary, or self-elective. It was also customary for all members to be succeeded at death by a relative. The number of members was not fixed and so the leaders kept watch over the young men to note candidates of promise. Such of these as showed signs of greatness were invited to become candidates. Also the young men of the villages on their part watched the results and prestige of the lance societies and sought membership in the most successful one. A solemn ceremony of installation was performed in which they were subject to tests. If one failed, he was ejected and forever disqualified. For one thing, the candidate must dance about the village an entire day, bearing the lance; should he fall from exhaustion or give up from fatigue, he could not proceed to membership, even though he inherited the place.

The number and distribution of these societies is given in the table. As indicated, their public functions vary, two exclusively for hunting, six for war, and two for either. In time of need the chief may call upon one or more of the war societies to lead in the line of battle or to support the regular camp police in domestic troubles. When setting out upon a buffalo hunt the priest in charge appoints one of the hunting societies to take entire charge of the hunt. So far as we know the priest was free to choose, but practically the choice was restricted to one or two organizations.¹ Although it is the public function and the bundle sanction that distinguishes these societies from the others, the Pawnee do not regard such as the reasons for their existence. They look upon them as clubs or fraternal organizations for the pleasure and elevation of their own members. In a way, they were for war, but this seems due to their having many active brave men among them whose paramount individual interests were war.

In their public performances the societies danced once about the village, pausing before the doors of leading men. This dance was always performed

¹ For an emergency appointment of the young dog society, see p. 587.

after dressing their lances and after their appointment as police, and thus preceded each general buffalo hunt.

After the thunder ceremonies for the bundles and when the grass began to grow, all societies held the ceremonies of renewing lances. In this the lances are made new, the old ones being discarded. In general, four men are appointed to get the materials and make up the lances. When completed, a smoke-offering ceremony is performed to dedicate the lances, which are spoken of as "fathers." This ceremony is followed by a feast. The next day they assemble for the dance, put on their regalia, take up the lances, select the bearers for them, and choose a chief to carry the pipe. The dancing then goes on and finally the chief with the pipe, followed by the

LIST OF BUNDLE SOCIETIES.

	Stick	Chant	Pitahaufrata	Kit'rahixki	Squash Vine	Wolf-standing-in-water
Horse society (raris arusa) (h)	×	×	—	—	—	—
Society of Reds (raris pahat) (h)	—	×	×	×	—	—
Society of Brave Raven Lance (raris tarahaksu) (w&h)	×	×	—	—	—	—
Black Heads (pakakatit) (w&h)	—	—	—	×	—	—
Society of Reds (raris pahat) (w)	×	—	—	—	—	×
Thunderbird Society (raris kuhat) (w)	×	—	—	—	×	—
Those Coming Behind (hatuhka) (w)	×	×	×	×	—	—
Fighting Lance (tirupahe) (w)	—	×	×	×	—	—
Knife-Lance (kichita) (w)	—	—	—	—	—	×
Wolf society (raris skiri) (w)	—	—	—	—	—	×

lance bearers and members, goes out and all form a circle in front of the lodge to dance. Then they go about the village or camp dancing before the lodges of prominent persons to receive presents. After their return to the lodge the lances are put away upon a pole and stood outside by the door. In the ceremony the people are admonished that these lances are to guard over all and so everyone must feel it his duty to protect the lances, though it is expected that the members of the societies give special care to them. Also, they are told that these lances are to bring the buffalo and to protect the people. After four days the feathers are taken from the lance shafts and wrapped up.

In later times a general horseback parade around the camp was made by all the societies jointly, after the renewing ceremonies in the spring.

These were highly decorative and spectacular affairs, but seem to lack ceremonial elements.

The society appointed as soldiers dress up their lances and prepare a horse to bear them. The keepers of the lances always led in the journeys of the camp on the hunt and set up the lances at the places where the soldier lodge was to be. Here they are kept and any person in the camp can take them up when going out to look for buffalo. When going out to take the buffalo, the lance bearers lead and hold the line by the lances, no one being supposed to go in advance. When buffalo are surrounded the lance bearers act as the chief police, see that a fair division of the meat is made, settle disputes, etc. Then while butchering is going on the lance bearers go up to a hill and watch for enemies and are the last to come into camp.

The lances of the bundle societies were the leading ones and of them the crow lances were the last to be renewed and were in a way the highest in rank. When going into battle, bearers of this special lance, must be the very last to retreat. The same is true in counting coup, they must wait until all are through. All the lance bearers must be at the front and may plant their lances in the ground far out in advance; this is a signal for all the members to rally around the standard and stand fast.

The lances could never be taken out in private war parties or raids but only used to repel or meet a general attack. The seats of members were fixed and arranged around the lodge in two halves, the north and south sides. This corresponds in a way to the bundle scheme as demonstrated in Fig. 1. New members were given seats according to the side of their village bundle. This, of course, applies to the Skidí; the other divisions assigned new members to a side according to the places of their respective ancestors.

The north side conducts, or leads, in the winter ceremonies; the south, the summer. The organization of each side is: a leader or chief, two drummers and singers, one lance bearer, and one errand man, or doorkeeper. There is also a herald who in outdoor ceremonies is mounted. Thus, for a society as a whole the number of officers is double the above.

When winter approaches, the societies hold a special ceremony by which the lances are stripped and the dressings wrapped up to remain until the renewing ceremony of the following spring. At the renewing ceremony the old lances are first reassembled but permanently retired when the new ones have been installed. They are not destroyed but kept to place in the graves of great warriors.

When the lance is planted before the enemy, the bearer knows that he must stand fast, he cannot take it up except to advance it toward the enemy. Hence, the planting of the lance is really the "no flight" obligation. If, however, the lance is in danger, another member may take it up and carry it out. The bearer may then retire.

THE TWO LANCE SOCIETY.

The following is an account of the ceremonies accompanying the renewal of the lances as observed by the writer, for the *raris arusa*, literally horse society, but which we shall call the two lance.

On May 23, 1902, the Skidi men were called to the tipi of Known-the-leader where the new lances were to be made to replace the old ones which were to pass away with the winter. This was the time for lances to be made because Tirawahat had sent rains upon the earth. The two lances were to be given new life so they might watch over and care for the people. In olden times two brave men were selected by the chief to carry these lances. These were the soldiers who were always obeyed by everyone, for the priest had sanctified and the gods breathed upon them.

The men entered the lodge which faced the east and seated themselves in a circle. Four priests who were drummers sat in the west. Known-the-leader, who acted as high priest, sat at the north. The two chiefs sat one to the north and one to the south of the drummers. Young-hawk whose father had formerly been a lance bearer was at the left of the chief while at his right sat Big-crow whose father had also been a lance carrier. The two men seated on either side of the priests were the lance bearers. Lone-chief, who owned the chief's pipe, sat on the south side and led the dance. Two errand men sat opposite each other at the north and south of the entrance, Skidi-man at the north and Good-eagle at the south.

Known-the-leader addressed the two assistants: "You two go to my lodge and bring the old lances, the four hand drums, and the four buffalo hoof rattles." They brought these and placed them before the singers. Then Skidi-man was sent for the sacred pipe which he placed crosswise in front of the drummers. The old lance staves were brought and set up near a pole that had been staked in the ground and tied, one on the north and one on the south side of the staked pole. Everything being in readiness, Known-the-leader said, "Drummers, chiefs, young and old men, we are about to renew the lances. You may wonder why we change. We have had the old ones many years, but I have dreamed that we must again replace them."

Formerly, it was customary that the lances be kept until the priest dreamed that they be changed. This is the myth given for the lances:—

Before the creation, the stars were human beings. Certain of them were given great powers. Tirawahat gave stars the power to create all things. When the earth was created, the stars agreed to send Paruxti (the wonder being) to the earth, to see if it were ready to be peopled. The stars held a council, but forgot to invite Fools-wolves (star). (Whenever this star comes up, the wolves howl because they think it is the morningstar.)

Paruxti was sent to the earth in the form of a long-haired giant. He was daubed all over with the sacred red paint. He wore large moccasins with the hair inside and big flaps. Over his shoulders he wore a buffalo robe which covered him completely. Around his waist was tied a buffalo hair rope with several pendant loops at the back which represented rain.

The council caused a thunderstorm which was followed by a rainbow. This they broke in two, placing one half in front and the other behind the giant as a companion. The north star and the south star each furnished a man to carry the

rainbow. The evening star provided a bag. The council discussed what these people should take with them. Morningstar said: "I will supply a sacred bundle and I wish eveningstar to contribute someone to carry it and four men to care for it."

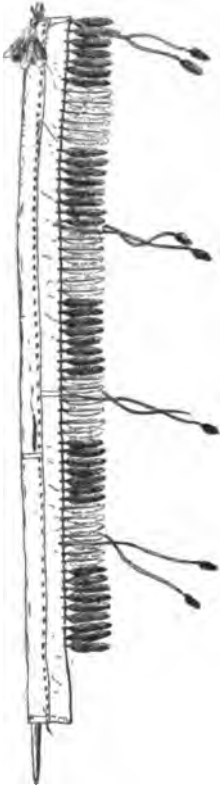


Fig. 3 (50.1-7191). Lance for the Two Lance Society, one of two. The cloth is red, the feathers white (goose) and black (crow). The pendant feathers are crow and the tuft at the top, owl. Length, 2.387 m.

Eveningstar brought an ear of corn which was transformed into a girl, the bearer of the bundle. First the four men were put into the bag, then the girl with the bundle, then people, and finally, the two lance men. The bag was tied so the man could carry it on his back.

It was now time for Paruxti to visit the earth. Eveningstar commanded the four powers in the west, clouds formed, lightning and thunder were placed into the clouds. Paruxti was placed upon the clouds and the wind slowly blew them along towards the earth. Soon the clouds rested on the earth and Paruxti stood upon it. He went towards the east leaving footprints so the gods knew he was on his way.

One time when he was tired and lonesome he remembered what the gods had told him about the bag. He sat down near a stream, placed the bag in front of himself, and opened it. First the two lance bearers, carrying the lances, jumped out. They stopped some distance off, one standing at the south and one at the north side. Soon people sprang out and took their places behind the two lance men. Then came the girl with the sacred bundle on her back. Behind her the four men walked abreast.

The two lance men lead the people to some level ground. They stuck the lances into the ground while the rest of the people put up their tipis. The first one was set up facing east, for the bundle girl and the old men. The bundle was hung up inside the tipi on the west wall. The girl sat beneath it. Two of the old men sat on the north and two on the south side of the tipi. Throughout the village all was bustle and confusion. The boys, young men, and old men were playing with their sticks and rings. For the boys the ring was small and the sticks had two hooks on one end. The sticks used by the older men were hooked at one end and had two cross bars while the ring was smaller than that used by the young boys. The oldest men played with large rings and straight sticks. The women sat in circles and played a game with plum seeds and a basket

while others played shafts.

Messengers were sent through the village to call out the men to look for game. The runners notified the people that they had seen many buffalo. The men went out to hunt them and returned with the meat. The first buffalo killed was taken to the holy tipi.

They stayed at this place four days when the holy being told the four old men that it was time to move. Camp was broken and everyone returned to the bag, the two lance bearers last of all.

Again Paruxti went on his way. Several times he opened the bag, camp was pitched. He rested only when the bag was opened. He had traveled far to the east and had returned by the north.

Fools-wolves, the wolf star, had seen Paruxti on his journey and said, "I will undo what the others wish to do. I will send a being to the earth who will ruin what the others have accomplished." He put a wolf on the earth who became hungry and ran hither and thither until he discovered the tracks of Paruxti which he followed. The wonderful being who had become tired and sleepy, lay down. As he lay there, the wolf came up to him and noticed the bag. He thought, "There must be something to eat in the bag. I will take it away and open it and find something to eat." He dragged it to some prairie where there was neither water nor timber and untied it.

The two lance men jumped out first. Wolf was frightened and jumped sidewise. Soon people came out of the bag and he heard them say that they were going to camp and get something to eat. The two lance men selected a camping place and as usual stuck their lances into the ground. The people played their games, but found no buffalo. The men shouted: "Something is wrong. Our wonderful being must be in an ill humor. Take him something to eat."

Some men carried dried meat to the wolf which he ate. The people marveled at this and did not know what to make of it. The wolf was brought to camp and given a place in the tipi where the wonderful man sat. Just as they were about to burn incense in his honor someone shouted, "Our wonderful being is coming over the hills, crying Watch the being in our tipi, for he is not our wonderful being." The wolf tried to get away, but the people surrounded the tipi and killed him.

The four men then burned some incense before the wonderful being and anointed him with red ointment, buffalo fat mixed with red earth. All the people were gathered around the tipi and the wonderful being asked what had become of the wolf. They replied, "We killed it." Then Paruxti said, "Bring it and skin it. When the skin is dry, put it on the bundle where it must remain. You will always be known as the skiri (Skidi) or wolf people. Because you killed the first animal on earth you will die too. The gods in the heavens intended that you live forever. You will always have the lances. Those who carry them will be soldiers."

Known-the-leader sent the assistant on the north side to the morningstar bundle tipi for owl feathers which are kept in this bundle and to the left hand bundle tipi for the crow feathers kept in that bundle. When these were brought, the assistant called for one crow feather and one white goose feather from each of the other tipis. These were brought in and piled up in front of the singers by young boys. Near the feathers were placed two strips of red cloth about sixteen inches wide together with buckskin, sinew, and an awl. Two men were selected to procure cedar poles for the lances. Cedar was used because the cedar tree "has life all the time."

When the men arose, Known-the-leader took up one of the drums. The other drummers each took up the drum in front. They sang a song relating to the search for timber. After they sang four times, the drums were set down. Then the men went out with axes to cut the trees. Before actually cutting the poles four cutting motions were made. When the poles were brought in they were placed one at each side of the tipi where the young men sat. They started to cut down the pole, one man on each side, and when these were tired, others took their places. When the poles were cut and smoothed down they were placed crosswise in front of the drums.

The cloth was given to the men on either side who sewed it with buckskin string.

One end was lapped over enough to allow the poles to be passed through. In the middle, the cloth was slashed enough to allow for the bearer's hand. Feathers were also placed before the men who were sewing. They took five crow feathers that were equal in length and cut the quills at the ends. When these were ready one of the men made perforations in the cloth with a sharp stick beginning at the top. Then he placed the quill ends of the feathers in the perforations and tied them with sinew. Five swan feathers were attached in the same way. This was done for the full length of the strip, five crow feathers alternating with five swan feathers.

The men on the north side must complete their cloth first, for the north star watches and cares for them, giving them life and feeding them. The people on the south side worked slowly for the south star is the home of the dead. The owl feathers are bunched together and tied at the top of the cloth because they represent the north star who watches over all at night. Owls care for people while they sleep. In olden times, the owls used to warn the people when the enemy was prowling around the camp. The crow feathers were attached first because crows are always the first to find food and they used to help the people to find buffalo. The swan feathers represent those of the thunderbird which is near Tirawahat, the heavens. If an enemy were on the point of attacking the people, thunderstorms would come up and save them. The red cloth signified bloodshed during war. During battle, if the lance bearer stuck the lance into the ground, it was incumbent upon the people to defend the emblem.

After the cloth was ready, the poles were passed through the flaps, tied to a pole, and stuck in the ground, one at the north and the other at the south side, in front of the drummers.

Now, Known-the-leader said: "Knife-chief, Brave-chief, Running-fox, Young-hawk, old men, and young men, our fathers (the lances) are now complete. Our father, the owl is sitting at the top of the pole. The crow and swan feathers are attached. The lances are complete and have taken life. Let us hasten to notify the gods in the heavens that we have completed these emblems that were given to our people long ago to be carried on the buffalo hunt that there should be order. These insignia were to be carried in battle; in peace they were hung on a pole. The buffalo have disappeared, we no longer fight our enemies, peace rules. The gods know this. They will bless us and give us long life. They will bless our fields so that we may have an abundance of food. It is now time to offer smoke to the gods to show that we remember them. I select Knife-chief to offer smoke to the gods in the heavens. Knife-chief will now rise and take the pipe I have filled."

Knife-chief rose and took the pipe which belongs in a sacred bundle. It is very old; the bowl is large; the stem smooth and round and represents the windpipe through which the prayers of the people pass. Knife-chief walked around the fireplace with the pipe, beginning at the south. At the northeast he stopped and the south assistant lighted the pipe with a burning coal. He then walked around the fireplace by the west and then south with the lighted pipe and stopped successively at the south and north entrances and blew smoke in those directions. He next halted at the fireplace and blew smoke on its rim towards the northeast and the northwest. West of the fireplace he stopped and blew smoke southwest and southeast. Then he passed north and stopped at the west facing east. He blew smoke east, west, and then east again. Then he directed smoke towards the heavens; three times to the north, once to the south, faced about and blew smoke west. He turned again and blew towards the ground and the drums.

The pipe was passed to those on the north and the south sides, each person taking four whiffs. Knife-chief then strewed the ashes from the pipebowl west of the fireplace and facing west passed his hands over the pipestem, then over his own body, and handed the pipe to Known-the-leader who said, "Nawa." All the rest of the people said, "Nawa." This ended the first smoke ceremony.

Known-the-leader again addressed the assemblage: "Men, old men, and young men, another smoke offering is near. Our fathers are completed and stand before us.

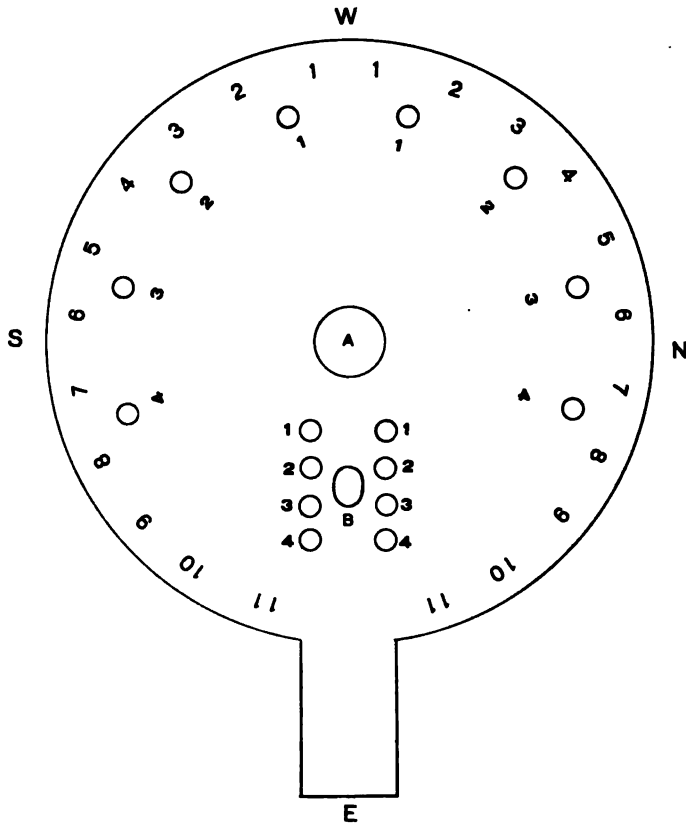


Fig. 4. Arrangement of the Food Bowls in the Two Lance Ceremony: A, fireplace; B, kettle of cooked maize; 1-11, the seats of members; 1-4, the serving bowls in position and as served. This order is followed in most ceremonies.

We must offer them smoke. I have filled this pipe. I have selected Brave-chief to carry on the smoke for he took part in war parties when these two lances were carried."

Brave-chief rose and took up the pipe. In the meantime, Known-the-leader's assistants took up the drums. At this point a song was sung about father owl, one about father crow, one about the thunderbirds, while the last related to the lances.

Brave-chief walked around the fireplace, stopped at the west facing east, and pointed the pipestem upward. At the same time he took some tobacco from the bowl, raised it, gradually lowered his hand, and finally placed the tobacco in the rim of the fireplace. Then he again pointed the pipe to the rim of the fireplace and placed a pinch of tobacco on it. The first offering was in honor of Tirawahat, the second in honor of the earth. He sat at the northeast of the fireplace. Now the assistant on the north placed a coal on the bowl of the pipe and returned to his place.

Brave-chief walked around the fireplace by the north and stood west of it. Four times he blew smoke to the heavens and four times to the rim of the fireplace. Then he directed smoke upwards towards the north and south lances. He passed around the fireplace by the south, east, and north, and offered the pipe to Known-the-leader who smoked four times; then he moved around by the north, east, and south to the west and Knife-chief smoked four times. The north and south assistants also smoked. Brave-chief emptied the ashes from the pipe west of the fireplace. He touched them with his right hand, made an upward pass, and then touched them with his left hand. Then he walked to the north lance and passed his right hand twice upward over the pipestem and with his left hand touched the ashes and passed it over the stem of the pipe. This was repeated before the south lance.

Finally he stood in front of the singers passing his hand over the pipestem and then over his own body. He returned the pipe to Known-the-leader who said "Nawa" which was repeated by all those present. This ended the smoking ceremony.

Now food was placed east of the fireplace. There was one kettle of corn, a pot



Fig. 5. Pipe for the Two Lance Society. The bowl is of red stone, the stem round, marked with black bands to represent a trachea, which it symbolizes.

of meat, bread, and coffee. The corn was placed near the entrance. Known-the-leader said: "Old men and young men, the corn was given our women by Tirawahat. We were told to offer it to the gods. I select Knife-chief to make the offering, then we will partake of the food."

Known-the-leader gave Knife-chief a buffalo horn spoon with which he ladled out the corn into eight wooden bowls placed there by the two assistants. He placed a spoonful at a time alternately in the north and south bowls until they were all filled. He walked west by the north and standing west of the fireplace raised a spoonful of corn towards the heavens gradually lowering it and finally placing some corn on the rim of the fireplace. Before placing the remainder of the corn he made a pass towards the west with the spoon and then gave it to the south assistant. Four times he placed his hands on the corn on the fireplace and raised them towards the heavens. He walked to the north lance and passed his hands four times upwards on it and then repeated the same motions with the south lance. Then he passed his hands over the drums. Stepping backward and standing erect he passed his hands over his head and then over his body.

Knife-chief took the spoon from the assistant and gave it to Known-the-leader who as he received it said "Nawa" which everyone repeated after him. Then he took up the first bowl on the north side and placed it before the two men on the north

side and the one on the south side in front of the south men. Then he placed the second bowl from both the north and south sides before the third and fourth men on either side and so on until all the bowls were in front of them and then they ate. The bowls were passed down towards the entrance and what remained was the share of the two assistants. When the corn was all eaten the assistants gathered up the bowls and put them away. Then the meat, bread, and coffee were passed without any ceremony.

Known-the-leader said, "Men, old men, and young men, our fathers are now complete. Tomorrow we will have the dance. We have made the smoke offering to the gods and they will be thankful. We have also offered our corn to the gods and they will watch over us.¹ We will now prepare to leave this tipi. We have eaten and smoked."

This ends the ceremony for the making of the lances.

The regalia are two lances, four rattles, and four hand drums (Fig. 3). There is also a special pipe as shown in the sketch, Fig. 5. The four singers wore foxskin caps and painted their faces white, marking down with the fingers. The members have no fixed painting, being permitted to follow their fancy. Formerly, they danced nude and carried weapons at their pleasure. The mode of dancing through the village and conducting the buffalo hunt has been described, these procedures being the same for each society.

As noted in the table the Chauf also had this society, though with them it was of minor importance. There were also small differences in the arrangement of the feathers on the lance.

THE SKIDÍ RED LANCE SOCIETY.

The rarispahat, red lance or otter lance society among the Skidí had two lances as shown in the sketch. Here the one for the north side of the lodge was wrapped with dark otter fur, the one for the south side with reddish fur. The leader had a pipe, there were four rattles and four hand drums. The renewing of the lances and other ceremonies were as described for the bundle societies in general. This society does not occur elsewhere except in the Wolf-standing-in-water village, but here there is but one lance and the stone on the bowstring is wanting. There were probably important differences in the ritual but there are no data available.

This society was almost never called upon to act as hunting police, but was often called upon to lead in war. It will be noted that the lances, in contrast to those of the preceding, carry real spear points. Their power

¹ The smoke and food offerings have practically the same form in all ceremonies.

was supposed to give protection in battles. The otter wrapped on the pole could also be used to call upon the powers to send rain to the earth. The two stones on the strings of the lances are to symbolize two powers or stars in the east on each side of the sun, the white for the one on the north side of the sun and the red for the one on the south side. By this, the members of the society know that they are under the protection of the two powers in the sky. If the people have a battle and win, the scalps and other trophies are given to this society which then conducts the victory dance, carrying the

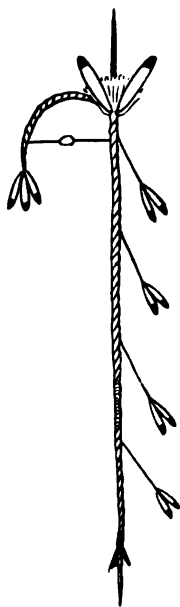


Fig. 6.

Fig. 6. The Skidí Red Society Lance. The war point is of iron rising from a tuft of owl feathers between a tuft of eagle feathers. On the string to the crook is a red stone. The pendant feathers are eagle. The shaft is wrapped with otter fur; dark for the north side lance, reddish for the south. The grip is wrapped with bear gut.



Fig. 7.

Fig. 7. The Red Lance. The shaft is wrapped with swanskin, a buffalo tail at the tip of the crook and also hung from strings at the sides; the grip of one lance is wrapped with red strouding and the other with black. These are the colors of the south and north sides respectively.

lances in the dance. As the dance proceeds the women take charge, even carrying the lances. The only men remaining in the dance are the four drummers

Perhaps the most important point is that this society is chosen to act as police of a military procedure, or man hunt, in the same way as the preceding society was chosen for the buffalo hunt. When the camp moves

out to the buffalo hunt, this society having renewed its lances, takes them out on a horse as previously noted. They are thus ready for the society to act in case of attack. In such a case, if the regular bearers are not present, any member or anyone in fact, is expected to lay hold and act as bearer. To facilitate this, the lances are placed against a pole outside the society tent. If, however, a bearer fails to put in an appearance or shirks his duty in any way he can be reprimanded or even expelled. The volunteer bearer will be permitted to dance with the lance in future ceremonies, in contrast to the preceding society where only the descendants of lance bearers were allowed to enter the dance. As stated, the lances were expected always to head the line in battle.

As winter approached these lances were dismantled and put away until the renewing ceremony of spring. Each member makes it his business to hunt for an otter and when one is caught takes it to the leader who skins it with a special ceremony. His wife then dresses the skin and cares for it until the time for renewing the lance in the spring.

THE RED LANCE SOCIETY.

Among the *Chauí*, *Pítahauírata*, and *Kit'kaháxki* divisions there were organizations known as the *raris pahat*, but differing from the *Skidí* society of that name. The two lances were wrapped with swans' down. These societies were all considered as derived from and sanctioned by the bundle of the *Pítahauírata*. This bundle controlled the ceremonies in that division and hence all but the public dancing in the camp was secret. Only the descendants of chiefs could be members. In the two sides of the organization, the chiefs sat upon the north side and the warriors upon the south. The lance for the north side was trimmed in black feathers, that for the south in white. The members painted in corresponding colors in the dance, but carried such weapons as they chose. When dancing, a rattle bearer faces the lance bearer of the opposite side and in the evolutions they pass each other. Water drums are used and in the dance around the village two boys are appointed to bear these upon their backs. The pipe of the society was originally that belonging to the bundle, but later a special pipe was provided.

It will be noted that the lance of this society bears no point and is not

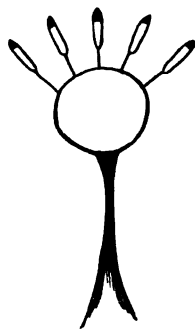


Fig. 8. Rattle for the *Skidí* Red Lance, one of four. The bulb is of rawhide, the feathers are eagle.

for war. In fact, this is the society that is called upon to police the buffalo hunt and in this capacity the members conduct themselves as described above. As an organization it is the counterpart of the Skidí two lance society.

THE THUNDERBIRD LANCE.

The raris kuhat, or thunderbird lance society is found among the Skidí and the Squash Vine people. The following account is from data supplied by the Skidí.

In winter the members procure the thunderbird (in this case the swan, though outsiders are led to believe it to be the eagle) which is skinned by the leader as in the case of the preceding society. The feathers are plucked, leaving the down upon the skin, and with this the lance is wrapped at the renewing ceremony in the spring. This society is never called upon to act as police in the buffalo hunt, but for leadership and defense in war; in this respect whatever was said of the preceding society, applies equally well here. The point of the lance is of flint stone because this stone is believed to be related to the thunders since it is said that such will be found wherever the lightning strikes. Thus, this stone lance head symbolizes the power to strike down a person before he is aware of danger.

As stated before, the trophies of victory may be turned over to this society that they may inaugurate the victory dance and as it progresses, the whole is turned over to the women. In former times, it was the custom for the sexes to mingle freely without restraint and during the dance.

In the Squash Vine village the lances were wrapped with loonskin instead of swan and loon heads were placed on the end of the curved top; also some loon feathers. On the sinew string were soft down feathers. Four old men were taken in to recount the deeds of the members.

THE CROW LANCE.

The hatu^hka society was found among each of the four divisions but not in the independent villages. It was everywhere the same, except that the peculiar feature of tying the members together was practised by the Skidí alone. In all cases this society was the last to renew in the spring, disband in the winter, to leave the line of battle, to follow the camp, etc.

The following account applies particularly to the Skidí: —

The name usually given this society is hatu^hka (those coming behind), so named because of their peculiar custom of marching at the extreme rear of the tribal procession. The society is said to have been handed down by the crows but in reality

was derived from blackbirds, the kind that feed around grazing horses and buffalo. A long time ago a hunter was walking along a ravine. Presently he heard war cries and shouting. He was badly scared and ran, but the cries still pursued him. Becoming tired, he took his stand, bow in hand, for the enemy seemed near, singing and shouting. Finally, they came up. He heard one division going on one side of him, another on the opposite side, and stood ready to shoot down the first man to appear. But as they passed by he saw only flocks of crows, blackbirds, and packs of wolves. He saw no human beings among them. Yet he sat down and watched because he felt sure that they were human and that they had a lance among them.

He noticed that the birds came together as also did the wolves. The birds flew upward in a circle and then took a position resembling a lance, so the man thought. Then he fell asleep and dreamed of a blackbird. In his dream the blackbird told him that all that had happened was merely a test of his bravery. At first, he had appeared cowardly, but finally proved his courage. The birds and animals had decided to give him a lance with which he could originate the *hatu^hka* society. The birds would teach him the songs, but there would be no dancing. The lance was to be of ash, hooked at the end, and wrapped with the tanned skin of a bull calf. Crow feathers which the birds would give him were to be attached at intervals, while the whole was to be daubed with white clay. The blackbird said that the man would obtain a medicine root for the use of the society. When painting, only soot was to be used. Thus, in his dream he was taught all the details of the regalia and practices of the *hatu^hka* society.

When the man awoke he proceeded to the place where he had seen a tall weed which he took to be the medicine promised him. Here he gathered up the crow feathers which he took home. He did not tell the people of his vision on the plains. Instead, he wrapped the feathers and the medicine root in a piece of tanned buffalo hide which he tied to one of the lodge poles on the inside. At night he filled his pipe; first he gave a whiff to Tirawahat, a few whiffs to the birds, and then smoked non-ceremonially.

That night he dreamed again. He saw a line of singing men all daubed with soot. They were strung along a buffalo rope drawn through their belts. When he awoke he sang a peculiar song which aroused the curiosity of the other people. Again and again he dreamed of the same men and each time learned a new song. One time he sat in his lodge singing the songs he had learned and was joined by another man who learned them from him. They in turn were joined by others from time to time.

When quite a number knew the songs, the man told them his dream experiences and announced his intention of organizing the society about which he had dreamed. He told them it would be difficult, as evidenced by the songs they already knew; that bravery was necessary; that they should know no fear of death; and that they were to act as protectors of the tribe. In their ceremonies, two rattles were to be used. Drums were not permitted. Each member had a quiver with bow and arrows slung over his shoulder.

The society owned a buffalo hide rope. Each member was compelled to provide a crow feather for the lance so that it would have a claim upon his bravery. The lance had to be covered with tanned buffalo calf skin.

The members of the society did not act as soldiers. Instead they were strung together in battle and marched in the rear of the tribe on all occasions.

While on a buffalo hunt they procured all the necessary paraphernalia. On their return to the village the new members met at the originator's lodge to sing the songs

and select men to make the lance and the rope. Soon other young men joined them and they too had to go through all the preliminaries before they could be strung along the rope. When a new member was initiated, he was strung with the old ones, each member wearing his quiver, bow and arrows over his right shoulder. At first there were but few members and consequently few feathers on the lance. These were attached only to the hook.



Fig. 9. The Crow Lance. The shaft is wrapped with buffalo skin to which crow feathers are fastened.

They all sang their songs and during a certain time when they were taking young men into their society they imitated an attack upon the enemy. Those who were cowardly usually stood still during these maneuvers because of the chafing rope. Then the proceedings were halted and the cowardly one sent out of the lodge. During their meetings, one day was set aside on which the society paraded through the village.

The lance was tied to a tent pole and set outside of the lodge until the day of the parade through the village. The night before, all the members gathered in the lodge and sang their songs. Then the leader gave each member a portion of the medicine root telling him that it would make him brave. He taught them to chew the medicine root and mix it with the soot and daub it over their bodies, particularly their faces. This medicine was to protect them from bullets and arrows.

Now, everything was in readiness. Early the next morning the members mixed the medicine root and soot, daubing it first on their faces and then their bodies. Then each man placed his quiver over his right shoulder. They stood abreast and the buffalo skin rope was passed through each man's belt.

The rope was fastened around the waists of the men at either end of the line. When all their preparations had been completed, they commenced their songs, meanwhile performing various evolutions during which the rope tightened and wound itself around the singers.

Any member who gave signs of discomfort or pain was dismissed, but those who disregarded their suffering remained. After this, they stood in line facing east. Then they marched out of the lodge, the leader stopping at the south side followed by the others all facing east. The lance bearer was about a yard in advance of the others. After singing four songs while standing in this position, they proceeded. They gave no heed to any obstacles in their path. If they happened to come to a mud-lodge they halted and sang until the relatives (aunts) of the men singing would come out and spread buffalo robes under the feet of their kin. They did not move until one of the women came forward and said: "Men move to one side; I will give you dried meat and a pot of corn." Then they would turn aside and continue through the village, stopping only at the lodges of chiefs.

On their return to their own lodge the rope was taken off and they all took their respective places. The leader filled a pipe, lighted it with a live coal and blew smoke four times towards the lance which was staked in front of the singers. Twice he blew smoke downward and twice upward. Then he placed the ashes near the lance and passed his hands up and down over it twice and sat down.

Two assistants then brought in kettles of food and placed them between the entrance and the fireplace. The leader now gave them permission to eat. He rose,

dipped a horn spoon into the corn and placed the food near the lance. He made four passes with his hands towards the lance, then he placed the corn upon the rim of the fireplace, on the west side. He then took a piece of fat to the pile of corn, placed the fat on the corn, greased his hands and then made four passes over the lance with his hands. Then he handed the horn spoon to one of the men, who said, "Nawa." They ate and were dismissed.

During the buffalo hunt it was customary for this society to follow at the rear of the procession. These men were once overtaken by the enemy. Their first act was to string the buffalo rope through their belts and thus they fought. When one of their number was killed, he was dragged around as the others fought. Eventually they were all killed. The society was never again reorganized.

Once a man had a lance made as he wished to start the society again. A young man took it and went to hunt buffalo. He was attacked by the enemy, killed, and the lance taken away from him. Since then, the lance was never made and was considered an evil omen.

THE BRAVE RAVEN SOCIETY.

This is the important society among the Chauf and seems to have had a double function in that its emblem could lead the hunt as well as the line of battle. Among the Skidí it was a minor organization. The origin of this society is an integral part of the ritual for the leading Chauf bundle of which the head chief is the keeper but not the priest. This bundle is in two parts, or two bundles. The main bundle contained the ceremonial objects and was directly associated with the ritual; the secondary bundle contained the skins and feathers of birds. When a boy kills his first bird with an arrow, he naturally runs with it to his father. The father may then take his boy by the hand and lead him to the priest of the bundle, to whom the dead bird is presented. The priest thanks the boy and blesses him, after which the father and son go home.

After formally notifying the chief, or keeper of the bundle, the priest prepares the skin of the bird and puts it up to dry for four days. Then he takes it in and ceremoniously places it in the bundle, taking care to be able to identify it later.

During the autumn hunt the leader of the brave society notifies the members that the time has come for the gathering of sinew and the reserving of dried meat for the lance-renewing ceremony in the spring. Twelve volunteers are secured for this service. Each kills a buffalo and removes the sinew from the shoulders and back which is then dried and carefully packed away.

Now, during the hunt, the father of the boy killing the bird, may recall the incident and vow to consecrate a buffalo in the name of his son. Accordingly, when the buffalo is killed, he butchers, and packs it on the horse according to the requirements of the ritual. He leads the horse home, places the rope in the boy's hand and again conducts him to the priest.

The father announces his errand and delivers the meat. The priest then performs the proper ceremony.

Some time during the winter the keeper of the lance goes out and cuts an ash stick for the new lance. This he works down to the proper form and puts up in the lodge to season.

Now, the father of the boy may ask for a crow feather, upon which the boy sets out and either kills a crow or finds a feather. His father directs him to take it to the priest. The latter again opens the secondary bundle and ties the feather to the boy's birdskin offering. This accumulation of crow feathers may continue for several years.

As the time for renewing the lances approaches, the twelve men collecting sinew are called into the leader's lodge, and arrangements for the ceremony made. The next day the lodge is cleared out and the store of sinew and dried meat brought in. Twelve additional members are called to assist. All are seated in the regular order. After certain preliminaries, the leader explains that the sinew cord for the lance is to be made. He then takes up sinew and proceeds to roll a cord upon his thigh. As it increases in length the ends are taken by his neighbors who twist in turn and so on until both ends of the line are reached. There is now one

long cord passing entirely round the lodge. When completed the errand men stretch it about the lodge posts to dry.

Next the leader calls for the crow feather. Then each member who has crow feathers in the bundle brings them in and also those that have been placed there by their sons. All these feathers are placed upon a mat before the leader. Then the two errand men take down the sinew cord and make it into a coil. The leader takes the coil and gives one end of the cord to his left hand and the others to his right hand neighbor, and so the ends are passed along, unwinding the cord. Then the leader lectures, stating that there are three main things in life, to consecrate an eagle, a scalp, and a buffalo, that following such acts one will be anointed by the priest, that



Fig. 10. The Brave Raven Lance. At the end of the crook is the skin of a crow, the beak hanging down. All the feathers are crow.

when one ties his feather to the cord, he is binding up his future, for each must tie his own, if it is poorly done and drops off, so will be his career. In addition this lecture is usually a general sermon upon the ethical ideals of the society. Each man should add one feather for each time he helped dress the lance, or for each year of his membership. Each feather symbolically represented a part of the owner's life which he tied, or joined, to the fortunes of the lance.

In tying a feather, each member is permitted to use but three knots. The leader ties first and then each member in succession on the two sides. The two errand men are last, holding the ends; these they return to the leader and then take up the ends once more, thus making a four-strand cord. This is placed outside upon a pole and food is brought in for a feast.

On the third day the cord is taken down and the ceremonial dressing of the new lance performed. The new staff is brought in and set up before the leader, who at the proper time ties one end of the cord to the tip of the staff and winds it on spirally, covering almost the entire length. All this time the old lance has been standing before the leader, but now it is dismantled and disposed of as before stated. The new one is then set up in its place and properly installed. The day's proceedings are again closed by a feast.

The most spectacular part of the ceremony occurs on the fourth day. During the night the lance is supported upon a pole as before. Early in the morning the members assemble.

The leader paints his entire body with soot and marks down with the fingers. He then takes up the feather bustle, or belt, stating that this thing is to be shown to the powers in the heavens and that no enemy may enter, he must circle the village with it; also that his running through the village will drive away sickness, improve the corn crop, and increase the buffalo. After this lecture, two men begin to sing and beat upon the water drums, the leader dances circling

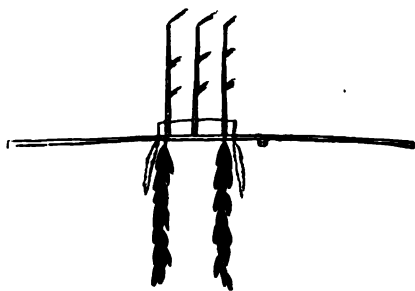


Fig. 11. Bustle for the Raven Braves. The uprights are sticks wrapped with porcupine quills and tufted with horse hair. The belt is of buffalo hide and bears a few sleigh bells. The pendants are wolf tails and strings of crow feathers.

the fire four times, then passes out at the door. Once outside he runs north until outside the village, then runs around until by a spiral course he is again brought back to the door, thus traversing all parts of the village. As he enters, he gives three crow calls, two men spring up, catch him, take the lance and put him in his seat.

All this time the members have been singing in the lodge but now they paint black also and prepare such arms as they wish to carry. The chief of the village then enters with the pipe from the bundle and starts the dance. First they are lead outside where they dance before their own lodge, then passing out at the north side march around the village once. Then they come into the village and dance before the lodges of the leading men. (As before, two boys are brought in to carry the water drum.) In each case the host comes out with a pipe which is passed to the lance bearer and the singers, but no presents are given. Finally, they dance before their own lodge and enter. A feast and certain smoke offerings to the lance close the ceremony.



Fig. 12.



Fig. 13.

Fig. 12. The Fighting Lance. The point is of iron, nested in owl and eagle feathers; the shaft wrapped with swanskin, small eagle feathers hang at the sides. The grip of the south side lance is of red strouding; that of the north, of black.

Fig. 13. The Wolf Lance. The point is of iron, the shaft wrapped with wolfskin, a bunch of owl feathers at the top, large and small eagle feathers at the sides, the grip near the lower end and two wolf tails below. Two of these are carried.

As this was the leading society of the Chauí and the United States formally recognized the Chauí chief as the head of all the Pawnee, it came to have a certain precedence in all functions.

THE FIGHTING LANCE.

The tirupahe society is found among the Chauí, Pítahaurata, and Kit'kaháxki. It is a war society as may be seen by its pointed lance

The lance for the north side was black and for the south, white. There were two rattle bearers who stood and danced as in the preceding. There were four singers and two water drums. Their war duties were as previously stated. This society was composed of chiefs and warriors, on different sides. At stated times, the members demonstrated their deeds, trophies, and war medicines.

It seems that there were three bundles in the Pítahaufrata division at one time and the three feathers on the lance are supposed to be one for each. The members were members of the chiefs society, warriors and men who had consecrated eagles; hence the small eagle feathers are put on the lance. In the consecrating of eagles the heads are strung through the nose with sinew, all the members having gone through this ceremony; hence the string here symbolizes the consecration but it is not known if the hooked part of the lance is the eagle's head. The pipe of this society is borrowed from the warrior's bundle.

So far as known, the organizations in the three divisions were identical.

THE WOLF LANCE.

The rarisits skiri^hki^h (society of wolves) was peculiar to the Wolf-standing-in-water village. There were two lances, four flat hand drums painted white, four singers wearing caps of wolfskin like roaches, four rattles (two for each side). All members painted white. The pipe bearer who sat in front of the four singers painted red, however. The lance bearers sat among the dancers, but the lances rested against the lodge posts. There was no regular dance evolution, each one going as he pleased. The old men and one messenger were on each side.

There were two war shields covered with wolfskin for each side. For each shield there was a bearer. It was a war organization and differed from the others in that as an organization it could go to war. The lances were left at home, however. So far as known they never acted as police of the hunt, but the members seem to have had the right to take the lances of the hunting society and scout for buffalo.

The lodge of this society had its door toward the west instead of east.

THE BLACK HEADS.

The pakskatit society was peculiar to the Kit'kaháxki division. They seem to have been important for they could act both as police of the buffalo hunt and in the line of battle. While there were two sides as before, there

was but one lance wrapped with swanskin. Each member wore a large tuft of crow feathers, hence the name. There were no rattles, but two water drums, four singers, and pipe men. The members painted white.

THE KNIFE LANCE.

The *kichita* was found among the *Chauí*, *Pítahauírata*, and the *Kit'-kaháxki*. Its function was on the line of battle and not concerned with the



Fig. 14.



Fig. 15.

Fig. 14. The Black Head Lance. The shaft is wrapped with swanskin, a crown of raven feathers, a buffalo tail at the end of the crook, crow feathers at the sides, bear gut grip at the bottom. The headgear of the society is similar to the crown above.

Fig. 15. The Knife Lance. The point is of iron nested in owl and eagle wing feathers, the shaft is trimmed with alternating squares of red and black strouding, a fringe of crow feathers to the red sections, goose feathers to the black; two eagle tail feathers hang from the top. The only difference in the two lances is that the order of colors is reversed in the second. Red was the color for the south side, black for the north.

hunt. There were two lances as shown in the drawing, decorated with cloth. The colored sections were reversed in order on the second lance. In painting the north side men were black and the south, red. There were four rattles, fringed with crow and swan feathers, four hand drums, and four singers. In the dance, two rattle bearers faced the lance bearers with the usual evolutions, while the other pair of rattle bearers stayed with the singers. In membership the chiefs constituted one side and warriors the other.

PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS.

These organizations may be said to have been rivals or imitators of the recognized or authorized societies. In the villages were at all times many ambitious men unable to attain membership in the regular organizations. When a man felt he had a call to organize a new society, i. e., had the necessary visions or dreams, he had no difficulty in securing a following. Naturally, these organizations have no public functions nor official recognitions; yet in time of need they might render service that would give them social prestige. As individuals, or even as volunteer organizations, they could carry their standards to the line of battle and win renown. In many cases, however, they were short-lived, since it was only the personality and enthusiasm of the leaders that held them together. A great misfortune or disaster was almost certain to end the organization.

The tabulated list gives the names and distribution of all the organizations for which data are available. No doubt there were others that have been forgotten.

	Skid	Chaut	Pitahaufrata	Kip'tahaxti
Crazy Dog (asichakahuru)	×	×	×	×
Children of Iruska (iruska ipirau)	×	—	—	—
Wonderful Ravens (kaka waruxti).	×	×	×	×
Big Horse (raris aruskutchu)	—	×	—	—
Crows (raris kaka)	×	—	—	×
Roached Heads (paksapa hukasa)	×	—	—	—
Young Dog (asa kipiriru).	×	—	—	×
The Circumcised	—	×	—	—

THE CRAZY DOG SOCIETY.

A society found in all divisions was the asichakahuru, or crazy dog society. The members were men of any age. In organization they had the usual north and south sides. There were four singers or drummers,

two for each side. The pipe-man is the chief, but there is another man who is charged with directing the ritual. All members carry ring-shaped rattles, and certain members carry short lances bearing feathers. As to the number of these lances, we have no data. The members danced nude and tied a string to the foreskin to the end of which feathers were attached. (See Catlin's drawings of the Okipa.) On this account they were sometimes called the "tied-penis society." It is said that in battle some of the members would take a stake and a rope, plant the stake before the enemy and tie the penis string to the rope. They were forbidden to release themselves and must then stand fast until released.

As to adornment and body painting each man did as he chose. Four hand drums were used.

There were no renewal ceremonies but this society would usually dance in public after the bundle societies had made their appearance. In dancing they formed in front of their lodge in a circle. There were two mounted men to call out their own deeds and encourage others to do likewise. In one part of the dance the horsemen ride among the dancers back and forth (p. 387). Also, there were two whip men, carrying green switches with which to whip up the dancers. If a member enters the ceremony wearing clothes he is set upon by these whip bearers and his clothes torn to pieces. Only the members who captured a blanket or cut the covering from a captured bundle, could take a hand in this. However, if a member has been in a battle and saved his robe, he may carry it folded under his arm.

In the dance a dancer may remove his moccasins and put them on an old needy bystander.

CHILDREN OF THE IRUSKA.

In this organization there were but six or seven members. They carried quivers full of arrows which were very highly prized, so when an arrow was shot they went to hunt it. They were known as saaro, youths.

They did things by contraries. If a woman said, "Do not get water," they went after it. They were given to playing the wheel game and because of their peculiarities no one played with them. If an enemy attacked the village, the members would continue to play the wheel game and pay no attention to the fighting. If a person came up and said, "Do not go out to fight," they rushed out at once. They were always painted black as if ready to fight. On the head each wore the skin of a blackbird. The society is said to have been handed down by this bird. The leader so appointed by the bird went through the camp and selected boys who seemed queer, or even insane. These he organized into a society.

They did not go into a fight until they were told not to; then they simply shot their arrows toward the enemy without taking much aim and then went to get them; or in other words, an idiotic performance. At all times of their lives they did things in reverse order. They never married or had anything to do with women. Whenever strange or mysterious animals were reported which were feared by other people, they would try to kill them. It is said that the society became extinct by all being killed in a battle except one, who afterwards disappeared. There are, however, several different stories as to how they were destroyed.

THE WONDERFUL RAVENS.

This society of the *kaka waruxti*, or wonderful ravens, had two undressed lances except for a crowskin hanging near the point. All members, except the pipe-bearer, had the skins of crows upon their backs. All painted black. The founder got the ritual and powers from a raven. There were four singers but no rattle bearers. Their chief function was to be ready for war; they wore the crow because this bird is known to be wary and hence it was believed that the society could foretell attacks. When attacks were predicted the society placed their lances outside against a pole. This was a public warning that precautions should be taken.

The society had a brief existence, as most of them were once killed in battle, the remnants failing to reorganize.

THE BIG HORSE SOCIETY.

Among the *Chauf* there was once an organization known as *raris arus-kutchu*, big horse society. Many of the members bore plain long sticks and all wore caps of foxskin and painted themselves white. There were no drums, but eight singers who beat upon a piece of rawhide with sticks instead of drums. The society was for war, but took the warpath for private forays and never acted as soldiers in any capacity. They became extinct by the loss of most of their members in an engagement.

SOCIETY OF CROWS.

The *raris kaka*, society of crows, was a lance society. They had two lances with war points and at four places on the shaft a string bearing crow feathers was tied. The members painted black but only on the joints of the body.

They had ceremonies in the spring to get their regalia ready for war. There was one old man in the order who wore a special cap made of crowskin. Members who had counted just one coup could wear a horizontal feather through the scalplock; for the second coup another feather in the same direction but from the opposite side; three coups, one crow feather upright; four coups, four feathers fixed on a small pointed stick, and stuck in the head. If one took but part of a scalp, he split one of the feathers half way; if a whole scalp, the whole feather was split. For each scalp taken a feather was split.

As the number of coups and scalps increased, feathers were added to a string and hung on the head. They also painted hands and other deed marks on their bodies.

This organization also had a brief existence, becoming extinct through losses in battle.

THE ROACHED HEADS.

The pakspahukasa, or roached heads, were peculiar to the Skidí. They were also known as the fox society. They had a peculiar hair cut in that the hair on the back of the head was cut off, leaving only the roach on the top. All must wear coats of blue or red strouding cloth, feathers on the seams of shoulders and sleeves. They wore buckskin leggings and any kind of dress moccasins. All had small rattles, decorated with strands of different colored ribbons. No fixed form of face painting was used. Some of them wore beaded caps. Four hand drums were used, two red and two white. This was a war society and the songs refer to disregard of death.

YOUNG DOG SOCIETY.

Among the Skidí there was a society known as the asa kipi riru, or young dogs. The story of their origin is as follows: —

When the Skidí village was west of Fullerton, Nebraska, an old man lived there alone in his mud-lodge. He was very fond of the old dogs which the Skidí had used as pack animals. They lived with him and shared his food. During the buffalo hunt the dogs carried things for him. One time after returning from the hunt some puppies were born. The man was pleased, for he had no children. Every day he made a fresh bed for them and fed them.

The rest of the people remarked on his care of the dogs. One night, some boys planned to kill the old dog and steal the young ones. The next day they watched and finally caught the old dog outside the village and killed it. During the night they stole some of the puppies, but left four males. The following day, the man searched for the mother and the puppies but in vain. He fed the others as well as he could and sat sadly at his fireplace.

As he sat there, a boy he did not know came in and said, "Some boys killed your dog." After feeding the dogs the next day, he went to hunt for their mother. He found the body and buried it. On his return he made a bed for the young ones near his own and fed and cared for them as though they were his own children. They began to grow and the man was very happy.

One night he dreamed that the mother dog had advised him to go away from his own people. He decided to move and went south to the Platte River where he camped. He hunted every day and on his return his first care was to feed the dogs. After a time he moved on, camping at different places. Meanwhile the dogs grew up.

In camp one night the man heard singing from afar and took it to be an approaching enemy. The song was unfamiliar and it appeared as if several people were singing. He rose and went to the puppies, but they had disappeared. He went back to his bed and lay down afraid to move. He lay still for a long time listening, when the singing suddenly ceased at the entrance to his lodge. When all was quiet he crawled over to look for the dogs and found them. After this, when he heard the singing during the night he was not disturbed for he knew it was his puppies that were singing. Several nights the singing was repeated so the man soon learned the song which was an imitation of a dog howling: Ha-o-a ha-o-a ha-o-a ha-o-o ha-oa hey-i-i a-a hi-o-a ha-o-a ha-o-a ha-o-a ho-a hi-i-i-i. At the close of the song each time the dogs would return to the lodge. The man then returned to the village.

Soon after this, the people left the village and went on a hunt. Each time they made camp the singing was heard during the night. The people wondered who sang, for the song was unknown to them. This occurred every night until they returned to their village.

As soon as the man and his wife entered their lodge they swept it and made a bed for the dogs. For a time no singing was heard, but one night it recommenced and as it came nearer and nearer it seemed as if there were more men. The singing seemed to be right in the lodge passing around the fireplace.

The man rose and made a fire. He saw a circle of men standing around it, all covered with red paint. Some of them had rawhide ropes around their shoulders. The man returned to his bed. The singers began again; this time they were dancing, keeping time to the song. After some time they passed out of the lodge. The fire died down and the dogs returned to the lodge whining.

The man slept again and dreamed of the dancers just as he had seen them earlier in the night. Some stooped over and circled around, whining in imitation of dogs as they danced. At the end of the dance one of the men who seemed to be the leader said, "My father, you have been good to us and our people (the dogs). They have decided to give you a new dance. For the next three days you must have the lodge swept for we will continue the dance until the third night. We have already danced one night. You must borrow the four water drums from the medicinemen and place them at the altar. It is to your advantage to watch us and listen carefully." Then the man in his dream saw the men transformed into dogs which surrounded him, licking his mouth and nose. This frightened him.

Early the next day the man and his wife swept the lodge for all the dogs had left it. He placed some branches of cedar on the fire for incense. The dogs' beds were swept and cleaned. Towards evening the man procured the water drums from the medicineman and placed them at the altar. Everything was now in readiness. In the evening the man told his wife to take dried meat from the parfleches, cut it, and let it boil in the kettle on the fire. Then he told her to lie on her bed while he sat at the fire smoking.

During the day the dogs had disappeared but when darkness fell the man heard the singing again. At first it seemed outside the village, then it came closer, and finally stopped at the doorway. The man sat on his bed. The singers filed in and sat in a circle around the fireplace. Now, four old men entered and sat in front of the drums. One of them said, "Old men dogs at the altar and young dogs around the fireplace, we will now sing and dance." The old men drummed and sang and the others danced. The dancers were daubed all over with red paint. The man watched the dancers who were fine-looking men and learned the songs. They danced until the fire burned down and then quietly left the lodge. This was the second night they danced.

The man filled and lighted his pipe and before he smoked, blew smoke four times each to the skies, to Tirawahat, and to the altar. The dogs now came in whining and went to bed. The man knew when they returned and emptied his pipe and went to bed. As soon as he closed his eyes he fell into a trance and saw an old man standing near his bed. He wore no clothes but was painted all over with red paint. The old man said to him, "My son, I will take you to a far country and show you the father of the dog family. It is through him that the whole dog family has pity for you because of your kindness to the dogs. Come with me."

The man thought that he rose and walked out of the lodge with the stranger. They seemed to be traveling in space over a wide river. When they landed he saw that he was in a strange land. They arrived at a mud-lodge and the stranger told the man that they were about to enter the lodge of Tirawahat. He told him to notice everything and that certain things would be given him. They entered and he immediately noticed a large fire in the center of the lodge. West of the fireplace was a dark object, a large golden eagle, from which came sparks of fire. On its right sat a large dog. The two men sat down at the south side of the lodge. The eagle said, "My son, you are now with us. I sent for you that I might pity you. You have been kind to the dog family and I sent for you that you might see the dog that watches over all dogs. It will now speak to you."

The dog sat in the shadow but the man could see he was reddish. The dog said, "The young dogs of your village have prayed that I give you a new dance and that I make you a great warrior among your people because of your kindness to them. Dogs receive no smoke offering from the people. I gave power to the dogs to have pity upon you. I will make you great among your people. When you return to them tell them that you saw me and that I have taken pity on you. Watch my people and do as they do and we will give you power. Now return to your people."

At this point the man awoke. It was morning. He made a fire and noticed that the dogs had left the lodge. After he and his wife had eaten they swept the lodge and the man went out to where the young men were playing. There he saw two poor orphans whom he invited to his house. He gave them places near the fire and told them that he wished them to make his home their home. They were glad.

The young men were each given a place on either side of the entrance for they were to be assistants. During the day other well-to-do young men visited the lodge, but they were not allowed to stay there. Brave warriors also came, but the man would not admit them.

In the evening the young men were told to bring wood and keep up the fire so it would dimly light the lodge. When all was quiet throughout the village singing was heard outside of it. Young and old men went outside of their lodges to listen.

At the man's lodge the singing ceased. Then they heard the drumming and everyone gathered around the lodge to watch. The singers and dancers took their places. The fire burned low, lighting the lodge but dimly so the dancers could not be plainly seen.

The two assistants sat on either side of the entrance. When the drumming began the dancers arose and danced around the fireplace imitating dogs. Some circled around and whined. The dancing and singing continued until the fire burned out. Then the man told the spectators that the dance was over. When he was alone the man sat at the altar, filled his pipe, lighted it, and blew smoke four times to the skies, to the father dog, to the ground, to the dogs on earth. Then he smoked until the dogs returned to the lodge. He emptied the pipe and lay down at the altar, while the two assistants slept at the entrance.

Again he fell into a trance and saw the dancers and singers in their places. Between the entrance and the fireplace was a pot of meat. Each man took some grease from the pot and went to the altar where he received red paint from the leader. They mixed the grease and paint and daubed it over their bodies. Each man had a short buffalo rawhide rope painted red around his neck.

The leader addressed the men: "My children, young dogs, I have given you the paint for your bodies when you are ready to dance. When in battle you must use this paint for your bodies." The dog men were addressed in this manner for the benefit of the man so he could do the same for the men who would become members of the society.

Again the leader spoke: "My son, tomorrow is our last night with you. You must take one of your young dogs and kill it, scorch and clean it and put it in the kettle on the fire. Watch us and do as we do when you start the dance among your people."

The man awoke and found one of his dogs standing near him, whining. The dog stayed at the altar until daylight when he went out. The man followed and saw him sit and look at the sun which the man also did. They returned to the lodge and sat down at the altar. The boys rose and made a fire while the man smoked. Then he lay down with the dog at his head. He fell asleep and dreamed of a strange looking man who said, "My son, the dogs are all my children. See, I am painted red all over. I am the sun. Do as the dogs tell you. I am watching over you. I will give you power so that you will come out unscathed even from the hardest battle."

The man woke, looked around, and then fell asleep again and dreamed of the dog that was lying near him. The dog was transformed into a fine looking man and said "Father you have been good to us; you have fed us well; you gave us a good place to sleep. You mourned with us when our mother was killed. All this time we cried to the heavens where our father is and now he has taken pity upon us. He has given us power to give you a new dance. You must watch us and do as we tell you. Today you must kill me for I was selected to be with you and your people always. Place the flesh in a kettle and boil it. The singers and dancers will use the grease for mixing with the red paint. After the dance the singers give the meat to onlookers who eat it. Tomorrow all the singers and dancers will go away from here but there will be others to take our places. When you are ready to kill me take a rawhide rope and a pestle used in pounding corn and let the two boys go with you. They will make a loop in the middle of the rope and each will pull as hard as he can. Then you can strike me on the head. My brains will scatter and blood will flow, but I will not be killed. I will stagger around until I am able to run. I will teach you this trick so you can try it on

one of the boys in the medicine lodge and everyone will know that you received power from the dogs. Now rise and clean the lodge for father sun is high up."

The man awoke and saw the dog. He ate and ordered the boy to sweep the lodge with fresh bunches of hyssops. Only one dog was left. During the day the chief of the tribe visited the lodge to learn what was happening. The man did not tell. The chief wished his son to join but the man refused. The chief departed. The man took the rawhide rope and the pounder, and went out of the lodge with the two boys, the dog following. They stopped at some timber west of the village. The two assistants put the dog's head through the noose and pulled while the man struck it on the head. They could see the blood and brains ooze out, but the dog staggered about and after a while ran around. He put the dog's head through the loop again and faced him south with the boys on either side. The man filled his pipe and blew smoke four times to the father dog above, to the dog, and finally laid his pipe on the ground. Then he told the boys to pull on the rope again and he struck the dog on the head, killing it. The man gathered the foam from the dog's mouth, and placed it upon his nose and mouth, his head and his body. The dog fell with its head toward the south. They skinned it, cut up the meat placed it in the hide, and carried it to the lodge. The meat was put in a large kettle on the fire; the hide near where the dogs' bed used to be. Now the lodge was put in order for the events of the night.

In the evening, the two assistants let the fire die down. As usual, singing was heard outside the lodge. It came nearer and nearer and the singers stopped at the entrance and then filed in, the four singers in the lead. They took their places behind the drums. The others sat around the fireplace. The assistants made a fire and the drumming and singing was begun, the men around the fire dancing as before. The dancers stood in place while the drummers sang a certain song. The leader of the singers now began to dance, circling one of the dancers. Then the man jumped up and danced with the singer. Spectators began to crowd in.

The singer danced up to the dancer on the south side pretending to place something on his neck. A great shout arose and the singer danced backward. When he danced forward the fourth time he threw a string with a whistle attached around the man's head. The dancers shouted again and the singer threw a bunch of owl feathers on his head. Then he threw a rope painted red and about four feet long around the man's neck. All this was a reminder of how the dog was killed. Later, a red sash was used in place of the rope.

The singer returned to his place behind his drum while the others danced. At the close of the dancing, the leading singer addressed the men: "My son, you shall do these in your dancing. When the string is put around the neck of a new dancer you shall receive him into your dance. No matter how high a man stands among his people, if the string and whistle fall to the ground you shall send him out of the lodge. While we are singing the dancers may dance around the fireplace and take a piece of meat from the kettle and give it to the spectators who may divide it among themselves." After the meat was distributed the spectators were asked to leave.

The leading singer then asked the man to fill his pipe, light it, and stand west of the fireplace and blow smoke four times to father dog in the heavens, to the sun, to the entrance, and to the drums. Then he emptied the ashes on the rim of the fireplace. He was also told to place the dog skin at the altar when it was tanned and to blow smoke to it. Then he gave him the whistle with the string, the owl feathers, and the rope. The leading singer said, "We will now sing. All rise and dance toward the entrance and go where you wish. We have now taught him everything."

They drummed, sang, and danced around the fireplace out of the lodge. The singing and drumming gradually ceased and when the fire was made there was no one left in the lodge. After this the man often dreamed and found that the dance was given to poor people, especially the poor boys of the village.

After the final dance, all the dogs disappeared. Every night the man and the two boys sang and other young men came in and assisted. When quite a number of young men knew the songs the man told them to come the next night and bring with them their quivers, bows and arrows, and moccasins. Among the young men who wished to join was a chief's son. He told them that they would go to the enemy's camp that night. They all agreed to go with him.

That night he wrapped up the dog skin, the string and whistle, the owl feathers, and the rope and placed them on his back. As they started off they sang the first song the man had heard the dog men singing. They sang four times and then went on their way. For several days they continued when some of the young men began to show signs of weariness. Then the man gave them a root to chew to revive them. When the chief's son became tired the man paid no attention to him. Finally, he turned back.

At length they came to the enemy's camp. The man put on his regalia and went to the camp. He captured some ponies on which they returned home. When they arrived the people said the young dog people were good travelers.

After this at night the young men met to sing the dog songs. When the man heard them, he would have the two boys build a fire and the young men would come in and sing. One time, on their return to the village from a buffalo hunt some of the young men told the man that they each had a parfleche filled with dried buffalo meat and they wished to dance. The man did not reply but consulted his two assistants who said: "Buffalo meat is good, but first we must get a reddish dog." One young man said, "My people have one, I can get it."

The dance was started and all the young men who danced and received the string and whistle became members. This society became very important and when the Arikara joined the Skidi they saw the dance. Among the Arikara was one man who knew the sun dance. He met the leader of the young dogs and they exchanged dances. The Skidi joined the two and had the young dog sun dance three times. All the dancers had to be cut and suspended three times.

This society became a great power among the people. One time during a buffalo hunt the people were attacked by the Sioux and the soldiers were all killed and the crow lance taken from them. The tribe was left without police so the chiefs (not the priests) selected the dog society to act as police on the hunt. Their old men cried through the village telling the people to keep quiet and not to drum or sing. The men were not permitted to hunt at any distance nor were guns to be shot. The women were not to chop wood but were to gather dry limbs. One night a man came to the village

with buffalo meat. He had consecrated it and taken it to one of the minor bundles and that night the priests had a bundle ceremony. The dog soldiers went into the lodge, took the meat, cut it up and gave it to the dogs. The owner of the meat was taken out and whipped and his gun broken. He became angry and drew his knife. They all attacked him and hurt him badly. After this occurred, the dog soldiers were dismissed and the lance men were again the tribal police.

The dog society was so important not only because the members were good warriors, but great medicinemen. None of them were cowards, they were all brave men.

THE MISCHIEVOUS SOCIETY.

An organization generally known as the mischievous society, but also as the circumcised, once existed among the Chauí.

Many years ago when the Chauí were alone, two young men were always running around during the night, playing bad tricks upon anyone they met. At this time the people wore no clothing, especially the boys. In the winter time the boys wore a bull calf hide, if they were well-to-do; but if they were poor they wore half a bull hide, their moccasins and leggings. They had neither shirt nor covering for their privates.

In a village of mud-lodges there happened to be one mud-lodge that was empty for all the people who lived in it had died. These two mischievous boys made their home in this lodge. People, especially the young men, were afraid to go near this lodge in the night for it was said that ghosts dwelt there. These two young men frightened people when they came near the lodge by making strange noises, whistling, and throwing mud at them.

In the daytime they watched the young men in the village and when they saw certain ones who seemed fearless they invited them to meet them in the empty mud-lodge. When they spoke of the mud-lodge, those who were cowards would refuse to go, but those who were brave accepted the invitation. These meetings were held in the winter time when the people lived in mud-lodges, for in the summer time they lived in tipis away from the village. When these young men met they would plan to send out young men to scare those who were prowling through the village during the night. The two leading boys appeared as if circumcised and invited to their meetings only those of similar appearance.

In their meetings in the deserted lodge they would do all sorts of mischievous and obscene things. When on a buffalo hunt in the winter time they would get together and make a grass lodge in which to hold their

meetings. The boys in the village heard of their meetings and doings and many were anxious to join. When the people returned to their permanent village, the boys again held their meetings in their lodge. During the day the two leading young men would play with the boys of the village and whenever they observed one of circumcised appearance they would ask him to come to their meetings. Thus the society grew until they had many of the boys in the village. Every night they met in the lodge, each bringing a little dried buffalo meat and some parched corn, so that when their meeting was over they would have something to eat.

At last they became so numerous that one night in their meeting they talked of going on the warpath. (These boys never stole anything in the camp but kept others from stealing.) While they were discussing their war project, the boy who acted as a watcher announced that a young boy out there wanted to come to their meeting. The two leaders asked if he was of their kind, the answer was "no." Then the other boy was told to tell the boy to come to the lodge in the daytime.

The two leading boys now dismissed the others. When they were alone they began to plan for their altar. At last they agreed to have two long poles, about seven feet long and about one foot around. One end was to be forked, but the prongs trimmed off close, the whole shaped to serve as a phallus. When completed, both symbolic poles were blackened in the fire. After the altar had been arranged they considered how they could increase the membership and how young men wishing to join could be artificially circumcised. One of the eligible young men volunteered that his condition was due to accidental contact with the juice of the milkweed, causing a sore by which the foreskin was removed. This suggestion was adopted as part of future initiations.

The next day the two leaders entered the lodge each bearing a bunch of fresh milkweed. Here they sat down. Soon the other members came in. One of them was told to watch outside. When the candidate came to the lodge he was told to enter. When inside he was seized, thrown down upon the ground, and held while the two leaders applied the milkweed juice. He was then turned loose. He was told to sit among them and when tired to go home but that he must tell no one what had happened to him. This kind of work was carried on until there were many boys sick from the inflammation. People wondered why there were so many boys sick. The boys were not really sick but as they were naked in those days they did not want to go out and be seen in their condition.

Now the boys got the poles and prepared them as the two leaders wished. When completed they were placed at the altar in the lodge. They extended east and west, the head part toward the east. The leaders made clay pipes

and baked them. The stems were of ash. During their meetings the leaders filled their pipes with native tobacco and offered smoke to the poles. Then they would send other young men out to frighten people who were prowling around in the night. When the boys returned to the lodge, before they told what they had done, they passed their hands over the poles and offered thanks for their help. Then they sat down between the poles and told their story. All would laugh.

Several years afterwards these boys had grown to be young men and began to talk about going upon the warpath in earnest. While they were planning one day an alarm was given: the enemy were coming to attack their village. The boys were all in their lodge. They were told to remain there until ordered to go out. Some wanted to run out for they wished to get their bows and arrows, but the two leaders would not let them go. The leaders took some grass from the lodge and burned it to make soot. They told the boys to do likewise. After they were all smeared with the soot, they were told to get their bows and arrows and join them. When the boys returned to the lodge with their bow and arrows, the two leading men took up the two black poles and ran to the battlefield. The line of men was extended clear along the battle front. Most of the men were massed at each end of the line. So these boys selected the center as their place. The two with the poles stood in the center, but the members scattered out. When the enemy attacked the boys, the leaders told their followers to shoot to kill. When one of the boys killed an enemy, one of the pole bearers would run forward and strike him with the pole and then return to his place. In this the two pole bearers alternated. Through the heroism of these boys the enemy was finally driven away and pursued by the mounted men.

The boys returned to their lodge for they were afoot and could not follow the enemy. When all the men had returned to the village, each one told what he had done in the battle. Some told of the strange-looking people in the center of the battle line and all wondered who they were, for all the lances known to the people were in the battle. The boys were careful and never spoke of their doings. Some men said that they saw one of the boys carrying an odd looking pole, but the people could not find out who the boys were.

Some time after the battle, when all the victory dances were over, the boys met in their lodge. When all the young boys were seated around the fireplace, the leader said, "Brothers, we are in our own lodge. I have something to say to you and if what I say is good, I want to know. You can all see how men go on the warpath for five or six months to return with many ponies and perhaps several scalps waving upon their poles. The

people turn out to see them come in. The victorious party comes over the hills as if they were attacking the enemy. Chiefs and brave men go out to meet them. Women stand on the outskirts of the village giving their war cry. When the men are near the village we see their faces are smeared with charred grass, their lips white with clay. The black faces signify that they have traveled in the night and faced dangers; their white lips, that they were hungry for many days and finally came upon the enemy, conquered them, and captured their ponies. You have looked upon the leader who carried the sacred things upon his back. Chiefs and brave men honored him. I know all of you would like to be in his place. I know I would. Boys we can do the same. We have been meeting here night after night. We now have two poles to lead us into the enemy's country. I have it in my heart to lead you. If we die at the hands of the enemy it will be well. Some of you boys are better off than the rest of us, for you have grandfathers and fathers who tell you that it is better to die at the hands of the enemy than to die of sickness in the village and be put under mother earth and have dirt rest upon you. Who of you are willing to go with me?"

Each boy said, "I will go with you." The leader was glad and said, "Brothers when you go to your homes, let your sisters or grandmothers make you four pairs of moccasins and when they are completed let them fill them with parched corn or pemmican. Those of you who have neither sisters nor grandmothers go to your nearest of kin among the women and ask them for a piece of tanned buffalo hide, some sinew, and bring them to this lodge and make your own moccasins. Do not steal these things, but ask for them. We will make preparations for the next four days and on the fifth night we will start for the enemy's country."

Soon after this talk by their leader, the boys went to their homes. Most of them were orphans and it was hard to get anything from other people. The two leaders were orphans, they had no relatives or friends. They did not try to get anything from anybody. They sat in their lodge and made two small sticks to represent the two larger ones, so they could carry these sticks upon their backs. When the boys returned to the lodge the next day, some had more hide than they needed and some had several pairs of moccasins and they gave the leaders what they did not need.

The third night the boys met in their lodge, each brought his moccasins and other things he thought he might need. The leaders saw that each boy was provided with moccasins and provisions. Some of them had more and they willingly gave to others who had none. Now the leader said, "Brothers you can hang up your bundles upon the walls and then go to your homes or to your friends and get you a knife, some arrows and a bow. Bring the things to the lodge at night and we will get ready to start. You may now go home."

At night the boys came into the lodge with things they needed. When all were in, the leader told each boy to take a bunch of grass and place it in his belt. When this was done he told them all to paint their faces with burnt grass. Then the leader said, "Brothers, we are seated here as warriors. We are about to go on the warpath. Tonight after all is quiet, we will go through the village. We will enter every lodge and sing our songs. When we stop singing them one of the boys must light the grass, then all must take their breech cloths off and dance in the light, naked. We will do this so that when we go on the warpath if we are not successful we will not return. In case the enemy attack us, we will fight until everyone is killed. As soon as we have marched through the village, all must come to this lodge for we are to start from here. If anyone returns to his lodge he cannot go with us. We will now march through the village."

The two leaders led the young men and as they entered the lodge, they stood in a circle around the fireplace and sang. When they stopped singing, one of the boys went to the fireplace where there were coals and lit the grass. The boys all took their coverings off and the women jeered at them. When the fire died out they went to another lodge. After they had visited every lodge they returned to their own. When all were seated, the leader told the boys that he was pleased for now the tribe knew that all the boys were circumcised.

The leader filled his pipe and offered four whiffs to the two large phallic poles and four whiffs to the two small ones which he was to take with him. As he offered smoke to the two large poles he said, "Fathers, we are about to go upon the warpath, we are to leave you in this lodge, but make us brave that we may conquer our enemy and make it easy for us to capture his ponies." Then he dumped the ashes at the ends of the poles. He wrapped the two small poles and the pipe in a coonskin, for he had dreamed that he was like a coon and had to get a coonskin to protect them. He tied the bundle on his back. Then he told the other leader to rise. Both stood at the altar. Then they told the other boys to take up their bundles and rise. They left the lodge and marched around the village by the north and west until they stood directly south of the village. Here they sang their songs, shouted, and ran towards the south. When they were some distance from the village, they squatted down and waited until daylight. The leader did not miss any of the boys and was glad. Now they marched on again.

One night the leader selected four boys to act as scouts. It was to be the duty of these boys to go out before daylight and see what was in the country. They were to report again before daylight. In the night they were also to look over the country and report to the leaders. One day the scouts came in and reported seeing fourteen or more tipis and many ponies.

The leader now selected a thick timbered country. Here they cleared off the ground, made a fireplace, and built a big fire. The leader made an altar and placed the two sticks on it. He offered his smoke. Then it was time to have their mischievous doings which they kept up until dawn. The leader gave one of the sticks to the other leader and they started for the village. They stopped once and the leader selected seven boys to round up the ponies while the others attacked the village. Then they started. The seven men went to where the ponies were. The others surrounded the village. A shout went up, women and children ran out of the village, but the men were killed and scalped. The seven boys drove the ponies from the village. With scalps hung upon their belts the boys ran into tipis taking things that were of value. The enemy had run into the timber, but were now rallying so the boys ran to where the others were driving the ponies. Each boy caught a pony, mounted, and ran away. Two days and two nights, they journeyed north until they came to thick timbered country where they halted. When they jumped off their ponies, they were so sore they could hardly walk. Some of the young men were now sent out to get buffalo. When the meat was brought they all began to roast it for they were hungry. The boys with the scalps cut poles and hung the scalps upon them to dry. They all lay down and slept.

The next morning they were up at dawn and after eating some of the meat again took up their journey. So they kept on only stopping at night until they were near the village. Then they decorated themselves with soot for they had no other paint. Now they got upon their ponies and rode to a high hill. Here they began to sing and yell until the village turned out and wondered who they were. Presently a messenger was sent out to meet them. When the messenger was near the leader shouted to him, "Tell the people the mischievous boys are coming with many ponies." The messenger went to the village and shouted, "The mischievous boys are coming with many ponies." The village turned out. The chief was among them. The leader gave one pony to the chief. The young men entered the village, their parents and friends meeting them.

Several times they went on the warpath and each time they were successful. As time went on some of the young men married and raised families. On a buffalo hunt these young men having fine horses were able to kill their own buffalo meat, so they were well provided for. Sometimes they feasted the poor in the village, then feasted the old people, and at last they feasted the chiefs. These young men killed buffalo and consecrated the meat, so now they became great men. In battle they were brave.

One of the leaders was riding near the place where they were to camp when they saw boys playing the javelin game. They rode up and looked on.

The people were building their tipis. They called a young man and told him to go to the chief and tell him to place mats on the ground to have his ceremony. The chief, when notified, told the women to spread mats in a circle upon the ground. His soldier being there, the chief told him to call four other men. While the soldier was gone, the chief took the bustle, a spear, tomahawk, shield, and a war-bonnet and placed them on the mat. Then he brought out two water drums. As soon as the men came, two of them sat down by the drums, took up the drumsticks and began to sing. The chief himself was the first to take up the bustle and tied it around his waist. He now took up his bow and arrows; then he squatted down upon the ground; then he began to grunt, his head and shoulders shaking to keep time with the drumming. Finally, he arose and danced. When the singing ceased, the chief spoke in a loud voice, "I speak of a certain place I killed an eagle. I consecrated the eagle and that same year I killed an enemy, took his scalp, and consecrated the scalps to the gods in the heavens, and the gods received my smoke." Again he said, "I speak of a certain place I killed a wildcat and consecrated it and that same year I went upon the warpath and captured ponies. I was successful and when I returned to the village, I took one pony and gave it to the priest." Again he shouted, "I speak of a certain place. I killed a raccoon. I consecrated it to the gods in the heavens. That same year I went on the warpath and I captured many ponies. Upon my return to the village, I gave four horses to different men. To the men who want me to do this I have spoken. The gods in the heavens have heard me. They will make the path straight for you to do likewise." He then untied the bustle and threw it on the ground when the next man took and went through the same evolutions with it relating his deeds. Each man took up the bustle and told of his deeds.

Then the leading mischievous man came into the ring with two horses, eight robes, and two parfleches of meat. One parfleche was opened, the meat cut up and given to men, women, and children, who were looking on. The other parfleche was opened and the chiefs ate the meat. Then the presents were divided among the chiefs.

When the people returned to the village the mischievous men met in their lodge. The leader took up the poles, stood up and said, "Brothers, we all now have families, have attained places among our people and are respected. Our meetings must end. I now put these sticks into the fire. I ask that each of you join some of the societies and always be brave. My friend and I will join the brave lance people. You are all now released and we will not meet here again. This is all." They left the lodge and each went to his home.

THE ORGANIZED WAR PARTY.

There was a fixed ritual for the control of a war party, which when organized for a foray was for the time being a kind of wolf society (*araris taka*, society of the white wolf). Its mythological basis is quite fundamental, being that part of the creation myth in which a wolf pursued man and deceived him. In any event, the god of war is a mythical wolf and it was directed that a wolfskin should always be placed at the top of a bundle and that the *Skidí* were to be the wolf people, as the name implies. Hence, to become a real warrior one must follow the ways of the wolf. One who does so can go to the keeper of a bundle and borrow the war clothing therein together with the pipe. The wolfskin remains in the bundle, but the objects he takes away carry with them the power of the wolf. By their association with the bundle, these war clothes represent the powers of the west and when the borrower is so clothed these powers are with him. He can now organize and lead a war party, but he himself must not imitate the wolf, that is left to his followers. Thus, they become like the wolf first placed upon the earth and may have power to steal upon the enemy and get away without being discovered.

Before setting out upon a foray a ceremony is held in the village in which as in all else the borrower of the regalia from the bundle is the leader. An altar is made and the bundle from which the regalia are to be borrowed is brought in and placed before the leader. Upon it is the wolfskin and in the minds of the warriors the wolf is present and, hence, always with them upon the way. A buffalo skull rests upon the altar.

The war regalia of the bundle are usually a pipe, a collar, a lariat rope, a hawkskin, an ear of corn (*Mother Corn*), some red paint, down feathers, and a leader's feathers.

As the bundle is present there must be a north and south side and two leaders. On the march they go abreast with the others behind in order of their rank. A four-day ceremony follows, before setting out. On the way, their organization is for each side, or line: a leader, two scouts, two soldiers, the warriors, and the inexperienced assistants. The four scouts are really charged with the responsibility of the movement and may be said to be in command (see p. 55) though the leaders stand for the highest authority. They scout about in the early hours of the day and at all times on the journey. Their signals are made as wolf cries. When a scout has anything to report, he tells it privately to the leader of his side. At the proper time the leader announces the import of the report in a formal ritualistic manner. They never approach or in fact go anywhere in a direct line, but follow an

ever-changing course. The members of the party paint their faces and robes heavily with white clay, which is the war paint of the Pawnee and symbolizes the wolf. The scouts also wear two white eagle feathers in the hair so set as to resemble the ears of the wolf.

Thus when one looked over the crest of a hill, he would appear as a wolf. Wolfskin caps were often worn by these scouts to heighten the illusion. Since in course of time other Indians knew the wolf cry signals, different animals were imitated according to orders of the leader.

When the enemy has been located, the leaders conduct the party into a thicket and hold a ceremony. The inexperienced members of the party (youths) gather the wood and act as servants. One young man goes out to cut the drumsticks, these he rolls up in his robe and with wolf cries runs into camp, placing the sticks before those who are to be singers. The rolled up robe he also places there for them to beat upon. A small circular altar is made by clearing the sod and exposing fresh earth. The ear of corn, the otterskin collar, the pipe and the hawkskin taken from the bundle at the start, are placed in position. All then arrange themselves in two sides as in the regular ceremony. One goes out and hunts up a buffalo skull which also has a place upon the altar. The ceremony is opened with the regular smoke offering. The leader sends one to cut a number of small sticks, at least one for each member of the party. With these sticks, offerings are to be made for which each member brought certain trinkets. These offerings are formally dedicated to all the powers of the earth, sky, etc. Each ties his present to a stick and plants it at the altar. The offerings for the powers above are set up vertically and the others in corresponding positions. The drumsticks are then taken up for beating upon a robe and singing and dancing follow. The four soldiers drive out the dancers and keep them dancing around the fire.

The songs are largely derisive of those who stayed at home. The members also sing of their sweethearts. All these songs have a peculiar rhythm and end with wolf calls, from which they take the name of wolf songs (see vol. 7, 267). On the journey no one is permitted to speak of home and relations with women, lest he lose heart.

At the close a council is held to develop the plan of action. Thus, it is decided as to whether they will simply run off horses by stealth, or make an attack. If the enemy seems numerous, the former is most desirable. In this case a few men are selected to go for the horses while the others wait. Usually the scouts and the soldiers are sent on this mission, temporary soldiers being appointed to hold the men in camp. The scouts endeavor to drive out the horses toward the main body who catch what they can and mounting, drive off at high speed. The leader rides ahead, the others hold

the flanks of the loose horses while the scouts and soldiers bring up the rear. They ride almost continuously for three days, or until exhaustion, and then camp in a sheltered place. Some hunt, others guard the horses. When the first buffalo meat is brought in an altar is made, as before stated, and the regular smoke offering performed. Two men are then chosen by the leader to divide the spoils. They divide the horses according to the ranks of the members, inexperienced men getting but one horse. After the division the name-changing ceremony is performed for the young men on their first war party.

After sufficient rest, they set out for home. As they approach their village they set the grass afire at intervals so that their people may know that a war party is returning. When near the village they paint their faces black or dot over with black the white paint of the warpath. When in sight they signal the result of the expedition and are met by the chiefs who triumphantly conduct them into the village. Feasting and jollifying then follow. If coups have been counted or scalps taken, a victory dance will be held.

After an interval the leader of the party calls the members together and any of those formerly in a party who now constitute a kind of society of the wolves. The altar is again constructed and the ceremony performed. Two of the captured horses are brought out and loaded with presents, the objects from the bundle are also placed there and the horses lead to the keeper of the bundle where they are received by the priest. They are then returned to the bundle and the keeper goes at once to the place of ceremony; he stands by the altar and gives them his blessing.

On the warpath a man may vow to give one horse to the mother corn, in which case a horse is given to the keeper of the main bundle, who also gives his blessing.

With these acts the true wolf dance begins. In the dance all the young men may join, who hope to go out with the next war party and as they dance the old men sit around and ridicule their ardor. With this ceremony and the return of the sacred objects to the bundle, the war party ceases to exist.

It seems that those who have taken part in such a foray constitute a kind of wolf society which at various and sundry times conducts dances in the village in which all boys and young men may join. The object is to give practice in the songs and ritualistic parts of the ceremonies necessary to the warpath. In these dances pieces of rawhide were used for drums.

THE WOMAN'S SOCIETY.

With one possible exception there seem to have been no associations for women. We have even no data as to anything like the associations of quill workers (p. 79). In the preceding we have noted the victory dance of the women which may, perhaps, have had a crude organization, but there was an association of single women, old maids, and widows, to whose organization captives of war were presented. Their regalia were ludicrous. Their mock war-bonnets were made of corn husks instead of feathers; their bows were the poorest of sticks; their lances were of weed stalks adorned with husks; and their shields, hoops covered with cloth and husks. Some of them carried hollow stems of the wild sunflower, through which they blew dust into the air. One woman acts as chief, her badge being a large clam shell on the breast.

When captives were taken, they were turned over to this organization. The ceremonies were public dancing and the torture of the prisoner. All this may be made clearer by the following narrative: —

The Pawnee had set out on one of their summer buffalo hunts. Only a few old and sickly people remained in the villages. On the third day of their march they reached the Loupe. The main body crossed and pitched camp among the hills, but far behind were a few stragglers and a group of boys playing the hoop game. The latter stopped at the river to finish a game before crossing. Here they were discovered by a Dakota war party and surprised. They scattered out for cover, but a few got away with their horses and crossing the river fled toward the camp of the main body. The whole Dakota party crossed in hot pursuit and were thus led into a trap for the Pawnee in camp had seen the signals and the whole armed body dashed to the rescue. Many of the Dakota were killed in the running fight that followed.

When the pursuing Pawnee returned they went over the field to count the dead and collect the spoils. As they were going along one of the Dakota arose and looked about in a bewildered manner; he had only been stunned by the fall of his horse. He was seized and taken to camp. According to custom he was taken to the chief for instructions. He consulted with the society of braves, then in charge of the camp, and it was decided to turn him over to the women's society. A messenger was sent to inform the leader of this organization. She at once called in the members, who proceeded to the chief's tipi, marched the prisoner out to the south of the camp where they bound him to a tree.

The women then returned to the lodge of their leader to prepare their regalia. When all was ready they danced through the village and paraded to the place of torture. Then, as was the custom, they kindled a large fire in front of the prisoner and prepared for a four-day ceremony. Every indignity was offered the unfortunate prisoner. Old women would urinate in bowls and force him to drink. Others would take up coals of fire and touch him here and there.

On the third day the chief's wife took her little girl out to see the tortures. While they were there an old woman came up with a bundle. She took out a large piece of

dried back fat. This she heated in the fire until hot and while other women held the prisoner she spread it on his back. The little girl was overcome at the sight and began to scream. Her mother took her home but she cried and refused to be comforted. Finally, the chief asked the cause of this crying and was informed. He coaxed and threatened without result for the child declared that she would continue to scream until the prisoner was turned loose. The chief said that could not be done and so the child continued to wail. The people gathered in and gradually developed sympathy for the child. So the chief called in the braves, but they declared themselves powerless. Then he called in the chiefs and the soldiers to discuss the matter. The sentiment of the camp was now aroused, so four soldiers were sent out to order the women's society to disband. They then conducted the prisoner to the council lodge and seated him there.

The chief then sent for his daughter, who had stopped crying. He stated that they had with some difficulty granted her wish and that now she must get water for the prisoner. Accordingly she brought water and held the bowl for him to drink. Then the chief ordered her to get a large bowl of water and some buffalo wool and when these were brought to wash the man's wounds. Then buffalo fat mixed with red earth was given her to rub over him.

Now, said the chief, since you would have this man released, you must feed him. So dried meat and fat were brought. Some of the fat she handed to the man to eat, while she cooked the dried meat. When ready she set the food before him, placed four small bits of meat in his mouth and then signed for him to eat. When he had finished, she set a bowl of water for him to wash. The chief then gave her permission to withdraw.

Then the chief sent for his horses. He ordered his best horse prepared for riding and loaded with baggage for the journey. Next he brought out clothing and dressed the man in his own fine clothes, even his ceremonial leggings, shirt, and moccasins. Finally, the girl brought a new robe and wrapped it around the man. The chief then addressed the Dakota: "You are to go home. You are a free man. All these things we give you. My daughter here saved your life. She alone did it. Now go to your people and tell them of her deeds."

Four soldiers were called in to escort the Dakota beyond the range of the Pawnee. but some revengeful young man attacked him. Far across the Loupe they sent him on his way. He reached home safely.

Some three years later the Pawnee were surprised to receive a visit from their enemies, the Dakota. It was a very large party that came to the chief's lodge, the leader asked for the girl who saved the life of a Dakota. Then they knew him. The chief took him into his own lodge and the others were quartered in the village.

The Pawnee entertained their guests well. On the last day they gave the iruska dance for their visitors. The Dakota entered into the dance. He was naked; on his body were painted red spots to show his burns and many prints of hands since he had been held by many of the Pawnee. He addressed the Pawnee, explaining that he had come to see his daughter once more, she who had saved his life, that his own people did not believe his story; hence he brought them that they might see for themselves. In return the Pawnee vouched for the narrative.

Many times during his life this Dakota visited the Pawnee and he labored unceasingly to bring about a permanent peace between them and his people.

MEDICINEMEN'S SOCIETIES.

The medicinemen of the Pawnee were members of several permanent organizations. Once a year, late in the summer, each tribal division held a grand medicine ceremony lasting twenty days or more which though in many respects a tribal affair had a permanent organization. Its leaders were assumed to be the grand masters of shamanism and to know the secrets of all other societies. At another time during the season the doctor's dance is held, a general one-day ceremony for which there is also an organization. Independent of these ceremonies were a number of societies composed of one or two great medicinemen, a few students and a considerable number of attached members who took part in the dancing, but were not otherwise acquainted with the secrets. These organizations usually held ceremonies twice a year, early in the spring and late in the autumn. These were ritualistic ceremonies, the underlying conception of which seems to be the purification and the renewing of the powers resident in the sacred objects belonging to their craft. The Skidí maintained two large earth-lodges, one in the east and one in the west for these ceremonies and it is these lodges that were popularly known as the grand medicine lodges. The one in the west seems to have been the original lodge and the one most often used.

At the sound of the first thunder in spring, the members of the medicine societies like the keepers of bundles, take out all their regalia and implements, purify them in a smudge of sweetgrass and perform a prescribed ceremony. The next day the regular ceremony begins. The altar in the medicine lodge is prepared and in front of it are set up the two sacred loons, facing east. Two wooden bowls are filled with blue earth and soot, with which the members paint. As in other ceremonies, the seats are in two sides, with the leaders and all other officers paired. Each side has a buffalo rawhide to beat upon and about a dozen gourd rattles are at hand for the use of the dancers. There are also two water drums.

The first ceremonies are dances to the mythical water monster. The leader for the north side opens, then the leader for the south, and so on in turn around the circle. As this proceeds, people may enter and make offerings of property to the loons at the altar and also make presents to individual dancers.

Then the regular Pawnee smoke offering is made. Each medicineman then in turn brings a filled pipe to the altar and makes the offering. A herald then goes out and invites all who had given presents (only men who

have consecrated buffalo or performed certain deeds can smoke at any time) to come with their pipes. All who wish, enter in turn and offer their pipes. As these offering ceremonies are in reality prayers, this is regarded as the best time to plead for success in all things and this is also the motive in bringing in property and presents.

Another period of singing and dancing closes the ceremony, after which the medicinemen divide the presents. Kettles of corn are brought in and the bowls for the feast. The leaders fill the bowls for their sides and make a special offering before the bowls are passed. Meat is then brought in and handled in a similar manner.

A somewhat similar ceremony is held in the autumn but this time in a circular shelter of green boughs suggesting the sun dance enclosure of the Dakota.

While the medicinemen's societies were not recognized as such in the twenty-day ceremony, they were sure to have among their members famous medicinemen who would set up their booths in the lodge. Usually one of these was the leader of a society and around him the members would gather and assist in staging his tricks. The members of a society were really students from whose ranks the leading places were filled in times of need.

MEDICINEMEN'S SOCIETIES.

	Skid	Chad	Pitahaufrata	Ki'tahárti	Squash Vine
Twenty-day Ceremony (tawaru kutchu, bigsleight-of-hand)	×	×	×	×	×
Doctor Dance (kurau)	×	×	×	×	—
Bear Society (pitararis kuruks)	×	×	×	×	—
Buffalo Doctors (kura taraha)	×	×	—	—	—
Deer Society (raris ta)	×	×	×	×	—
Blood Doctors (kura patu)	×	—	—	—	—
Iruska Society (pitararis iruska)	×	—	×	—	—
One Horn Dance (raris arika)	×	×	×	×	×

THE TWENTY-DAY CEREMONY.

Once a year, late in the summer, each division had a grand medicine ceremony. This lasted from twenty to thirty days and was an intense

affair. This is not the time to go into a detailed account of it, but the following general sketch of the procedure seems necessary.

The native name for the ceremony is *tawaru kutchu*, big sleight-of-hand, but we shall for convenience speak of it as the twenty-day ceremony, as in fact it is often called by the Pawnee themselves. It is found among all the divisions, but seems to have originated with the Squash Vine village, to whose medicinemen alone certain parts of the ritual were known. From the originators it passed to the Skidí and then to the other divisions. The twenty-day ceremony proper is given in the early autumn after all the bundle ceremonies have been performed, the corn harvested, etc. At the proper time the lodge is cleared and the altar arranged as before. After certain preliminary ceremonies, it is in order for each medicineman to build a booth of green willows in the lodge. They proceed ceremonially to a thicket where each gathers his willows, with which they march back and then construct their booths.

It may be stated that each medicineman sets up a booth for himself, but if he has attached to him one or more younger men in the capacity of students, these assist. Each booth, therefore, really represents a group of men. Further, all the people of the village to which a given medicineman belongs may at times enter, take seats around the booth, and offer assistance. In this way the whole people may be said to participate.

Among the Skidí there is a special feature since they are not content with merely dancing to the mythical water monster, but construct his image encircling the fireplace. In this all the medicinemen's groups take shares. The head is begun on the south side of the door. The mouth is open, with teeth of willow. The head is covered with buffalo skin. There are two long "feelers" decorated with bands of bright colors. On the crown of the head is a large erect plume of down feathers. The body of the monster is formed of bowed willows, plastered over with mud. The tail is at the north side of the door and is forked like that of a fish.

The fireplace is cleared out and a large turtle modeled there, his head toward the altar. A new fireplace is then made on his back. While the water monster was peculiar to the Skidí the following were found among all divisions. A tree was cut and brought in with a ceremony almost identical with that found in the sun dances of other tribes. The Skidí plant the tree (a cedar) in the forked tail of the monster, the others put it (a cottonwood) at the altar. A life-sized woman is built up of clay, dressed in regular costume and set up on the south side of the lodge. A large figure of a man is cut from rawhide and placed upon a pole above the lodge. Numerous small human figures are cut from rawhide, strung upon cords and stretched about overhead in the lodge. All these objects are highly symbolic: thus, the fire

is the sun; the mud woman, the moon; the large rawhide image, the morningstar; the many small images, stars.

All this construction was part of the ritual and so controlled by a definite program. When everything was in place, a general dedication ceremony followed in connection with which is a spectacular march through the village in two lines, according to their sides. In front, two men carry the sacred animals from the altar, dancing. (For the Skidí, two loons are used, for the other divisions, two beavers.) All medicinemen are supposed to derive their powers from living creatures and their booths are spoken of as animal lodges. In this procession each man costumes himself so as to represent his animal mentor, often in very realistic fashion. There were also a few clowns dressed like wolves.

After the tour of the village, the procession enters the lodge and holds a secret ceremony upon which we have no data. Those on the outside hear a great uproar and a riot of hideous noises, while clouds of white dust rise from the smoke hole. When all is quiet again, the door is opened. The leader then performs a ceremony in which he sprinkles water about to consecrate the lodge.

It is then in order for the various medicinemen to demonstrate their animal powers. This is the time when remarkable feats of juggling were performed; thus it is told that stalks of corn were made to grow up and mature in a moment, likewise plums and cherries, the bear men tore out a man's liver and ate it, after which he rose unharmed, and so on, in bewildering variety.

Finally, a certain number of days were given to ceremonial visits to the sacred bundles, each in turn, where certain ceremonies were performed.

At the end the animal powers and images are taken down and carried to a stream or lake. Here they are heaped up in the water something like a beaver's house and the mud woman placed on top.¹

Places or booths in this ceremony were assigned by the leaders. A man having set himself up as a medicineman would apply for a place. He would be assigned one provisionally and at the proper time called upon to demonstrate; if he failed to carry his trick through successfully he was ejected, but otherwise given a permanent seat. As may be anticipated from the foregoing, medicinemen were trained and not made suddenly through dreams or visions. It is true that such experience counted for much, but the usual way to become a medicineman was to succeed one's teacher at his death. Thus, it is clear that the seats in the twenty-day ceremony were practically fixed in form and number.

¹ It may be significant that the animal painted tips of the Blackfoot and Dakota were always disposed of by sinking in water and that many ceremonial objects among the Arikara, Hidatsa, and Mandan were similarly treated.— Ed.

THE BEAR SOCIETY.

Among the very highest of shamans and doctors were the bear men. Among their regalia were four bearskins, a grizzly, cinnamon, the large black bear, and the small black bear. There were also four bear-claw necklaces. Eight rawhide rattles were used. Preparatory to a ceremony two piles of cedar brush were placed in the lodge, one for each side. When the members have assembled a sprig is given to each, set up before his seat, and carried in the dance. The sprig is carried home, the leaves stripped and the wood cast into the fire. The leaves are placed in a bag and used for ceremonial smudges; thus if a thunderstorm threatens, a smudge is made to protect the lodge.

When called to a ceremony, the members enter, take their seats and place their professional bundles in front. Then they paint. One set of men paints red, one white, and another a kind of pink. All make black eye marks, a diagonal line from the inner corner of the eye down across the cheek. If feathers are worn in the hair, they are of the same color as the face.

When all are ready, the leader designates two men from each side, to wear the bearskins. These were worn merely as robes, the head on one side, the tail on the other. Sometimes two small boys are selected to dance with very small bearskins. Four water drums are used; these are passed, or moved around the circle at intervals. While the songs are rendered, the members dance around the fireplace and during the intervals walk around the fire, or mill like bears.

At the feast which follows the kettle of corn is brought in and as in all ceremonies is set upon the median line of the lodge between the door and the fire. (Fig. 4). Eight bowls are placed around it in a circle, those in the north half going to that side in order, etc. After the corn is served, the kettle of meat is brought in and served in a similar manner. Thus each side eats in four groups. No one is permitted to use a knife while eating. After the feast each makes up his bundle and departs.

While all the divisions seem to have had a bear society, its full ritual was in the keeping of the Skidí organization.

BUFFALO DOCTORS.

Another important society found among the Skidí and Chaúí is known as kura taraha, buffalo doctors. On their altar is a buffalo skull, one half white, one half red; also a wand with seven eagle feathers, at the top a tiny bag of native tobacco and four strings of blue beads hanging down. The

dancers wear headdresses made of buffalo wool and stick buffalo tails in their belts. In former times the full buffalo head was worn. They carry rattles of buffalo hoofs. Each paints with earth from a buffalo wallow, mixed with the urine of male and female buffaloes.

One member carried a staff, or lance, strung with buffalo dew claws. The important object, however, was a sacred shield, kept hanging in the lodge. It was painted red and bore the designs of four buffalo horns in black. There were no feathers or other decorations.

As indicated in the diagram (Fig. 16) the chiefs and a few distinguished old men are given seats near the door. We have again the peculiar feature of passing the drums, or alternating leadership. This is made clear by the diagram; in addition to the regular leaders and their two assistants, each side has two groups of alternate leaders. In the ceremony the head leaders open, but after the second song, pass the drums to the nearest leaders on the north side. After two more songs, they are taken to the leaders opposite on the south side, etc., until completing the circuit four times.

The ritual is known to these groups of leaders only, and between them sit the ordinary members. These may be of all ages, including the small sons of those present or descended from dead leaders.

THE DEER SOCIETY.

The *raris ta*, or deer society, is found among all divisions, but its ritual seems to be in keeping of the Skidí organizations. The fundamental elements of the ritual seem to be based upon the mescal bean, for this society teaches that all animal powers were learned through the power of the mescal bean. While the name of the society is taken from the generic term for deer (*ta*), the dancers imitate many kinds of animals, suggesting that we have a general animal cult instead of a specific one. That the mescal is fundamental is suggested in the initiation of members. Tea made from mescal beans by a definite formula is given the candidate and when he falls unconscious, the leader tests him by rasping down his spine with the toothed jaw of a gar fish; if he moves or flinches in the least, he is rejected once for all.

Again at the regular ceremonies shamanistic feats with mescal beans may be performed. If anyone in the village brings in a new red blanket for the leader, these must be demonstrated. The performing members then rise and dance, presently shaking mescal beans from bunches of sage and other unexpected places. The leader does not dance but industriously sweeps up beans from the bare ground. At the end all the beans magically produced

are placed in a pile and later given to the donor of the blanket. Other shamanistic feats may occur, but seem to be individual and entirely optional.

As in other societies of this class the members bring their professional bundles to the ceremony and display their contents. The regalia peculiar to the society are large whistles, to symbolize the elk, and foxskins carried

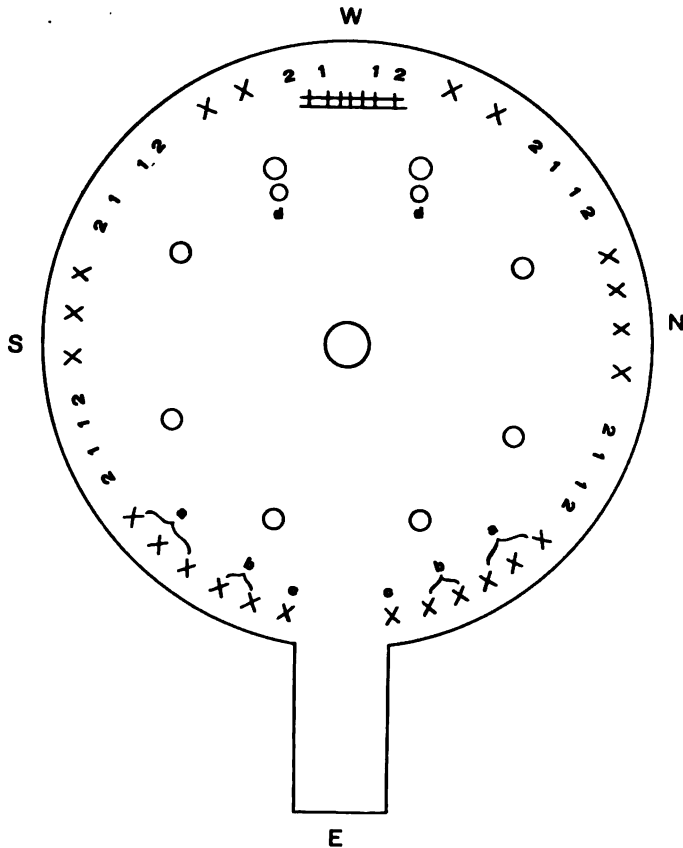


Fig. 16. Diagram of the Buffalo Doctors' Ceremony: a, Chiefs; b, old men; c, errand men; d, place of the drums when not in use. The leaders of the ceremony sit at the west but on each side are two pairs of alternate leaders to whom the drums are shifted as the ritual requires.

by the neck when dancing. A few members wear braided buffalo hide ropes into which feathers are woven and some carry wings of birds.

The order of seating is shown in Fig. 17. It differs slightly from the preceding for the leaders sit, not at the west of the door as is usual, but on the

south side. The seats west of the door are occupied by chiefs who are paired according to the two sides of the lodge. In front of the permanent leaders are laid four bows and four gourd rattles, the latter painted white. These bows and rattles are shifted at intervals to the alternating groups of leaders as previously described.

The regular ceremony is held once a year when the wild sage plant reaches

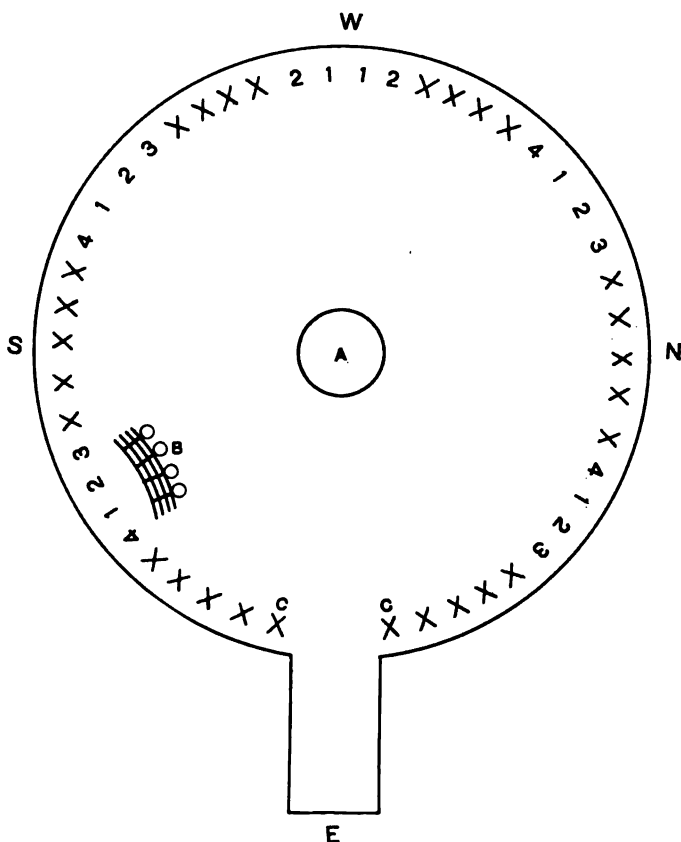


Fig. 17. Diagram of the Deer Society Ceremony: A, fireplace; B, four bows upon which rest four rattles for the leaders; C, errand men. The unusual feature of this ceremony is the place of the leaders and their order of rank; as the ritual proceeds B is shifted to the other four numbered places on the south side, then across and down the north side. At the west 1-2, 1-2 are hereditary chiefs from villages of the respective sides.

a certain stage of maturity. This plant is spread thickly around the lodge and used in the incense offerings.

It is of interest to note that the members of this society are renowned

snake doctors, though demonstrations are seldom made in the regular ceremonies. The members claim absolute immunity from rattlesnake bites and complete power over the reptile himself. They will seize any snake they meet and handle it without fear. No wands or instruments are used, nothing but the hands. The writer has frequently observed snakes handled in this way. According to reports they are able to cure all suffering from snake bites.

BLOOD DOCTORS.

There was formerly a group of medicinemen known as *kura patu* (blood doctors). They were, however, considered as otter men, or an otter society. They seem to have been composed of five groups of dancers, each marching through the camp separately. Women accompanied them, bearing wooden bowls and spoons on their backs. In this manner the five groups proceeded independently to the lodge of the two leaders of the ceremonies where an altar had been prepared. When a group reached the lodge they paused and sang; the leaders on the inside then sang and danced, bearing otterskins in their right hands. After the dance the two leaders came out to receive the guests in their arms.

The chief feature of a ceremony was the shamanistic vomiting of a red liquid like blood. This was collected in bowls and used to paint the bodies and otterskins of those present.

THE IRUSKA.

There was a very powerful medicine society among the *Chauf* known as the *pitararis iruska*. However, the *Pítahaufrata* division was also represented in this society, they having the south side and the *Chauf* the north. The *Skidí* had the same ceremony except that they used dog meat in the kettle instead of buffalo. Also, the *Skidí* did not have the two forms of painting, only one, painted black at the joints. The purpose of the dance was to show the power of the members to extinguish the life in the fire, hence the name. Among the *Skidí* at least, the term *iruska* has a symbolic or double meaning. The idea is literally "the fire is in me" and the symbolic meaning is that "I can extinguish the life in the fire," or can overcome the powers of other medicines. The members of the society were doctors for they treated burns.

Originally, the society consisted of leaders of various animal medicine societies. Among the members was one who was not a medicineman until he had a curious experience. The story follows:—

The man in question, Crow-feather, was very peculiar. He never took part in ceremonies; he never consecrated buffalo to propitiate the gods. Every night he went out in the hills, gazed at the sky, wondering at the powers there. When he was sleepy he lay down near the altar in his lodge. Before daylight, he went out into the hills again and sat facing the east. When the sun was high in the heavens he returned home.

One afternoon, when he went out and sat on a high hill overlooking the corn-fields, he noticed black smoke rising. At dusk, the smoke was still rising. This caused him to wonder for he knew the people should be home at that time.

He went where he had seen the smoke rising and found some strange people sitting round the fire, laughing at one another as they roasted corn. When the corn husks burned, one of the men tore them off holding the corn until his hands burned. They all laughed at this. The man watched them for some time. When anyone dropped the hot corn, the others laughed and cried, "He is not an *iruska*." After a time, they sang four songs, repeating each four times. The men then played with the fire with their bare hands. Crow-feather soon learned the songs.

One of the men who acted as a servant saw Crow-feather looking on outside the circle. He arose and whispered to a man sitting at the west who appeared to be the leader. The servant asked Crow-feather to come within the circle and told him he would learn something from them. He was asked to remove his buffalo robe and other clothing and enter the circle, naked. He sat on the north side of the fire.

The leader said to him, "Brother, you have been wandering over the hills for some time. We heard your cries and were sad and agreed to pity you and give you a new dance. You will call this dance, *iruska* (fire inside of all things). Before we impart our secrets you must pass through something difficult. If you do we will teach you our secrets and you will know what fire is."

A bucket of water rested on the fire. The men now began to sing while four of them rose and danced, holding corn husks in their right hands. They danced around the fire toward the bucket of water. They pretended to be attacking an enemy. Finally, they dipped the corn husks into the boiling water and swung them against Crow-feather, scalding him. When the people noticed that he paid no attention to his burns, they shouted, trying to frighten him that way. This too was of no avail. They seized him and held him over the fire. He screamed but they held him and rolled him on the hot coals. After a time he ceased his clamor for he no longer felt the pain. Finally, they took him back to his place.

Another song was sung and all the men around the fire attacked it, now charging it and now retreating. During the third charge, Crow-feather noticed that the screaming and grunting was as of birds and animals. At the fourth charge, he saw that the dancers were imitating animals and birds. As they moved hastily toward the fire he saw each one drop something into it. They turned quickly: some flew away in the shape of eagles, turkeys, and crows, and others ran away as deer, wolves, and dogs. The remainder ran to the pile of burned corn and disappeared.

By this time, the fire was almost burned out. Crow-feather gathered some dry willows and rekindled it. One man stood where the singers had been, and said, "Brother, you must now return to your home. Take four ears of burned corn with the husks on. Tomorrow you must go to the hill where you sat so often. The people you saw here will come and explain what happened to you tonight. Now, go."

He went home. That night he did not sleep well but dreamed of fire. He wrapped up the four burnt ears of corn and placed them on the lodge wall. The

next day he went to his usual place on the hill and sat facing east. For a long time he waited there. He knew he had been among strange beings for there were blisters all over his body. While he sat there he heard crows calling, eagles screaming, and turkeys gobbling; wolves howled, dogs barked, and he heard the rattle of deer hoofs. He paid no attention to these sounds, but presently he heard someone walking. The steps came nearer and stopped behind him. He did not look up, but a voice said, "Brother, I came for you, follow me." He rose, turned around, and saw ahead of him a man whom he followed. He was lead through a ravine to a steep bank where they entered. Here the same people he had seen the day before were seated around a fire, singing. Nothing was said but he was given a seat at the south, near the fireplace.

The four men who had tortured him before rose and each took corn husks from a wooden bowl. They danced toward him and struck him on the back with the husks. Then they replaced them in the wooden bowl. Before dancing toward him again they dipped their hands into the contents of the bowl. They moved their hands toward him but failed to touch him. At this point the singing ceased and they asked him to rise. The four men led him to the bowl and rubbed the contents over his head, ears, nose, mouth, and feet. They put his hands into the mixture and he held them there a while. Then they led him back to his place south of the fireplace. Screaming and shouting, he was gradually pushed toward the fire. Finally, they put him on the fire and when they took him off painted him with red paint mixed with roots. Then he was given a place within the circle.

In the evening the dance was repeated, Crow-feather joining the others. When all was over the dancers disappeared in the form of birds and animals. One man only, the leader of the dance, remained. He asked Crow-feather to sit near him and said, "Brother I am a human being. This is my home. I cannot go among our people, for I have no scalplock. Some time ago our people were attacked and on the retreat I was thrown by my pony and stunned. When I revived my scalplock was gone. I had been scalped by the enemy. When I looked around I saw sitting about me, crows, eagles, wolves, and dogs. At night, the wolves lay near me. I wandered over the prairies for I knew I could not return to my people. I dreamed of the birds and animals and decided to try to follow the wolves. I was led to this cave and here the birds and animals came and taught me mysterious things. I stay here and procure my food from our people at night when they are asleep."

"When the birds had taught me they wished me to return home and teach our people what I had learned. When I told them I could not return because I lost my scalplock they said they would give me a headdress which was even more important than a scalplock.

The deer furnished the hair for weaving; the turkey, feathers from his breast to edge the deer hair (also the roots for dyeing it); and the eagle a single feather for the center of the headdress. The bone spreader for the hair I was told to get from the shoulder blade of a deer. They told me to get a two-inch shank bone to set on this. The eagle feather was to be passed through this and tied to the scalplock. When I had procured the materials for the headdress I was ready to make it but did not know how to proceed. I slept and in a vision, saw myself preparing the headdress. The next day I knew how to make it. When it was completed, with the strings on the bones and eagle feathers, I found I could not wear it, I had no scalplock. The animals were distressed at this. They met again and gave me materials for a belt: deerskin, crow feathers, and a wolf tail. I made this. Now I will give them to you to take home."

He went to the altar and took from the wall the headdress and the bustle. The belt consisted of a strip of deerskin to the middle of which were fastened three sticks about two feet long and decorated with deer hair. At each end of the opposite side hung two sets of crow feathers with wolf tails between each two feathers.

He gave these to Crow-feather with instructions to take them home and return the next day with his pipe and tobacco. When he returned to his lodge the people asked where he had been, but he did not reply. When his mother offered him food, he asked for a piece of tanned hide in which he placed the bustle and headdress and tied the bundle to the lodge wall.

Early the next morning, he returned to the cave where the man awaited him and said, "Fill the pipe and let us smoke." After they had smoked and the ashes were thrown away, the stranger said, "During your wanderings and peculiar behavior I was with you. I caused you to wander; I like your ways. The men in your village are attentive to women. You are not and for that reason I liked you. Those who wish to learn this dance must avoid women. If married men are to take part in a dance where fire is attacked, they must have no intercourse with their wives for thirty days. They must bathe every morning and evening. Now, I will show you the herbs and roots you must rub on your body when you dance; also the kind of wood you are to use in your fire. The wood and roots are brothers, that is, the roots rubbed on the body make anyone impervious to fire."

They walked on the prairie and finally the man said, "Place four pinches of tobacco on the plant before digging the root." After this he had the privilege of digging as many plants as he wished for they had received tobacco. They returned to the cave and cut up the roots. In the meantime, the stranger instructed him in the performance of the dance. After the roots were dried, they were pounded up, mixed, and placed in a buckskin bag. He said, "This is the way you must prepare the medicine." Before the root is rubbed on the body, it should be put in a wooden bowl filled with water in which four live coals have been placed. Dip some of this up with a small buffalo horn spoon and put it in a wooden bowl and it is ready for use. If an enemy should attack your village do not mix the medicine in a bowl, chew some of the root, take it in your hands, and rub them on a kettle that is covered with soot and then rub the soot on your joints. You will have no fear of the enemy's fire. If anyone is burned by fire or scalded, chew some of the root and place it upon the affected part and the cure will be immediate. After a time the medicine may be mixed in a bowl and the burnt part bathed with the concoction. After the wound has dried, you must kill a dog, mix the grease from the dog's body with the medicine and apply it to the wound. This will hasten the cure. If a man be wounded in battle, he must chew the root and bathe the wound with a mixture of roots and charcoal. After this the mixture of root and grease should be applied. This is all I can do for you now, but come to me once in a while. I will always be with you. You may now take what I have given you and return to your people."

Crow-feather went home. The next day he returned to the cave and found the man sitting near the fire. He thanked him for what he had done. He gave him presents and said, "Brother, I brought these things for you have done a great thing for me." The mysterious man thanked him.

Crow-feather went home. Several days later he determined to see whether the medicinemen understood the fire. He built a sweat lodge of eighteen willow poles. From the hill he brought back limestone which he

placed near the entrance to the sweat lodge. In the center he built a fireplace. He put the stones in the fire. When the stones were red hot he sent a messenger to invite eight medicinemen. Buffalo robes were spread over the lodge. When the medicineman arrived he greeted each one saying, "Nawa", and asked him to be seated.

When everyone had arrived, he addressed them, saying, "Brothers, I have made a sweat lodge. The stones are red hot. I sent for you that you may go into the sweat lodge with me. I will cover the sweat lodge with tanned hides and buffalo robes." He covered the lodge and told the men to take off their clothes; he took his off and went into the sweat lodge. He appointed one man as assistant who now carried the hot stones into the lodge and put them on the fireplace. When everything was ready he said, "Brothers, I invited you into this sweat lodge for I have heard of your wonderful doings in the medicine lodge. I brought the timber which now stands over you; I gathered up our grandfathers who were seated upon mother earth and now they are ready to blow their hot breath upon us. The water is before us. We are seated in a dark place. Each of you prepare yourselves, for no one must leave because of the heat. We are now imitating animals and birds."

Each man took his medicine from his belt and chewed it. The owner of the sweat lodge chewed some root and spat four times on the stones, causing a bluish flame to spring up. Then he said, "Brothers, everything is ready. Our grandfathers (the stones) are now ready to listen to us." Every man held out his hands toward the stones and prayed. After the prayers, the owner dipped up water with a wooden ladle and poured it on the stones four times. He told them to wave the bunches of wild sage which they held in their hands. Some of the men enjoyed the heat while others appeared to be in pain. Those who had not applied any medicine suffered most. The owner of the lodge sang and when he stopped, the men who disliked the heat crawled out of the lodge, only four men remaining.

When all was over the owner of the sweat lodge told the four men that he had selected them as singers for a new dance. After they had dressed and eaten he sent them home.

The people began to hold medicine ceremonies during which sleight-of-hand tricks were performed. One night the crow imitators performed. They built a fire and put a large stone on it. When it was red hot they put it on the ground and each man stood on the stone. When all the medicine performances were over Crow-feather brought together men he knew who understood fire and taught them fire songs.

In the winter the people hunted buffalo. When they were near the buffalo he invited the four men he had selected for singers and told them

he wished one of them to kill a male buffalo whose flesh would be dried and used in a new dance. The man chosen killed the buffalo and the meat was brought to Crow-feather's tipi where it was dried and stored in a parfleche. When they returned to the village, he invited the four singers who came and sat around the fireplace. He said, "Brothers, I have invited you to my tipi. We are going to have a new dance. Before we begin, bring your medicine bags here. Each man must have before him his root for overpowering fire."

They brought their bags and set them down. Crow-feather said, "Brothers, you are about to learn my secret. I must see what medicine you have for overcoming fire. When I have seen your medicine I will show you mine." He showed his root. Some picked up live coals after applying the medicine to their hands. One man chewed the root, took up a coal with his teeth and lit another man's pipe. Crow-feather said, "Brothers, I am glad. I know you understand the medicine you have. You will help me. I can do as you have done. I will show you my medicine to prove I am not deceiving you." He put a root on the ground, went to the opposite side of the tipi and put a stick with coals on the ground; the root began to move around the fireplace until it stopped at the fire stick. The men were astonished and called the root, "Medicine walking around the fireplace." He put the medicine back in his bag and asked the men to return to his lodge in the evening so he could teach them some songs.

In the evening, they sat at the altar where there were four water drums. Crow-feather said, "Brothers, we are to have a new dance, a medicineman's dance, and not a war dance. I have decided that a chief shall lead us so the smoke ceremony may be held before the dance. Now, we will prepare. For thirty days we must not go near our women. We must take a bath in the creek every day and clean our finger nails. That is all. We will get the drums now and sing."

They sang forty times, ten sets of songs for each time. They were told to announce the dance and its requirements to the village.

After thirty days Crow-feather had his tipi prepared, all its furnishings were moved out. Two poor boys, Blue-bird and White-fox, were selected as assistants. White-fox made a fire for the new dance. The boys sat near the entrance and Crow-feather sat at the altar. The bustle and headdress hung from posts. When he had smoked, he said, "Blue-bird and White-fox, each of you take a pony and bring a lot of dry willows and some cottonwood. I will also send six women for wood." They did as they were told. The wood was placed inside the lodge on either side of the entrance.

Blue-bird was sent for Pitaraysare (Man-chief) and White-fox invited the other singers. The chief sat on the north side near the singers. Crow-feathers said, "Singers, I invited our chief to be with us so he can always

partake of our food. Chief, I ask you to lead in the ceremony we are about to have. We need a leader who is keeper of a sacred bundle who can bring the pipe and hold the smoke ceremony. Take pity on me and bring your pipe this evening so the gods may receive the smoke, for it is from the heavens that we have the knowledge of roots and herbs."

The chief replied, "I will do as you wish. I am thankful to be with you and witness what is about to take place. The sacred bundle belongs to the people, for the gods gave us the bundle with the pipe so we could offer them smoke in our ceremonies."

Crow-feather passed his hands over the chief's head and hands, thanked him and said, "Singers and assistants, the chief has consented to bring the sacred pipe. He will be our leader in everything. He will lead us and carry the sacred pipe when we dance through the village. He will not take part in our fire performance. I will teach him our secrets so that he may know what to do if he is requested to do something with the fire." The chief was glad and thanked Crow-feather who told the men to go home and return in the evening.

When Crow-feather and his two assistants were alone he asked them to cover the entrance of the lodge with a skin tent. Then they partook of their evening meal. The chief returned with the sacred pipe and he was given a place to the north of the singers. The pipe was placed in front of the singers who sat at the altar. The assistants built a fire. Crow-feather sat near the singers, and asked how many were prepared to join them. There were sixteen in all, so they could sit in four groups of four each. The assistants were sent for the candidates who were to wait outside and for two of the soldiers who were to remain outside and warn off any intruders.

Crow-feather said, "Singers and other members of the iruska society, we must now begin our ceremony. The chief will fill his pipe and offer smoke to the gods in the heavens." The chief filled the pipe, gave it to the north assistant who took it to the leading singer who said, "Now, iruska, the gods in the heavens will receive the smoke. We will ask our chief to make the smoke offering." The chief rose, went to the altar, and received the pipe from the leading singer. He walked to the east, holding the pipe bowl in his left hand. When half way to the entrance and fireplace he stopped, took a pinch of tobacco from the bowl, raised it toward the east, and placed the tobacco on the ground. He walked west by way of the north and stood near the fireplace, facing east, took some tobacco from the bowl, and offered it to the skies, to tirawahat. Then he placed the tobacco on the rim of the fireplace. He repeated this for each direction. The chief walked northeast of the fireplace by way of the south and sat down. The south assistant placed a coal on the pipe bowl. The chief walked to the

east with the pipe and took four whiffs blowing the smoke toward the east. Then he stood west of the fireplace, faced east, blew smoke once each to the heavens, to the north, and south, and four times to the west, and emptied the ashes on the rim of the fireplace. He gave the pipe to the leading singer who said, "Nawa."

Then the candidates were received one by one. The first one who came was told to bathe in the preparation made ready by Crow-feather. When he was ready, he was taken to the fireplace and forcibly placed on the fire. If he had blisters, it was proof that he had not complied with the rule of cleanliness for thirty days. Then he was put on the fire again to cure his blisters. If any candidate proved cowardly he was immediately turned out of the mud-lodge. When all had been initiated, the singers drummed and sang and all the new members danced. The two soldiers entered the lodge for outsiders were now admitted.

They danced until forty songs were sung. After each ten songs they stopped to smoke. After the forty songs the spectators went away. The members remained behind and Crow-feather said, "You who have gone through the fire may now smear your bodies with soot. You are not now afraid of the fire nor of an enemy. Those who wish to remain may do so, the others may come early tomorrow." The chief and the two soldiers went away. The next morning they all swam in the creek and on their return to the lodge were given their proper positions in the ceremony. The four singers were to be leaders. The chief was to be their leader. He was to carry the pipe when the people went through the village to dance at the most important places. Those at the northwest were to be painted yellow; those at the northeast with white clay; those at the south, dark red; and those at the northwest with black soot. The singers were to be painted with soot at their joints.

When everyone was painted and all was ready, the leader of the ceremony said, "Singers, iruska, and chief, we will now go through the smoking ceremony." The chief made the smoke offering and Crow-feathers said, "Now we will begin our dance; the assistants may make a big fire, cut the dried meat and have the brass kettle ready." When everything was prepared he put a new knife in the bottom of the kettle, added water and then the meat. Then the soldiers were called in.

The leader of the singers said, "Chief, soldiers, those of you at stations, and iruska. Something is now at hand. We will begin to sing and all dance. Watch Crow-feather and do as he does. The spectators came in. Crow-feather was the only one who had the bustle and headdress; the others were simply painted. When the singers had sung the third set of songs the assistants made a big fire. They hung the kettle over it. When the last

set of songs was sung the dancers attacked the fire. Finally, Crow-feather danced up to the kettle which was full of boiling soup and took a piece of meat out with his bare hands. He gave it to one of the spectators who burned his hands with it. The rest of the members also did this. At length the dancers dipped bunches of corn husks into the kettle and whipped each other with them but did not burn. The dancing ended when the fire went out.

This was the first ceremony of this kind. After the dance Crow-feather said, "You must now make the headdresses and bustles. Some day we will give a public dance when all must bring spears, bows and arrows, war clubs, and shields so that you can imitate the attack on an enemy in your dance. It shall be known as *iruska* (fire inside of you). The red headdress represents fire, the black hair fringe represents smoke.¹ This will not be a social dance, neither will the members act as soldiers for the chiefs. We shall be known as medicinemen."

THE ONE HORN DANCE.

The members of the one horn dance (*raris arika*) were young men eligible to go to war. For the dance, the regalia of all the societies were gathered: the war clubs from the sacred bundles, spears, war shields, bows and arrows. During the ceremony they called upon *Pahukatawa* (Hills along the banks of a river) to help them kill or count coup on the enemy. Women were not admitted for *Pahukatawa* directed them to bar women for fear some would be unclean.

The dance was held only when *Pahukatawa* ordered it and then only before an attack by the enemy. The songs imitated the bellowing of buffalo. Each dancer seemed possessed with the spirit of a particular animal which he imitated. The dancers wore their war regalia. Those who had war-bonnets had to fasten a whole buffalo horn on the right side of the bonnet. Each dancer was painted according to the dreams or visions he had experienced. Those representing crows painted with charcoal or soot; jack-rabbits painted with white earthen clay; buffalo were smeared over the mouth and nose with buffalo urine mud; those with bear spirits were painted with red or yellow which represented the sun for the bears sought power from the sun.

¹ The headdress is the imitation of fire, the red for the blaze, the black hair for smoke. The feather represents the *iruska* man who understands the fire. He is standing in the fire or has placed the fire about his whole body. The headdress represents the fireplace, the bone tube the medicine, and the feather, the man himself standing in the center of the fireplace. According to tradition, man came from an ear of corn and corn has life and life is fire. The original word for *iruska* is *iriska* (singular), *iruska* (plural), they are inside fire. The wood used for the *iruska* fire was cottonwood and willows.

They had one large drum which was made according to the directions of Pahukatawa. Several men cut down a large water willow tree which was split into several pieces. The best piece was planed down then bent over and fastened together with sinew. Four flints were tied inside the drum. The head was covered with buffalo hide and sewed with a rawhide string. When dried it was painted black, the rim red, and four buffalo skulls were marked on the sides.

There were four regular singers and two assistants. Any of the singers was permitted to dance.

This war dance was held to teach the men how to act during battle and to remind them that there was a being who watched over them and gave them courage.

The origin myth is as follows: —

One day when the Skidi' lived in their old village in Nebraska, seven men went out hunting toward the west. After a few days they came to a willow-covered ravine where they camped. Before sunrise the next morning the youngest among the hunters went up in the hills. As he came to the top of a hill he saw the enemy approaching. Instead of running towards camp he ran towards some heavy timber. The enemy followed. As the young man was afoot they soon overtook and surrounded him. He fought until all his arrows were gone and then they killed him.

The other hunters remained in the ravine and when the enemy left went to the place where the young man had been killed. They found arrows stuck in the ground and long poles scattered about. The young man's body seemed missing, but finally they found it cut up and strewn over the ground. They gathered up the pieces and laid him out. They went home and told the people how the young man had been killed. All the village started out to bury the young man. When they arrived at the scene of the fight they found the arrows and poles but not a sign of the young man. They camped here for several days and searched for the man's bones, but in vain. They continued to the west to hunt buffalo.

Several years passed and the incident was forgotten. One winter evening when the people were living in their mud-lodges some men who were singing round the village noticed flashes of light here and there. They took this to be a warning that the enemy was coming to attack them.

Finally the village quieted down. One man only could not sleep. As he lay awake he heard a sound like rattling buffalo hoofs. The sound came into the lodge and then stopped. As he watched and listened, the man felt first a cold wind and then warm wind against his face and someone whispered: "My brother, I am here. I am the one who was killed a few years ago. I am not dead. I am alive. When I was killed and my body was cut up and pieced together again, the powers in the heavens, on the earth and beneath it, pitied me. They caused all the birds and animals to congregate and make me live again. They promised to return the parts of me they had eaten. Everything but my brains was returned. An eagle and a buffalo bull wished to give me life so they suggested that the thunderbirds (swans) give me their down for brains. You see I cannot speak well for I have no brains. I am everything. When the lights appeared they saw me. I am part of the winds."

"Before sunrise tomorrow you must go to the hills where I will meet you. Fill

your pipe and let me smoke. Do not fill it with sumach leaves but with tobacco mixed with shavings from an old pipestem. When you light the pipe, hand it to me saying 'Take this pipe and smoke, Pahukatawa.' I will take it and smoke. You will know me as Pahukatawa. Now prepare the smoke for me."

The man took an old pipestem from a sacred bundle and scraped it. He mixed the shavings with tobacco, filled the pipe, lighted it and handing it to the mysterious man said, "Take this pipe and smoke, Pahukatawa." All this took place in the dark. The man could see no one, he heard only the whispering. When he passed the pipe someone took it and began to smoke. His visitor took a few whiffs and whispered, "Take the pipe, it is empty. Fill it again and let me smoke." He refilled the pipe and after drawing on it a few times returned it and said, "Brother the smoke is good. Be sure to meet me in the hills tomorrow before sunrise. I chose you, for I like your spirit. I will come to speak to you often. You must have my smoke ready."

He heard buffalo hoofs rattle and could almost see a buffalo walk out of the lodge. Before sunrise the man went out to the hills. He climbed one hill and as he was going down another he came to a deep ravine. He heard a strange cry and as he looked towards the ravine saw a mountain lion ready to spring. He ran back and in a deeper canyon saw a grizzly tearing up the ground. He was frightened and as he looked about for a means of escape, canyon and bear disappeared, and a man stood before him, laughing. The man said, "Brother, why are you frightened? Didn't I ask you to meet me here? That mountain lion was I, so was the bear. Because you were afraid of these animals you will not receive their power. Go home and return tomorrow before sunrise."

The stranger disappeared and the man went home and slept throughout the day. In the evening he filled his pipe and standing outside, west of his lodge, he blew smoke four times to the west and said "Brother, Pahukatawa, I offer you this smoke, do not forget me. Pity me and I will do as you wish." He emptied the ashes from his pipe and went inside the lodge. At dawn he went west into the hills. When he had passed he heard strange sounds which he took to be shouting. The enemy was attacking him; he tried to hide, but could not. The leader carried a pole hung with human scalps. He was frightened and ran. Before him stood the man he had seen the day before. The stranger scolded him and told him that he was the leader of the supposed enemy and intended to endow him with bravery in battle, with power to take scalps and count coups.

Then he told the man to go into the ravine. When he arrived, he saw a buffalo bull charging him. He was not frightened this time. When the bull came close and was about to run him down he closed his eyes, when he opened them, the stranger stood there, wearing a buffalo robe and buckskin leggings. He carried a whole eagle on his back and in his right hand held a staff six feet long upon which was tied eagle down.

The stranger said, "Brother, you have chosen well. I will give you these things. You are to be neither a warrior nor a chief, but a prophet among your people. Repeat to them what I tell you. I have great power from the gods in the heavens and on the earth. I was brought to life again that I might save my people from starvation and from their enemies. If the people see flashes of light around the village tell them they must be quiet. Tell them I am near, and that I bring a message to them for their good. You receive my power as the sun rises. From now on you will be known as Coming-sun. Take these things to your home and I will tell you more about them."

The man disappeared but left the regalia on the ground.¹

¹ For a different version see Grinnell, (b), 143.

The same day, Coming-sun invited Big-eagle, the chief of the village, to eat with him. Then he detailed all that had happened from the time of the first flashes of light. The chief examined the bundle of regalia and sent a crier through the village to tell the people not to fear the flashing light for it was Pahukatawa who was killed long ago. Some believed and some doubted the truth of this.

At night Pahukatawa came to Coming-sun and smoked with him and said, "I know our people do not believe you and me, but the time will come when they will." Then Pahukatawa disappeared. He visited Coming-sun now and then and told him that he could not live with the people because he had no brain, but would come when they needed him.

From that time flashes of light were a signal that Pahukatawa was near which was followed the next day by news of an approaching enemy. The people recognized the power of the lights. When Coming-sun heard the buffalo in his lodge he prepared the pipe in the usual way and passed it saying, "Take the pipe and smoke, Pahukatawa." After he had smoked, he said, "Brother, I came a long way. I have been among our enemies. All the different tribes have received and smoked the war pipe from the Sioux. They will make war upon us. I have come to tell you so you can warn the people. They intend to wipe us out and burn our village. Tell the people I am coming into this lodge tomorrow. Every keeper of a sacred bundle must bring some native tobacco from it to this lodge. The gods in the heavens and your friends who have passed away wish this tobacco. Be sure that the people bring the tobacco."

The next day Coming-sun told Big-eagle what Pahukatawa had ordered. He sent a crier through the village with the announcement. During the day Coming-sun's lodge was prepared, the beds were removed. In the evening, Coming-sun, Big-eagle, and the crier sat in the lodge, smoking. A fire burned in the fireplace. Then Coming-sun heard a whisper, "Tell the crier to go to each bundle keeper and ask him to bring tobacco to the lodge where Pahukatawa is waiting."

Soon the men began to come in with their tobacco which they placed in front of the altar which was west of the fireplace. The lodge faced east. When all the tobacco was brought in, it made a large pile extending north and south across the lodge. Spectators soon began to crowd into Coming-sun's lodge for they had heard Pahukatawa was there. They could not see him, but when the fire burned low they saw him in the form of a buffalo sitting down, as an eagle, and for an instant as a man.

Coming-sun said, "Pahukatawa says that it is now that the gods in the heavens and our dead relatives receive the tobacco. He says I must distribute it." Coming-sun sat behind the tobacco and threw it about, but it

did not fall on the ground. When the tobacco was scattered, he sat at the altar and said, "Pahukatawa says the gods are pleased with the tobacco." Coming-sun told the people that Pahukatawa had told him about a new society and dance, the one horn dance. The people wondered how Pahukatawa would leave the lodge. He knew what they were thinking about and whispered to Coming-sun. "Tell the people that Pahukatawa will leave now, and wishes them to come back in the morning and stay in the lodge all day and plan for the new ceremony." Then Coming-sun said, "Watch Pahukatawa leave us." They watched but instead of a man they saw a buffalo bull rise, shake itself, and disappear. Then they saw where the tobacco had spread. A whirlwind came up, passed through the lodge, and disappeared. The people knew he had gone and left the lodge. Coming-sun and Big-eagle remained behind.

In the afternoon they sent for men proficient in drum-making who were told to obtain timber and buffalo bull hides for constructing the drums. Weeping willow timber was split and planed; the hides were cut in circles and sewed with buffalo sinew. In the evening the drum was still incomplete. The men went to their respective lodges for food.

Coming-sun and Big-eagle sat at the altar. Chiefs and important men made their way to the lodge for they were convinced as to what they had seen. Coming-sun felt cold and warm winds and told Big-eagle that Pahukatawa was with them. Coming-sun prepared his pipe and said, "Take this pipe and smoke, Pahukatawa." In reply, he heard a whispered "Rawa rawa" (now, now). Someone took the pipe and both men heard the smoke inhaled. Then the pipe was returned. Pahukatawa whispered to Coming-sun that the enemy was approaching. He ordered that in the next three days the people join in building a high embankment around the village. On the fourth night Pahukatawa promised to return. Every man was to be prepared with plenty of arrows, bows, and spears for the dance to be held the next day. Then Pahukatawa disappeared in the form of a whirlwind.

Big-eagle said, "All those here present must help build the earthworks and prepare the bows, arrows, and spears." The next day the people did as they were bidden. At night, Coming-sun and Big-eagle sat in the lodge surrounded by a lot of men. When the drum was ready they taught them the song.

Towards evening of the fourth day Coming-sun told Big-eagle to have the men drive their ponies into camp and decorate their fast horses and then go to Coming-sun's lodge with all the regalia they used in battle. Women were not permitted to enter the lodge. The drum was placed near the altar and behind it sat Coming-sun and Big-eagle. A large fire was built. Then

Pahukatawa entered the lodge and the pipe was offered him as before. He whispered, "I have come from the enemy's camp which is very near. They will be here tomorrow and we must be ready to meet them. They are very numerous. I will sit before the singers and you two. I will whisper to you what to say to the people. You will see me in many forms. When I am in human form I will sit near you and talk to you. When the men come in have the singers sit around the drum and tell the men to prepare themselves as if they were going into battle. Tell them to wear their quivers over their shoulders but to carry their bows and arrows in their hands. All the men who are to dance must carry their weapons. They are now coming in and I must make myself visible to them for many still doubt me. They do not believe I am here."

Big-eagle saw Pahukatawa in the form of a buffalo, then as an eagle, a wolf, and finally as a man. Those who had known him when he was alive said, "It is he." When everything was ready, the drummers began to sing peculiar songs which the others soon learned. In dancing, they imitated animals, then the drum would be beaten and the men would raise their weapons and charge and then continue the dance.

Pahukatawa whispered to Coming-sun, "Tell the men to jump up and down and circle the lodge as they dance. Shake the earth for they will receive strength from it. As he dances each man must decide what to do to the enemy the next day. At the end of each song one man should address me and say, 'Pahukatawa, I wish to kill so many; I wish to count so many coups, or take so many scalps.' If I can grant their wishes, I will do so."

After each dance some man stopped and made his request to Pahukatawa, who whispered to Coming-sun, "What he wishes to do, he will do." One young man said, "Pahukatawa I wish to kill nine men. When I attack the tenth man, I wish to be seriously wounded, but wish to recover." Pahukatawa said, "That young man has no faith in me, but what he says will come true." Coming-sun told the men they must not ask to be wounded or killed. The dance continued throughout the night. One feeble old man arose and said, "Pahukatawa, I am old. I have been a great man in my day. I am glad you are with us. I want to count coup once more. Before I die I wish to strike twelve men for I wish to be leader of the party. I want to capture the thirteenth man so that I can bring him home for the women to mock. Pahukatawa whispered, "Tell the man all that he has said will come true."

Towards dawn when the men were resting and smoking, Pahukatawa, whispered to Coming-sun, "Tell the people our enemies are up now and are decorating themselves and their horses. I must go now. I will let the people see me before I disappear. I will go to our enemies. I will watch

them and when they start I will appear on yonder hills as a buffalo. When they are ready to attack your village, I will cause the rain to fall so their weapons will be wet. Do not fear them I will be near you. After you see the cloud, I will appear as a wolf and then get behind the breastworks and defend your women and children."

Then they danced again and Pahukatawa disappeared. Big-eagle dismissed the men and bade them prepare for the attack. As the sun rose someone shouted, "A buffalo is coming over the hills." Then the people knew that Pahukatawa's prophecy was being fulfilled. A small black cloud appeared in the west and a wolf was seen in the hills. Then the people ran to the breastworks. They saw the enemy approaching over the hills from every direction. They charged right into the village but the men shot and killed many of the enemy until their bowstrings were broken and their arrow-heads loose and then they retreated. The men rode after them with their ponies. Each one acted as he had wished during the dance.

The feeble old man was in the battle. When he killed a man he counted coup on him. He rode along until he came up to a man who seemed defiant. The old man waved his hand at him and he threw away his weapons. The old man jumped off his horse and threw the man to the ground with his face downward. He stood on his back, caught his right arm, pulled it out of its socket, and did the same with the left. Then he stood him up, tied a rope round his waist, and led the captive home. As he approached the village he met some old women singing the victory songs. The man threw the rope to them and said, "Take him, you braves, and do as you please with him. He was the leader of the war party."

The old woman took the prisoner. Men came in groups singing victory songs and told of daring deeds; some came with scalps tied to poles and some with scalps under their belts. Women dances, scalp dances, and victory dances were held for many days. The last dance was one by the women acting as men. Women were at liberty to go with any man and men with any woman.

After resting, the men gathered in Coming-sun's lodge and they held the dance during which Pahukatawa appeared at the altar. He whispered to Coming-sun, "Tell the men they must keep this dance. They must dance whenever they see fire flashing round their village. The fire is a warning that the enemy is near. In the dance every man must wear a cap with one horn on the right side. Tell them I cannot always be with them, but they must do as I tell them." The men offered tobacco and smoke to Pahukatawa and thanked him for saving the people.

The dance was kept up for a long time, until the light flashes were seen no more. The dance was continued only by brave men and chiefs. After

Coming-sun died, Pahukatawa selected another man to talk to. One night this man refused because he was sleepy. To another man Pahukatawa said that he would go away never to return; that he would stay in the north as one of the minor gods in the heavens. He said he would help the people when they called on him.

Since the Pawnee came to Oklahoma they have revived this dance (p. 638). The drum is the same as the old one. At the altar is a whole eagle and in front of it a crooked crow lance. When the ceremony was revived a woman claimed to have seen flashes of light. The dance is still given by the Skidi Pawnee. There is also a pair of leggings which was given to Coming-sun. They have a ceremony known as the warrior's ceremony. This one horn dance was copied by the other three bands, but lacked the power of Pahukatawa. It was a religious dance in which they took part to defend their villages from the enemy.

MODERN CEREMONIES.

Among the northern Plains tribes there are a number of associations for social dancing and entertainment. Such seem to be wanting among the Pawnee, as the following pages will show, but certain more or less serious ceremonies are now made the occasion for considerable social enjoyment. The widely diffused Omaha, or grass dance, forms of the ghost dance, and of the peyote almost exhaust the list of modern ceremonies. We heard of no women's guilds or clubs and no dances of any kind save those mentioned above.

THE MODERN IRUSKA.

The well-known Omaha, or grass dance, is generally known among the Pawnee as a variation of their own iruska (p. 608), though in its present form it was introduced through Oglala influence.

The Skidǎ Iruska. In 1887 three Pawnee Skidǎ men went to visit the Oglala Indians. Arriving there, they were entertained by Young-man-afraid-of-his-horses and were feasted throughout the village for several days. On the last day an iruska dance was held for their benefit. The Sioux gathered in a large round house built for dancing. The drum was carried in and the dancers filed in. The Sioux began to sing and the Pawnee noted that the songs were different from their own. However, they danced with the Sioux and received many presents, moccasins, pipes, and beaded objects. The Sioux singers asked the Pawnee to sing some of their songs which the Pawnee did. The Sioux were pleased with the Pawnee singing and gave them more presents.

When the three Pawnee men returned to their home they began to teach other young men the Sioux songs they had learned. One day some Skidǎ young men came together and Knife-chief told them about the Sioux dance. The old Pawnee iruska dancers never used sleigh bells upon their bodies; but did use them around the drum. The Sioux dancers also wore ornamental clothes while the Pawnee did not. All the Pawnee dancers wore was the headgear and the bustles. The Sioux bustle was also different.

Knife-chief had a bass drum brought in and began to teach the Sioux songs. Those who were not singing, danced, but they did not know how to keep time. After the singing, the dance society was organized. Knife-chief was the drum keeper and leader of the singers. Then two chiefs were

selected to be leaders on the south side and two for the north side. On each side of these two men the dancers were to be seated. At each end of the row of dancers was to sit a whip man. The rules adopted for the dance were those of the Sioux.

This dance became popular, for every time they had it men and women gave presents to one another. It was kept up until Knife-chief died when his widow took charge of the drum. When her son was old enough he took over the drum and for several years was its keeper. On one occasion a dance was promised on New Year's day, but the boy refused to let the people have the drum. They borrowed another drum and had the dance anyhow. After the dance they discovered that the boy had given the drum to a man who belongs to another village.

In the spring of 1911 Eagle-chief called some young men together and told them he wanted to organize a new iruska dance. This was agreed to by all. Money was collected to buy a new bass drum and sleigh bells. Four chiefs were selected as leaders in the dance: Coming-sun and Sun-chief for the north side, and Struck-enemy and Lone-chief for the south side. Coming-sun now became the leader in the ceremony preceding the dance. He selected six singers: Yellow-horse, Dog-chief, Only-a-chief, Young-cedar-tree, Little-sun, and Young-good-chief. Next he selected the two whip men who were to have charge of all things. Then he selected two chiefs for the dancers on each side: the south side one to wear the bonnet, the north side one to carry the tomahawk. He next selected a man to carry the whistle and then four women to assist in singing: Food-giver, Woman-young-chief, Woman-yellow-corn, and Woman-cedar-tree.

Coming-sun then told the people they would hold a dance the next day and asked each woman to cook something for the feast. The next day people gathered in the round house. The chiefs and dancers sat in their proper places, the whip men sitting at each end. The drum was placed north of the entrance, the singers taking their places around it, the women singers behind the male singers. The visitors sat behind the dancers, the women behind them. The four old men sat at the ends of the visitors' rows. Coming-sun selected one of the dancers to sit outside to keep back spectators.

Coming-sun asked the south side whip man to take some live coals and place them east of the fireplace. Then the whip man was told to go to Coming-sun who gave him a handful of dried cedar leaves. He was then told to place the cedar upon the live coals. Coming-sun then gave the whip man the pipes and passed them through the smoke four times and then handed them back to Coming-sun. Then the whip man was told to take the drum and pass it through the smoke four times and return it to its place.

Next the chiefs one by one went to the smoke and passed through it; then

the dancers, first one from the north side, then the south side, and so on. Then the women went to the smoke. When all had gone through the smoke, Coming-sun told the south whip man to return the coals to the fireplace.

When this was done, Coming-sun spoke as follows: "Singers, chiefs, old men, and iruska, notice my speech and actions for hereafter we shall say

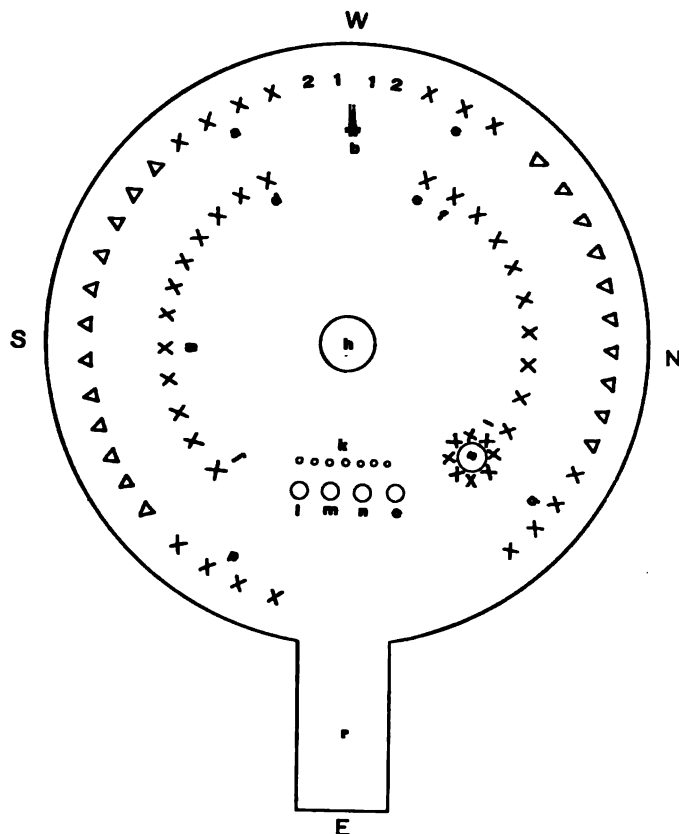


Fig. 18. Diagram of the Skidf Iruska Society. The crosses represent the seats of men, triangles those of women. a and c, visitors of note; b, the pipe; d, the bonnet wearer; e, sword bearer; f, tomahawk bearer; g, whistle bearer; h, fireplace; i, j, whip bearers; k, bowls of cooked maize; l, o, platters of bread; m, kettle of meat; n, coffee urn; p, q, old men; r, entrance way to the lodge; s, drum and drummers. 1-2, 1-2 are the leaders for the two sides.

and do as I am about to do. Above all things, Tirawahat gave the pipe to our people that he might receive smoke from them. We have the pipes here at the altar. They are filled with native tobacco. It is now time for Tirawahat to receive our smoke. As you see the men I select go through

the smoke ceremony, so will it be done in all our iruska dances, for I have whispered to the men who shall offer the smoke. I now select Sun-chief to offer the smoke. He will now rise and take the pipe."

Sun-chief arose and took the pipe from Coming-sun. Then he went around the fireplace and stood to the west. He took a pinch of tobacco from the pipe, raised up his hand and gradually lowered it to the rim of the fireplace where he placed the tobacco. Next he went northeast by the south and east of the fireplace and squatted down. The south side whip man went to the fireplace, took a live coal and placed it upon the bowl of the pipe. When the pipe was lit, Sun-chief arose and went west of the fireplace, here he stood facing east and gave four whiffs of smoke to the skies; then four whiffs to mother earth. Then he dumped the ashes from the bowl of the pipe and passed his hands over the pipestem toward the skies, twice with his right hand and twice with his left hand. He passed his hands upon the pipestem to the rim of the fireplace, twice with his right and twice with his left hand. Then he turned towards the west and walked to Coming-sun and handed him the pipe. Coming-sun said, "Rawa"; all repeated "Rawa." The second pipe was given to Lone-chief of the south side and the same ceremony gone through.

When the smoke ceremony was over the outside man came in and permitted those outside to come in. Coming-sun said, "Singers, chiefs, old men, and iruska, we are about to dance. You dancers must be careful with the things you are wearing for if you drop anything, one of those old men will have to take it up and tell of his deeds. Then you must pay. Each man who has a song must dance when his song is sung and must give a small present to some old man or woman. We will have five sets of songs, ten in each set. Everyone must dance. Anyone receiving a present must say, 'rawa iruska.' After each ten songs we will smoke and rest."

So the singers began their songs. Every time the whip men rose everyone had to dance.

After the dance, Coming-sun said, "Singers, chiefs, old men, and iruska, this is now our iruska dance. Visiting parties, if they wish, may tie tobacco upon the drum, then the keeper of the drum must notify the leaders, who will plan a dance to give presents to visitors. This is now a popular dance among the Pawnee for at these dances people give presents to one another and there is a general good time for all.¹

¹ This form of the iruska was originated by the writer who may be said to be entirely responsible for the organization. He knew very little of the procedure among the Dakota but was fairly familiar with the form of the Osage. From the latter he took his main ideas and the various officers with their respective duties. Also like the Osage he adopted strict rules for conducting the dance. Yet the maneuvers and serious parts of the ceremony were all taken from bundle rituals of the Pawnee.—Ed.

The Kit'kaháxki Iruska. About 1894 while the ghost dance was still intense a man named Sitting-bear began to have dreams of songs and the forms of the iruska. Later, he organized the ceremony and lead it until his death in 1903. Interest in it then declined, but the drum came into the hands of Little-sun, one of the leading singers. According to this ritual, the drum was sacred and its keeper was the keeper of the ritual as in case of the bundles. In 1912 Little-sun revived the ceremony with the assistance of Eagle-fly-high, also a pupil of Sitting-bear.

In the Kit'kaháxki society there were four chiefs, as among the Skidí. The dancers are on both sides, north and south. At the south side entrance there are four chiefs and four pipes. Next to the chiefs on the north side are two old men. The director of the ceremony sits near the pipes and his assistant, or the whip man, by his side. The singers sit around the drum. Unlike the Skidí when they have sung a set of songs, all smoke receiving no smoke from the chiefs. The songs go in sets of ten.

At a certain point in the ceremony all rise and stand in a circle with the chiefs holding pipes in the center. Then with songs the smoke offerings are made. This is similar to the preceding. After the offering the pipes are delivered to the pipe keepers. In the two last dances everybody takes part and makes them as violent as possible. The ending is as in the preceding. The food is brought in as before. A man and woman are now selected to make the corn offering. The woman receives a small wooden bowl with a horn spoon, she is the donor of the food. The movement to the kettle is different, the man dips out the food into the bowl held by the women. A little from every kettle is taken. Then they go to the west side of the fireplace. The man and woman here offer the food as before. The bowl and spoon are returned to the keeper, while the whip man selects men to hand out the food as before. The head chief at the south side recites part of the ritual and announces the close of the ceremony.

The regalia are the same as for the preceding. The songs and procedures are, however, quite original.

The Chauí Iruska. During the ghost dance excitement Roaming-chief began to dream songs and a form of the modern iruska ritual. Later, he started the organization which spread to the Pitahauírata. Unlike the other iruska societies the drum is set at the west end, or head of the lodge, the old original Pawnee form. The drumsticks are beaded and bear feathers on the end. One chief on each side, some of them have short sticks covered with beads and decked with feathers. The sticks for the two sides are of different colors. There are four of these sticks, and hooked at the end, on the north side; three on the south. No whip man. The smoke ceremony here is before the singing. The staff men rise and hold them as

signals for the members to dance. All the songs are those of the founder and so entirely unlike those of others. In the last four songs there is great excitement.

The food offering with bowl and spoon is as before stated. The regalia are here the same as before.¹

General Discussion. In Miss Fletcher's account of the Omaha hethu'-shka certain statements as to origin are made which are inconsistent with the writer's data. In the first place, the Pawnee have always said that the Omaha originally got their society from them, they having been guests at several iruska performances, adopted such of it as they comprehended and later elaborated the procedure into the present form, though some features are certainly Osage contributions. The Dakota first learned the dance from the Omaha, as they state (p. 48), but testify to its Pawnee origin. About fifty years ago Pawnee-Tom visited the Arikara and assisted Enemy-heart to inaugurate the ceremony. Later, Enemy-heart sold the dance to the Crow Indians and then to other tribes. The writer has studied the songs of the dance and finds that everywhere many of them are undoubtedly those of the Pawnee iruska and what is more to the point, bear the general characteristics of all Pawnee songs. The Dakota and Omaha, however, have many original songs of their own, some of which the Pawnee have borrowed. In general, from the data at hand, the writer considers it clear that the origin of the modern form of this dance lies between the Omaha and the Osage, but that it was derived from an older ceremony which the Omaha, and possibly the Osage, borrowed of the Pawnee.

It should be noted that in the Skidí iruska dog flesh is served. Four men wearing the feather belts scout for and capture the kettle. Then they take sticks and take out the dog's head for a leading man to count coup on. A kettle of corn is then brought in and handled in the same manner, except

¹ Author's note. While in a trance he saw the dead people dancing the iruska dance but in a different way from that of the old iruska dance. There were six drummers. The drum was painted black, the stick had coverings at the ends. There were six stations about the room, three on the north side and three on the south side. The station men had a forked stick stuck in the ground in front of them. There were feathers at the end of each fork and the sticks were wrapped with beads. The northeast stick was covered with black beads; the north stick with light blue beads; the northwest stick with dark blue beads; the southwest stick with yellow beads; the south stick, red; the southeast stick, white. Also he found out or was told there were that many minor gods in the heavens. When these station men get up to dance, all have to rise and dance. There are five sets of songs, ten songs in each set. The tunes are nearly the same as for the old iruska songs. The last ten are ghost dance songs. The last songs are exciting, and the dancers are given to excitement and tremble, falling down as in the ghost dance. The closing speech after the feast differs from the older form. It is as follows: Father is thankful for eating our smoke; father, his child, and the gods are thankful for eating our smoke; sun and moon are both made thankful for eating our smoke; our mother earth is thankful for eating our smoke; our dead relations are thankful for eating our smoke; now we have all smoked and eaten. After this speech, everyone leaves the lodge.

that spoons are carried instead of sticks. Among the other divisions of the Pawnee, buffalo meat was used with a less formal procedure. The Skidí form of feast is now found among many tribes.

The whip bearers are probably of Omaha or Osage origin for in that tribe they are the police officers of a ceremony. The bearing of a sword is probably due to Pawnee influence, at least it was original with them. Once when at Washington, D. C., each Pawnee chief was presented with a sword for his aid (p. 557) which thenceforth became the badge of office. Some of the aids carried their swords to battle and counted coup with them. Later, the Pawnee scouts in the United States service carried swords and when discharged those who had struck enemies retained them. Now in the *iruska* all having struck enemies with tomahawks could demonstrate in the dance; so the bearers of swords came to have the same privileges.

THE GHOST DANCE.

According to the Pawnee, the ghost dance religion first came to the Arapaho, thence to the Cheyenne, the Kiowa and Comanche and finally to the Wichita.

In 1890 it was rumored among the Pawnee that a Messiah had appeared to an Indian somewhere in the mountains and that all the dead Indian people would return to the earth. The story was that a Paiute Indian had died and was taken up to the top of a high mountain and laid out. After he had lain there four days, he revived and came down from the mountain. He told his people that while he was on the mountain his spirit had traveled in a strange and beautiful country; that on his journey he crossed a small stream of clear water and came to a cedar tree where he saw handkerchiefs of every color and all sorts of feathers. At the base of the tree he saw several pipes and different kinds of paint. He took a white cotton handkerchief and some of the red earth. He went on and as he neared a mound he saw someone standing there, clad in white and purple robes. This person had long hair, parted in the middle. He held out his hands to show the cuts in them, but did not look up. The man saw that he was the Messiah, the white man's Jesus, the son of the Father in the Heavens. The man noted by his manner that he wanted him to pass by for he did not speak, so he passed on his left and went on. Presently he saw in a valley an Indian village, extending along the whole bottom.

As he neared the village of tipis he noticed a man approaching. When they met he found the man was his father who embraced him and took him into the village. On the outskirts of the village he saw men playing javelin

games. The old men were playing with the big hoops and sticks; the boys with rings and sticks. He also saw some women playing with baskets and plum seeds and others playing with staves. He could not understand the speech of these people. When the two came to a tipi they entered and there the dead man saw his dead relatives, mothers, aunts, uncles, brothers, and sisters. The old people sitting near the entrance, he was told, were his grandparents. He was given food and after eating he was told to watch the people who were dancing.

His father took him to the dancing ground. When they arrived, he saw the people dancing in a circle. The dancers were all painted and each wore feathers. Finally, he joined in the dance and learned some of their songs. While dancing he saw people acting queerly and seemingly possessed with a spirit. There were seven singers and two men with long poles acted as soldiers, but took no part in the dancing. Some men inside the ring ran from one person to another finally downing some of the people. These were mesmerizing one another. One man came to him, blew his breath upon his breast, embraced him, and finally blew his breath into his mouth, at which the newcomer fell into a trance. He arose quickly, however, and joined in the dance. He danced a long time until the man who had hypnotized him took him to one side and said, "Brother, you are now possessed with our power. You must return to your people and start this dance among them. Tell them you have seen the Messiah, the Son of the Father in the Heavens. He is leading us to your people. They must dance so they will also receive the power you now possess. We know you are living. Whatever you saw at the tree is yours. Give the red earth you find in the mountains to your people, let them paint their faces before they dance. Tell them of the Messiah and let them mourn as you now see these people do. We mourn for you and your people must mourn also. When you have started this dance among your people you will be able to come to us any time and we will teach you more about our ways. People will come to you from all over the country and you must tell them what you now see. This religion is for Indian people. The spirit will be sent to you. You must now return to your people."

The man then revived and went down from the mountain to his people. Night overtook him as he reached a valley. As he was going through some bulrushes trying to find a bed, he saw someone coming towards him on a mule. He saw that it was the same Messiah he had seen while in a trance. This time the one on the mule said, "My son, what you saw is all true. Tell your people, that I sent you, that my spirit will be with them." Then he disappeared. The man then made a bed of rushes and lay down. The next morning he arose and went on to his home.

The people were frightened by his return, but when he told his story they rejoiced. Four days after he told them to prepare for a dance. When they were all standing around in a circle, with hands joined, he told his story. Then he began to sing and all moved around in a circle and began to have queer feelings, shivering all through their bodies. When the prophet shouted, some of the weaker ones fell into a trance. Sometimes when he waved the cotton handkerchief at some of them they would go down while others danced on. Some who began to mourn, cried out, holding their hands towards the skies and cried and cried; seemingly they could not stop crying.

This dance was carried on by the Paiute in Nevada until a northern Indian came to visit them. The story is told that this northern Indian had lost his child and was wandering over the country when he finally came to the dance and there was able to see his lost child through the prophet, Jack Wilson. He also saw their strange doings and got the story from Jack Wilson, who claimed that he knew beforehand that he was coming. This northern Indian returned to his people and told them about the new religion. He claimed that he himself had seen the Messiah in the mountains, that he also had seen his own dead relatives, that the Messiah had talked to him and that through the Messiah he had seen the dead people. So a party of four men, Badger, a Sioux, Sitting-bull, a Northern Arapaho, and two others went to Nevada to visit the prophet.

When these men arrived at Walker Lake, they found Jack Wilson and his Indians dancing. They made him some presents and asked to see the Messiah and their dead relatives to which Wilson replied, "Go and dance with my people and you will see all you want to see." These men joined in the dance. In a few days they too fell into a trance and saw the Messiah and their dead relatives.

These four men then went north to their homes; Badger, the Sioux went to the Standing Rock Agency and started the dance. Sitting-bull, instead of going to his own people, the Northern Arapaho, came into Oklahoma. This was about 1890. Here he started the ghost dance among the Southern Arapaho and Cheyenne. Soon the news spread among the Wichita, Kiowa, and Comanche. At this time a young Pawnee Indian, Frank White, living among the Wichita, joined the dance. He went into a trance, saw the stream, the tree, the Messiah, and then the village of people. He also saw them dance, joined in, and learned some songs which were in Pawnee. The first song was as follows: —

Wey rey hey iri si ra.
Now you are coming.

Weyti ku wa tura wa hey.
I am longing for the village (kingdom).

Wey ri hey iri si ra.
Now you are coming.

A sick u wey ta tu ta hi i.
And now I place my spirit upon you.

When he awoke from the trance he told the people what he had seen. Thus, he too became a prophet and possessed of the same power as Sitting-bull.

In the fall of 1892, Frank White came among the Pawnee and told his story to a few of his friends. He selected a few young men to whom he taught some of his own songs and also some Arapaho songs. As soon as they could sing a few songs they went to a camp to dance. There were about five singers, four women, and three boys. They selected a space east of the camp and started to dance. Whenever the prophet shouted, the dancers dropped to the ground in a trance. Some of the dancers began to mourn and others shook all over, for a mysterious spirit took possession of them. Then they danced a short time. The prophet told them of his experiences. He told the people that if they made up their minds to dance and see the Messiah, and their dead relatives, they would fall and see them; that the principal thing in the dance was to mourn and be humble in spirit. He then sent them home.

The next day, the people told of the dance they had and how they trembled and fell. The chiefs of the different bands took it up and set a day for the people to make their camp circle on Camp Creek. When the people had made camp, the chiefs met in council and invited the prophet. They asked that he start a dance and tell the people about the new religion. The prophet consented. A special tipi was set up for the prophet where he was to stay with the singers. The next day the prophet sent two of the singers through the camp to get some paint of all colors from each tipi. This paint was taken to the prophet who gave orders that all who wanted to dance must come into the tipi and have their faces painted. Each Indian now took presents to the tipi and was then painted. The singers painted their faces. Everybody was ready. The prophet went out of the lodge, the others following. They came to an open space where the prophet and singers joined hands and stood in a circle and sang. The people in the village came out of their tipis and ran to the circle. Some did not get into the ring for the unknown spirit took possession of them and stopped them. They raised their hands to the skies and began to cry. In the ring the dancers began to tremble; some seemed crazy. When the prophet went to them, they fell to the ground. Late in the evening they quit dancing, and then feasted.

After they had eaten they danced again until ten o'clock. Men and women returned to their tipis, mourning and crying and having shaking fits. About five o'clock they began to dance again. This time there were about four men and three women who seemed to be trembling badly. They ran around the camp crying, "I do not want you, go away from me." About the third day, one of the women fell and lay on the ground about five minutes and then sat up. She began to cry and finally her crying turned into a song. One man went to her and she told what she had seen while she lay on the ground. The fourth day a young man fell and lay upon the ground all night. When he came to, he ran to the prophet's tipi and told what he had seen. The prophet ordered that all the people go upon a hill and hear the young man tell his story. This was about eight o'clock in the evening. When all the people were on the hill, standing in a line facing west, the young man was told to sit down in front of them, the village crier went and sat beside him. The young man told the following story:

When I joined in the dance I was filled with some kind of a spirit. I felt a queer sensation passing through my body. I began to tremble and cry. I saw a strange being who wanted to catch me. I ran out of the ring and kept running away from the strange man. When he caught up with me I could see many wonderful things. He told me that if I stopped he would teach me the wonderful things I saw. I would not do this for I wanted to see some of my dead people. I ran until I was exhausted and could go no further and fell down as one dead. I was in a beautiful country where the grass was green. I saw a small pathway which I followed. I came to a clear stream of water and crossed it. Then I came to a cedar tree; on it were feathers of different birds and handkerchiefs of many colors. I took one of red silk and passed on. On a small hill I saw the Child of the Father in the Heavens dressed in purple. He held out his hands so I could see the cuts in them. He did not speak but I knew he wanted me to pass. I went by him and I saw at a distance the village of our dead people. As I neared the village four men came to meet me, each with a pipe in his hand. One of them said, "My son, when you return to your people tell them you saw us and that we ask our people for a smoke. We are about to smoke to our people who are still living through the one who is leading us to your land. Go into the village and see your people." I passed them and went on. Near the village I saw a woman. It was my mother. She embraced me, and said, "My child, I am glad to see you. We will go where our people are dancing." So we went on and there in the center of the village, our people were dancing the same dance we were dancing. I joined them and men came to me and blew their breaths upon me. I danced a while then one man asked me to tell you that I had seen the dance and that it was all true. He then told me to return and when I turned round I awoke. I had been lying upon the ground for some time. This is the end of what I saw.

The people went to him and as each person took hold of his hand, he either fell or began to tremble. After this four men were selected to smoke to the dead people. After the smoke everyone began to cry. Then the prophet and the new prophet ran around among the people throwing them

down upon the ground. After the excitement they all went back to camp and danced until ten o'clock that night. The next morning all joined the dance again. This time a woman entered the ring and began to act as if crazy. She slapped a man and struck a woman and continued to slap and strike people. Everyone sat down. This woman stood in the center and said, "That young man, the prophet, is lying. He is not telling the truth." Two men whom the chiefs had previously selected to act as police took her out of the ring and took her home as the prophet directed, for he said she was possessed of a bad spirit. The next day the prophet and his singers took this woman to the creek and cleansed her. Afterwards she joined the dance again and was all right.

While the Wichita had been indifferent to the teachings of White, the Pawnee soon became enthusiasts. White went first to the Pitahauirata village and began his ceremonies, where at once a few had the trances. As the news spread, the chiefs of all the Pawnee villages met to see demonstrations and discuss the movement. Two days were given over to dancing. The first camp was broken up by a fire, a tipi catching fire ignited the grass and destroyed much property; but undismayed a new camp was formed. Many persons went into trances, while many were alarmed at the intensity of the phenomenon. White then demonstrated his power by putting bystanders into trances by touching them. Finally he closed the demonstration by a spectacular race. Taking his position in the center, the converts around in a circle, he caused them to fall at will.

After this, practically the whole of the Pawnee were under White's influence. Dances were almost continuous during the winter and the following summer. Infatuated with the belief in the immediate destruction of the world, they planted no crops and threw away their property. Naturally, they became sullen and disobedient to their Agent, resulting in the arrest of White by United States marshals.

This excited the Indians greatly and almost caused hostilities. In the meantime the Oto had taken up the Pawnee dance and also threatened to go on the warpath. Owing to the skill of their Agent, the Pawnee were quieted and White released. He himself did what he could to develop the movement into a less militant religion. To do this he magnified the Christian elements. There was opposition for a time for all the old Pawnee medicinemen took the trances as forms of the powers formerly exercised by the animal lodges (p. 602) and began a vigorous revival, each setting himself up as a prophet and seeking to outdo the others. White died in 1893, after which the strength and unity of the religion quickly disappeared among the many rival prophets.

This Pawnee ceremony seems to have been largely original with White

and far from identical with the ghost dance as followed by neighboring tribes. It is clear, however, that White had based his teachings upon the fundamental conceptions of the true ghost dance. Some few years after White's death some visiting Wichita brought in the regular ceremony. According to this there was no supreme leader, but all who had trances could teach and direct. The prescribed ceremony extended over four days. There were seven regular singers each wearing an eagle feather in his hair and seven assistant singers wearing down feathers.

In 1904 three Pawnee went to Walker Lake, Nevada, to take instructions of Jack Wilson, still the recognized leader. Here they learned what is now regarded as the correct ritual for the ceremonies. According to this formula, a special painted tipi is set up near the center of the camp as the temple. Ordinarily, the Pawnee did not use the camp circle, but the modern ghost dance camp is pitched in a circle and the ceremonial tipi set off center toward the north or south side according to the place of the host. Otherwise, the procedure is about as previously stated.

The religion now flourishes, but has evolved into a Christian ethical belief, demonstrated by a ritual. The trance and its intensity have passed out, but dreams and ordinary visions are still valued.

In the first days of the ghost dance some saw in their trances not ghost dance ceremonies but old societies like the lance dances, crazy dogs, dog dance, the one horn dance, and forms of the *iruska*. Some time after 1904 the hand game was introduced into the ghost dance ritual by the dreams of a devotee. This has developed until it is about the only ritual now demonstrated. The game sets are kept in bundles and treated in the same general fashion as the regular Pawnee bundles. Special halls have been built for these ceremonies. In this as in all other games, the players take their hereditary sides of north and south.

THE PEYOTE.

About 1890, two Pawnee youths visited the Quapaw where they learned something of the peyote cult. They brought back with them some of the buttons but a very meager knowledge of the ritual. Nevertheless, they practised eating it and made a few converts. Later on, a visiting Arapaho taught them the ritual. New converts were added and the cult continued a few years until a member under the influence of the drug had revealed to him a new ritual and songs. At once this member became leader and gradually elaborated the ritual into which he introduced many Christian conceptions, because in the induced visions he frequently saw and talked

with Christ. Under this new leadership the membership increased. The Oto carried the ceremony to the Omaha. Among the Pawnee the cult is found chiefly among the Pítahaufrata where this new form originated; later, it found a following among the Chauí and then among the Kit'kaháxki with a few scattering adherents among the Skidí.

Naturally, this new leader introduced some original features. A special form of painted tipi was used, somewhat like that for the ghost dance. Certain changes were made in the rattle and the form of the drum. There is also an elaborate altar and the circle is divided into the usual north and south sides.

Among the special ceremonies is one for the water bearer. At midnight one is sent to get water from the stream. As he is under the influence of the drug he may fall into the water and drown, so special songs are sung during his absence to guard him. When he enters with the pail, it is purified in a cedar smudge, an offering made and then passed for drinking.

At dawn as the sun appears, the ritual is interrupted long enough to sing a special set of songs. While this is going on, the door curtain is raised so that the first rays of the sun may strike the altar. At the close of this special ceremony the ritual is resumed where left off.

The last songs of the ritual refer to Christ. The final song is repeated five times after which each member in turn prays to God.

A woman then enters with water, parched corn, and candy. She and the food are purified in a cedar smudge, then she retires. First the water is passed, then the corn, and finally the candy, circulating in this order until all is consumed.

The members now sit in their places and talk over their experiences. The objects used in the ceremony are gathered up and put away. The leader closes the meeting at noon with a lecture, or sermon, on ethical matters, speaking especially against the use of alcohol. Some Pawnee leaders refuse membership to all using alcoholic drinks.

At noon the members are invited out to dine by some leading man. When seated the leader takes up a pitcher of water and prays to God. Then he fills a glass and taking a sip passes it around the circle in true church fashion. Then they eat without ceremony.

After the meal the members again assemble in the peyote tipi, but this is an informal gathering where they discuss freely their faith and practise singing such songs as desired.

In the evening they depart. As each one leaves, he stands by the fireplace, holds aloft his hand and prays aloud. Then he shakes hands around the circle, pauses at the door to hold up his hand and perform certain other symbolic gestures, then passes out. So with all in turn, the leader being the last to go.

The peyote tipi is dismantled the next day and the camp broken.

It may be well to note that the founder of this Pawnee cult began to have his revelations during the ghost dance excitement. One of his individual doctrines is that while under the influence of peyote one may acquire knowledge or understanding of things previously unknown to himself. In this way, he is said to have learned rituals belonging to bundles and societies and also to have amassed considerable astronomical lore.

THE ONE HORN DANCE.

Among the Skidi there is a modernized form of the one horn dance (p. 623) organized about 1893. It took its form from the dreams of a woman. The man who spoke to her in the dream ran away as a buffalo. She went out at sunrise and saw a ring come down from the sun. Little by little she dreamed the songs and taught her husband. Finally, an eagle came to her in a dream and she was ordered to get an eagle. This she did. Again she dreamed of a crooked crow-feathered stick, this was made. Then a drum was made.

The whole ceremony was finally given. At the west side of the lodge upon a robe was the eagle and the pipe, in front of it the crooked stick. A smoke ceremony was made. The woman had a buffalo lariat, or rope, with eagle feathers strung upon it so she could wear it over her shoulder. Her face was painted yellow. She selected a bearer of the crooked staff who was a descendant of the staff bearer in the old one horn dance. In part of the dance, dancers imitate various animals. The ceremonies are weird and exciting. A food offering of meat and corn is made. The dance is still given and led by this woman.

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS.

In connection with this work certain bits of information came to hand that seem of sufficient importance to record. For these the Editor is chiefly responsible.

Animal Guardians. Every child while in the womb, at some time, through either parent as a medium, is brought under the power of an animal. This may be discovered in life by the actions of one in illness. The doctors seem able to recognize the affinity and take only such cases as fall within their individual powers. These guardians are usually animals, but trees have been known, also stars, thunder, etc.

Black Moccasins. Anyone who had performed the ceremony of consecrating buffalo four times, could wear black moccasins. These were ceremonial and only worn at the bundle and other sacred ceremonies.

Calling the Buffalo. At the time of the buffalo hunt one man is selected to make medicine while the kill is on. Among other things, he sits in the lodge or tipi as the case may be, and makes sweeping motions with his hands. After the kill he goes out and selects such carcasses as he desires.

Camp Circle. The camp circle was not used by the Pawnee until the ghost dance development. When so used, the tipis were pitched according to the north and south side only, and not according to the bundle scheme. Although tipis were in use long ago when on the hunt, it is denied that a circular or any definite camp form was observed.

Chiefs and Medicinemen. Chiefs and members of their families must pray to tirawahat himself and to all in the heavens, never to animals, and what is below. Medicinemen pray to the latter and especially to water animals for from them come their chief powers. The chiefs get their powers through the band bundles, but the medicinemen have nothing to do with these. They form distinct classes and seldom meet or have social intercourse. The people believe that both are equally powerful in magic, but otherwise have their distinct powers and functions. Thus it is said, that at one time a chief and leading medicineman quarreled. The chief called on tirawahat to destroy the medicineman while the medicineman called upon the animals to destroy the chief. Clouds formed in the heavens at the call of the chief and the medicineman was struck by lightning. The chief was glad and after the rain went to the creek to swim. When he jumped into the water, a sharp stick struck him in the side, passing through his body. He also died. After this occurrence, the chiefs and medicinemen never quarreled. (See Dorsey's Skidí volume, 185.)

However, there was one bundle jointly dependent upon animal powers and tirawahat, the keeper of which could appeal to both.

Coups. The Pawnee count coups but they are of no particular importance. They do not qualify a man for service. A Pawnee must have consecrated buffalo, wildcat skins, etc. This takes the place of the coup among other tribes; for important services one must have four or more of these consecration ceremonies to his credit.

Eagle Dance. There was long ago a kind of eagle dance in the Pítahau-frata division, but we have no data upon it.

Exchange of Wives. According to the Pawnee, the Arikara exchange of wives is due to the necessity of passing instructions through a woman and not directly to a man. The Pawnee have no such conception or practice. Instruction among them is direct. An Arikara gives his wife to a medicine-man in order to learn his secrets. This is considered no disgrace to the woman but is spoken of in medicine ceremonies that people may know that she had been given away to receive instruction for her husband. By virtue of this she becomes the owner of all ceremonial animal skins and sacred bundles.

Hunting Ceremonies. There seem to have been no hunting ceremonies for bear, but peculiar beaver ceremonies may be noted. When a trapping party took its first beaver, a special feast was given. The whole animal was cooked. The head, feet, and tail all went to the host. Every morsel must be eaten and the broth drunk. Then the bones were gathered up and thrown into the water. For no other animal are such procedures known. Eagle trapping, for which there was a ritual, was formerly practised.

Love Medicine. There were no love medicines as among the northern Indians. However, charms, songs, etc., to lure women were furnished by sexual perverts who lived somewhat apart and were in social disrepute.

No-flight Idea. A lariat rope seems to have been in the war regalia and taken out with an organized war party. With this one could stake himself down before the enemy, if he chose, or had made the vow.

Painted-Tipis. Among the Pawnee decorated tipis were the homes of medicinemen and, hence, bore animal symbols exclusively, or almost so. Deeds in war were painted upon robes, but not upon tipis.

Sex Taboo. Success in all shamanistic feats requires a period of restraint in which women must not be so much as touched. While this is emphasized in the iruska narrative (p. 609) it is fundamental for all Pawnee medicinemen. Its appearance elsewhere in special connection with the modern iruska dance, suggests Pawnee influence.

Smoking. A Pawnee man was not permitted to smoke until he had performed certain qualifying ceremonies. Only a relatively small number

were so qualified. Women were not permitted to smoke at all, though our informant remembers seeing two or three old women smoke, they being doctors.

Sun Dance. According to the Pawnee belief the sun dance was given to the Plains tribes by the Arikara. In ancient times the Gros Ventre intermarried with them and so first got the ceremony. It may be noted that in the four-pole ceremony (p. 551) and again in the twenty-day ceremony, the bringing in of the tree is in the main identical with the regular sun dance form. The torture feature reached the Pawnee through the Arikara. A member of the young dog society once exchanged rituals with an Arikara sun dancer and for a time this was a part of the dog society ritual (p. 587). There is a report, however, of a very old dance in which they gazed at the sun, but without the torture.

Tiny Bags of Medicine. All regalia of a serious nature and especially objects carried to war were made powerful by the presence of tiny bags of medicine. The contents were vegetable, chiefly roots. Roots were chewed and spit over men to make them brave, virtuous, healthy, etc. In fact, most all powers come through knowledge of the uses of plants.

Tobacco Planting. There was no special ceremony for planting or gathering tobacco. There is a saying that this was unnecessary for since tirawahat gave it to the Pawnee direct, he himself watches over it, so all that is needed is to plant the seed; but that other tribes got it from them or other Indians and so must use the powers of ceremonies to make it grow.

Witches. There may have been a witch society for there is a tale as to how a chief destroyed such an organization. In brief, he watched at his son's grave and first heard cries of owls, then people approaching. As they were uncovering the corpse, he seized one man, the others fled. The prisoner he threatened with death unless he explained all the secrets of the medicine so that he himself could become a member. This was done. The young man had been killed by them partly through jealousy but chiefly to secure fat from his heart to put in their witch bundles. Their chief powers were owls and yellow-hammers. They had killed the young man by magically shooting an owl's claw and a yellow-hammer's feather into his heart. When the chief had learned all the rites and the names of the members, he killed his informant. He cut him open, took the fat and part of the ribs home. The meat he cooked. While it was boiling, he sent for his soldiers and a few trusted men and gave them instructions. Then he sent for the members of the witch society (five or more including a woman) whom he feasted upon the flesh of their associate, but at a signal they were struck down by the soldiers. Their bodies and bundles were burned to put an end to witches.

CONCLUSION.

It is interesting to summarize and systematize the concrete data presented by Mr. Murie. While as stated, the bundle scheme of the Pawnee is the foundation upon which their social and ceremonial organization rests, the most fundamental conception seems to be the division of the people into north and south sides, or winter and summer people. Individuals belong permanently to the sides of their mothers. When games are played, the line-up is according to this hereditary division. In all ceremonies the seats of the winter people are in the north half of the circle and those of the summer people in the south half. Officers and functions in ceremonies are duplicated and the leadership shifts from one side to the other according to the season of the year. Even the modern borrowed ceremonies of the peyote and the ghost dance are organized in this way and it may be safely assumed that any general gathering of the Pawnee no matter what the purpose, will seat itself by sides.

We have noted the asymmetry of the division, for we find by far the greater number of villages on the north side. All societies exercised care to select an equal number of members from each side so that asymmetry would not appear in the order of seating in the lodge. Again, in games the number of players on each side was made equal. Thus, the few villages on the south side had a large representation in all ceremonies.

It would be interesting to consider the origin of this very suggestive social cleavage, but we fear it is indeterminable. According to the tradition this line-up occurred when the Skidi federation was formed by the inauguration of the four-pole ceremony and was merely a matter of geography. This may be, but the fundamental character of the division leads one to suspect that it is much older than the federation. It has also its parallels among the Omaha¹ and neighboring tribes where all the gentes are given fixed places in the two segments of a tribal circle. If, however, the Skidi borrowed this Siouan scheme it is clearly possible that in its inauguration the Loup River should have been taken as marking off the two sides; but then how comes it that in all ceremonies the concepts of this dual division are found? It seems much more likely that if the federation was formed in the traditional manner, it took on the dual divisions as a matter of course since they occurred in all ceremonies.

¹ Fletcher and La Flesche, 134.

In case of the Pawnee, we may note the fine example of pattern phenomena manifest in the adjustment of all kinds of ceremonies, original or borrowed, to this scheme of two sides and alternate leadership.¹ Based upon this fundamental pattern are two distinct patterns of organization: the lance-bearing societies and medicinemen's associations. From the preceding concrete accounts it is clear that all of the lance organizations must have been constructed or adjusted to the plan of some one parent society. The same may be said of the medicinemen's associations. We have commented upon the apparent dual division of chiefs and medicinemen (p. 639), the bundle scheme being the province of the former and to which the medicinemen were individually subject, but professionally formed a second half for social control. This duality is seen in the organization of all bundles and related societies under the four-pole ceremony and in like manner the organization of the medicinemen under the twenty-day ceremony. Here again is clearly a similarity of pattern in the coordination schemes for two groups of activities.

Another important conception of the Pawnee is the bundle sanction. Thus, as keeper of the village bundle the chief rules by a kind of "divine right," the highest exponent of which is the priest of the bundle, or the keeper of the ritual. The hunt and the raising of grain were each guarded over and governed by virtue of bundle rituals. A lance society performed no public function except under the sanction of one of the bundles. Furthermore, the federation itself was based upon superior or leading bundles, from which the chiefs and priests derived their authority. One must suspect that the conception of a bundle sanction was so fundamental with the Pawnee, that the first step toward a federation was of necessity the creation of a series of superior bundles.

In keeping with the foregoing conceptions is the hereditary system. Chiefs, priests, members of societies, etc. serve for life and endeavor to qualify some of their brothers and nephews to succeed them. In most organizations there were certain tests applied to the candidate for the ejection of the theoretically unfit, but these first chances were given to those whose brothers or uncles had been admitted to membership; likewise the priests of bundles must be those competent to perform the ritual, but here again the preference was given to maternal relatives. The important position of chief, or official keeper of the village bundle, was regarded as strictly hereditary to the next of kin, though incompetents were encouraged to decline the honor in favor of the next heir.

¹ A kind of dual leadership is found in many societies of the Ogala and Blackfoot, as shown in the preceding pages, but without any ceremonial associations or counterparts in other ceremonies, from which we infer that it reached these tribes as an objective part of a borrowed system.

If one considers the conceptions that underlie the preceding ceremonials, it seems that the leading categories are the consecration of animals, especially the buffalo, the buffalo hunting rituals, the various procedures with corn, the ceremonies of the warpath and shamanistic feats. The most distinctive are the last, their variety and complexity probably exceeding those of any other tribe, features which must have made a deep impression upon their neighbors and given the Pawnee great cultural prestige.

SOCIETIES OF THE ARIKARA INDIANS.

BY ROBERT H. LOWIE.

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ARIKARA SOCIETIES.

Nowhere is it more difficult to bring recent data into harmony with older accounts than in the case of the Arikara societies. While, for example, the Mandan and Hidatsa of today clearly recollect nearly all of the organizations found among them in the early thirties of the nineteenth century, modern accounts of the Arikara not only fail to place on record the names of societies enumerated by Brackenridge, Culbertson, Maximilian, and Clark, but in part flatly contradict the older statements as to so fundamental a point as qualifications for membership. Under these circumstances it is essential to present the older data in full in order to enable the reader to form an independent judgment.

Brackenridge, who visited the Arikara in 1811, writes:—

They are divided into different bands or classes; that of the pheasant, which is composed of the oldest men; that of the bear, the buffalo, the elk, the dog, etc. Each of these has its leader, who generally takes the name of the class, exclusively. Initiation into these classes, on arriving at the proper age, and after having given proofs of being worthy of it, is attended with great ceremony. The band of dogs is considered the most brave and efficient in war, being composed of young men under thirty.¹

In regard to the rules of the buffalo hunt the same author writes:—

Their hunting is regulated by the warriors chosen for the occasion, who urge on such as are tardy, and repress often with blows, those who would rush on too soon.²

On the occasion of the return of a victorious war party Brackenridge made the following observations:—

They advanced in regular procession, with a slow step and solemn music, extending nearly a quarter of a mile in length, and separated in platoons, ten or twelve abreast, the horsemen placed between them, which contributed to extend their line. The different bands, of which I have spoken, the buffalo, the bear, the pheasant, the dog, marched in separate bodies, each carrying their ensigns, which consisted of a large spear, or bow, richly ornamented with painted feathers, beads, and porcupine quills. The warriors were dressed in a variety of ways, some with their cincture and crown of feathers, bearing their war clubs, guns, bows and arrows, and painted shields: each platoon having its musicians, while the whole joined in the song and step together, with great precision. In each band there were scalps fastened to long poles; this was nothing more than the few scalps they had taken, divided into different locks of hair, so as to give the semblance of a greater number.³

¹ Brackenridge, p. 155.

² *ibid.*, p. 157.

³ *ibid.*, pp. 188-189.

For two days the warriors' triumphant return was celebrated by festivities of various kinds.

The temple, or medicine lodge, was the principal scene of their dancing. I entered with the crowd, and found a spacious building, sufficient to contain five or six hundred persons. I found to my surprise that the dancers were all females, with arms of the warriors in their hands, and wearing some parts of the dress of the men. They performed in a circular inclosure, some continually leaving it and others supplying their places. The orchestra was composed of ten or fifteen men, with drums, bladders filled with shot, deer's hoofs, affixed to rods, and shaken, some striking upon war clubs with sticks; the whole accompanied with the voice. The old men of the temple were continually going round the inclosure, and raising their shrill voices; probably saying something to excite and encourage.¹

The passage last cited is interesting when compared with the account given by Bradbury (a member of the same party as Brackenridge) of an *Hidatsa* "dance of the squaws, to celebrate the exploits of their husbands." Bradbury writes:—

We smoked at every lodge, and I found by the bustle among the women that they were preparing for the dance, as some of them were putting on their husbands' clothes, for which purpose they did not retire into a corner, nor seem in the least discomposed by our presence. In about half an hour the dance began, which was performed in a circle, the dancers moving round, with tomahawks in their hands. At intervals they turned their faces all at once towards the middle of the circle, and brandished their weapons. After some time one of them stepped into the center of the ring, and made an harangue, frequently brandishing her weapon, whilst the rest moved round her. I found that the nature of all the speeches was the same, which was to boast of the actions of their husbands. . . . The dance did not last more than an hour, and I was informed by Jussum that it would be followed by a feast of dog's flesh, of which it was expected I should partake.²

Bradbury, who witnessed the Arikara war party's return described by Brackenridge thus records his observations:—

At the head of the procession were four standard bearers, followed by a band of warriors on foot; after which came a party on horseback: to these succeeded two of the principal chiefs, betwixt whom was a young warrior, who I understood had been severely wounded. Then came two other standard bearers, who were succeeded by another band of foot and horse, which order was observed until the four bands of which the party consisted had passed. They were about 300 in number: each man carried a shield; a few were armed with guns, some with bows, and others with war clubs. They were painted in a manner that seemed as if they had studied to make themselves hideous. Many of them had the mark which indicates that they had drank the blood of an enemy. This mark is made by rubbing the hand all over with vermillion, and by laying it on the mouth, it leaves a complete impression on the face, which is designed to resemble and indicate a bloody hand. With every band some

¹ *ibid.*, p. 191.

² Bradbury, p. 146 f.

scalps were carried, elevated on long sticks; but it was easy to perceive, on a close examination, that the scalps had been divided, to increase the apparent number.¹

When Prince Maximilian wintered on the Upper Missouri (1833-34), the Arikara had abandoned their villages on the Missouri; his information was accordingly obtained from Mandan informants.² Maximilian enumerates two series of dances, one of which he connects with "bands" or societies which he regarded the equivalent of the Mandan and Hidatsa age-societies.

This first series includes the Bears, Crazy Wolves, Foxes, Crazy Dogs, Crazy Bulls, and Soldiers. The Bear society comprised old men, who while dancing wore such emblems as a bear-claw necklace or strips of bear fur. The Crazy Wolves wore a slit wolfskin on the back, thrusting the head and arm through the opening. The Foxes wore pieces of foxskin on various parts of the body. The Crazy Dogs carried a rattle while dancing. The Crazy Bull organization embraced the most distinguished men, who wore a headdress made of the skin from the head of a buffalo, with the horns. The Soldiers corresponded to the Black Mouths of the Mandan.

The second series comprised seven dances. The Hot dance was called by a name that literally meant "the Black Arms." As explained in the description of the Mandan and Hidatsa organization,³ Maximilian regarded this dance as one purchased from the Arikara by the Hidatsa and shared by the Mandan of Ruptare village. It is interesting to note that he connects it with one of the graded societies of both the Mandan and Hidatsa, but dissociates it from the Arikara series corresponding to the age-societies of the neighboring tribes. In the Bird Egg dance the performers wore the skin of a screech-owl on the forehead. The Dance of the Youngest Child might be performed by members of both the old and the young men's societies; at the back of the head the dancers wore a piece of swanskin with a crow feather. They pretended to be foolhardy; if one of them discharged an arrow at the enemy, the rest were obliged to follow. The Kit-Fox dancers wore a sort of woman's apron of red or blue cloth, a skin of the kit-fox in the back, short leggings, two crossing crow tails at the back of the head, and tin bells attached to the leggings. The White Earth dancers wore a cap with ermine braids hanging down, two crossing eagle feathers at the back of the head, and a sort of leather tail in the lower part of the back, decorated with ermine strips and bells. In the hand they carried a long bow-lance decorated with eagle feathers. Their robe was hemmed with foxskins, with the head hanging down, and was decorated with ermine

¹ *ibid.*, pp. 159 f.

² Maximilian, II, pp. 240-242.

³ This volume, pp. 252, 308.

strips. The Ghost dancers wore a large cap of owl feathers hanging down in the back and even encircling the body. A whistle was suspended from the neck, and in the hand they carried the skin of their sacred animal. Only the bravest warriors might participate in the Dance of the Extended Robe. If the performers received gifts during the dance, they accepted them with gun extended toward the donor. They dressed as though for battle and while dancing imitated the gestures of fighters, at the same time extending their robes like shields. All their wounds were painted red on their bodies. If one of them accepted a gift at the dance, another member superior in point of coups pushed him aside, reciting his deeds, but yielded to *his* superior, until finally the bravest claimed all the donations.

Maximilian states that the dances of both series were bought and sold as among the other tribes of the region and that the purchasers were accustomed to offer their wives to the father so-called.

Culbertson, who visited the Upper Missouri country in 1850, gives the following list of Arikara "bands": Bulls, Black Mouths, Foolish Dogs, Young Dogs, Foxes, and Crows. He supplies no additional information concerning them.¹

Clark gives two distinct lists which do not quite tally. One of them includes the Fox, Thief, Basket, Shaved-Head (one side shaved), Big Dog, Bull, Crow, and Black Mouth organizations.² On the authority of a Mr. Girard, who had married into the tribe, Clark enumerates the Young Boys or Fox, Young Dog, Big Young Dog, Strong Heart, Bull, and Crow societies; to which should be added the Black Mouths (see below). His full statement is as follows:—

The latter [Crow society] composed of all the old men who have passed through all the bands, and are entitled to a seat in any of the others. For police purposes there was a band of soldiers, or black mouths. These were appointed for this special purpose, and taken from the above-named bands. They blackened the lower part of their faces as a badge of their authority. These several bands were, it would seem, organized mainly for social pleasure, such as dancing, etc., and the members passed through the grades by purchase. As a rule, each member had to pass regularly through each band, but if ambitious for sudden promotion, say from the *Big Young Dog* to the *Strong Heart* band, it could be accomplished by purchase and temporarily giving his wife to the embraces of the chief of the band, should the young man have one. The young man was then considered as a son, and could, if he went to war, take one of the names of his new father. If not married at the time of adoption, he could not marry into the family of his adopted father.³

A comparison of the Girard list with Culbertson's shows very considerable agreement, while the list first quoted from Clark comprises two names

¹ Culbertson, p. 143.

² Clark, p. 355.

³ *ibid.*, pp. 44 f.

of societies not found in any tribe of the Plains area, viz. the Thieves and Baskets, while the Shaved-Head organization does occur among the Mandan and Hidatsa but is not recorded by any other observer of the Arikara. The Hidatsa, moreover, had a society bearing a name that is readily misinterpreted "Baskets";¹ and their Stone Hammers might easily be described as Thieves.² Since all the other societies ascribed to the Arikara occur among the Hidatsa, I incline to the view that the list under discussion is really an Hidatsa one and was simply credited to the Arikara through some misunderstanding.

So far as I know, Mr. Edward S. Curtis is the only modern writer who gives a list of Arikara organizations.³ Three of these, the Creek, Goose, and Otter societies have a membership of women only; corresponding to the first two of this trio I was able to record the River and Goose societies. His series of men's societies compares with that of my informant, Bear's-teeth, as indicated in the appended table.

ARIKARA MEN'S SOCIETIES.

Curtis	Bear's-teeth
Shin Raven	
Foolish Dog	
Black Mouth	Black Mouth
Buffalo Bull	Buffalo
Straight-head	Straight-head
Young Dog	Young Dog
Chippewa	Chippewa
Tadhoh-pa	Taroxpa
Raven	Crow
Kah-kawis	Hopping Society (kaxkawis)
Speckled	
Natshaka	
Cut-throats	Cut-throats
	Young Buffalo
	Grass Dance
	Fox
	Hot Dance
	Crazy Horse

¹ See this volume, p. 259.

² *ibid.*, p. 249.

³ Curtis, V, pp. 149-150.

In accordance with my own and earlier information Mr. Curtis describes the Black Mouths as equivalent to the Soldiers of other tribes. The Shin Ravens (*Chist-kaka*), he tells us, were youths, "so named because they danced with raven-feathers hanging from slits in the skin of their shins." The Taroxpa, who were so named because they trimmed their hair in the shape of a half-moon (see p. 665), and the Chippewa "seem to be the only ones besides the Black Mouths whose function was military." The Cut-throat society, we learn, was adapted from one of the Yanktonai organizations. The most significant information, however, is contained in the following statement:—

A man might join any of the men's societies, and he could leave one organization for another, but he could not belong to more than one at the same time.

Entrance into a society would thus be a purely individual affair,—a condition differing from the Mandan and Hidatsa practice but consistent with Clark's data and at least not contradicted by Maximilian and Brackenridge. But it further follows from Mr. Curtis' statement that the societies were not graded, and this clearly collides with Clark's and Brackenridge's accounts. Maximilian, to be sure, does not grade his societies and merely defines the age of the Bears. Nevertheless, he, or rather his Mandan informants, probably interpreted the Arikara societies shared by their own tribe in consonance with Mandan tradition, as a group of graded organizations; otherwise it is not clear why Maximilian should have separated his two series of organizations.

My own informant, Bear's-teeth, fully supported Mr. Curtis' statement. He positively assured me that the Arikara organizations were neither arranged in an age series nor graded in any other way. A member might leave his society at any time, and, if possible, join another. It was preferable, however, to be invited by the members of an organization, who in such a case would come to the individual, take him by the hand, and lead him to their lodge. For this honor, of course, he was obliged to make payment to the society. This general summary of the case is fully borne out by the concrete evidence supplied. It is also corroborated by word of mouth by Mr. Murie, a Pawnee, who has spent some time among the Arikara.

While the discrepancy between Mr. Curtis' and my own data, on the one hand, and those of Brackenridge and Clark, on the other hand, cannot be quite satisfactorily accounted for, a suggestion may perhaps be offered, with due skepticism as to its correctness. Considering that the handful of surviving Mandan have preserved a perfect knowledge of the basic system of their age-societies, it is inconceivable to me that all recollection of a graded series should be blotted out among the Arikara if such a series figured prominently

among them in ancient times. This view is now corroborated by Pawnee evidence. Whether La Vérendrye is right or not in assigning to the separation of the Arikara from the Pawnee so late a date as 1734, the northward movement of the former is beyond doubt of very recent occurrence.¹ Hence a really old age system might reasonably be supposed to occur among the Pawnee. But no such institution has been discovered in connection with Pawnee societies. "One could be a member of all of them at the same time. There were no distinctions of age, a man being eligible at any time."² Hence I incline to the view that such features of an age-series as are recorded by Brackenridge and Clark were borrowed from the Mandan and Hidatsa, probably by only a portion of the entire tribe, about the end of the eighteenth century, and thus failed to affect the older Arikara conception of the societies as coördinate units.

It is not at all easy, however, to make a general statement as to the precise method of admission into the Arikara societies. In the Goose society, for example, the women inherited membership through their mothers, but had to pay an entrance fee. This seems to be the only instance where the hereditary factor played a part. Definite evidence that property was given by the candidate to the "father" whose place he took is available in the case of several organizations, but the psychological attitude sometimes seems to be rather different from that found among the neighboring Village tribes. Among the Hidatsa, the purchaser was normally at a marked disadvantage: he was eager to secure the privileges associated with a certain society, and the sellers attempted to extort the highest possible fee. Among the Arikara, as among the Crow, there seems to have been a tendency to draw desirable members to an organization without their necessarily taking the place of members already in the society, and the purchase sometimes assumes the aspect of an exchange of gifts. The surrender of wives might occur in any acquisition of membership privileges, but took place particularly when a man wished to become a singer and therefore offered special inducements to the incumbent of that office. The only concrete evidence for such a practice is given in the account of the Crazy Horse organization (p. 670). It is very likely that this feature was borrowed from the Hidatsa or Mandan. From available data it seems justifiable to say that the Arikara societies did not conform to a single type as regards membership qualifications but that several distinct factors played a part in the several organizations.

In other respects, too, there appears a strange lack of systematization

¹ See *Handbook*, article "Arikara."

² This volume, p. 558.

not only as compared with the Hidatsa and Mandan series but even with such tribes as the Crow or Pawnee. Among the Crow practically all the military societies were coördinate bodies with a similar organization and potentially similar tribal functions. The Pawnee had a series of recognized bundle societies charged with public functions, a series of private organizations more or less patterned on the former group, and a series of shamanistic bodies. But it seems impossible to give any such definite classification for the Arikara. The Goose society obviously had religious associations and the Hot dance largely centered in a shamanistic performance, yet all the societies here dealt with are of a relatively secular type. My informant's son had no objection to Bear's-teeth's telling me about them though he would have resented any attempt to elicit an account of the tribal medicine fraternity. Contrary to Mr. Curtis' impression, most of the men's organizations seem to have been more or less military in character, and I was told that in battle each considered itself the rival of the rest. Nevertheless these traits are natural enough in a warlike community and hardly suffice to establish a definite pattern. A feature emphasized by Bear's-teeth in an abstract statement, and less apparent in other tribes, is the benevolent activity of the organizations, which made a practice of giving food to children and old people. This, however, is not by any means demonstrated for all of the societies.

When we compare the Arikara organizations with those of the Pawnee, we find a number of obvious parallels, with the case for a unity of origin occasionally supported by rather definite historical evidence. Certain other traits may reasonably be assumed to be the effect of Mandan and Hidatsa influence. Among these I should class the two women societies identical in name and at least partly in activities with those of the Upper Missouri tribes, a distinct police society, the surrender of wives to the sellers, and (as already suggested) the elements of age-grading recorded in some of the older literature. The influences to which the Arikara became exposed after leaving the Skidi seem to have obscured the older Pawnee system, while the time spent in the novel surroundings was not sufficient for the evolution of new patterns.

MEN'S SOCIETIES.

YOUNG DOGS.

Bear's-teeth, the only surviving member, was about fifteen years old when he joined the *xā'tcipirī'nu*. Most of the members were older than himself. He did not join together with other boys of his age, nor was he invited by the society, but his father induced the Young Dogs to take him in. The badge of the society consisted of a piece of navy-blue, white-bordered gin-cloth or broadcloth from eight to ten inches wide, passing in a loop across the neck, with another length of red cloth attached to it, so that the whole reached just below the ankle, without, however, touching the ground. These badges were always manufactured by the older retired members of the organization. As soon as Bear's-teeth's sash had been completed, he was taken to the society lodge. The members were singing inside. They used rattles called *hakx havi'itu*; these consisted of a stick about one foot long, covered with hide, decorated with a feather at one end, and with buffalo dewclaws attached to it. Every member had one of these rattles, but only the singers were obliged to use them. Pillows of tanned deer or elk hide, stuffed with buffalo hair, were beaten as if they were drums. Besides, there was one large drum hollowed out of a swamp-willow. This drum was suspended by means of loops from four forked sticks driven into the ground for this purpose. There were said to be five drummers, who were expected to be the best singers. Actually there were only four, one behind each forked stick, while the fifth man stood up in the rear and acted as musical conductor; he was believed to represent the heavens.

When Bear's-teeth had entered, his face and body were painted with maroon paint. A band of a finger's breadth was painted with charcoal around both his wrists. With the same material a curved line was drawn from the center of the forehead down the right side of the face to the chin, forming, with a corresponding curve down the left side, a single black oval. Smaller streaks of charcoal were traced from both cheek-bones backwards, and two vertical lines were drawn,— the one in the center of the forehead, the other on the chin. A buckskin string decorated with quill-embroidery was given to the candidate for the suspension of his whistle, and a coyote skin belt was tied round his wrist. Owl feathers tied in a bunch were attached to the crown of his head, and the sash was slipped round his neck.

Bear's-teeth had a sponsor, who painted him, dressed him, and prepared the sash. This man was considered as his "father," but was no longer an

active member of the society, though still a spectator at the dances, like the other old men of the tribe. After the painting and dressing was completed, Bear's-teeth's relatives brought in a great deal of property, including two guns and a horse, for the "father." When all these gifts had been heaped up, the novice spoke to his "father." The old man then addressed the society, declaring that the gifts were his property and that he should do with his fee as he pleased. Those present assented. Then the "father" informed them that he should no longer go through the performance of the Young Dogs, but that his son would take his place. Thereupon he divided half of the property among the singers, saying that they had had the hardest work to perform, and kept the other half for himself.

Not all the men in the society were dressed exactly alike. A few would kill magpies, glue a piece of white weaselskin to their feathers, and attach them in bonnet-fashion as an external ring to a buckskin cap with an eagle feather roach. Most of the members, however, wore owl feathers.

At the close of a dance the Young Dogs stooped down, blew their whistles, went towards their place, but instead of taking their seats they would circle round several times in imitation of dogs, whereupon they finally sat down. After several dances Bear's-teeth's "father" made a bow, arrows, and a quiver for his "son," and gave them to him with the following presentation speech: "These which I give you are not for use around here, but against the enemies. Then you must not get angry (?) and go towards the enemy. You must not sleep too long in the morning, but should go on the hills to look for your enemies. We never go up the hills without crying and asking Nawá'xt (the Creator) for help. I hope our Father above will look down upon what I have gone through with you and will help you to become a man and attain old age like myself."

From that time on Bear's-teeth joined war parties, and his "father" always prayed in his behalf so that he might get out alive. He took part in all battles and got away in safety. His "father" instructed him not to be mean after the capture of spoils from the enemy, but to give his booty away to whomever he should happen to meet first on his return. "Then your name will go up, and you will be noticed by the people."

In Bear's-teeth's time an old man named Lump-face was the headman of the society and kept the drum in his earth-lodge, which served as the society's meeting place. Public parades of the organization were led by one officer wearing a black sash and carrying a pipe, and another also bearing a pipe, but wearing the ordinary type of sash. A third officer who stayed in the rear with a whip was to look out lest any member should stay behind in the lodge during the parade. The old lodge-keeper was supposed to know all about the society and see that all performances were conducted in a proper

manner, while other retired members merely sat with the society as spectators. The lodge-keeper had in his youth obtained a knowledge of all the facts possible relating to the society and was accordingly always approached for authoritative advice on society matters. He was not identical with the conductor of the drummers, who was appointed by the society.

The time for a dance depended entirely on the old drum-keeper and the officers. When they had decided to have a meeting, a feast was prepared. Then two headles went round from lodge to lodge to collect all the members' costumes, which were taken to the lodge and hung up in a line between two poles. A crier then climbed to the roof of an earth-lodge and announced the dance. The members, after painting up, set out for the dance-lodge. Upon entering, they put on their paraphernalia. They were obliged to act in exactly the way prescribed. At the commencement of the drumming and singing they merely blew their whistles. At last one of the retired members rose and began to dance, at the same time coaxing the Young Dogs to do the same by holding up his palms and moving them towards himself while at the same time uttering a click-like sound. Only then were the active members permitted to rise and begin to dance. If the leaders decided to have an outdoor parade, they made an announcement to that effect. The members then formed a single file, led by the two officers who carried flat-stemmed pipes with quill decoration. The drum-keeper also went along, but remained outside the line of the procession. The third officer marched behind the members, but was followed by the drummers. Five women who sat behind the drummers during the dance accompanied the society. In marching outside the members blew whistles until the leaders began to turn in order to commence the formation of a circle. The other members took appropriate positions, and the drummers and the women managed to get within the circle just before it was closing. After the formation of the ring, the following song was sung: "Here there is a dog in the Society. He is lonesome. He is ready to go back to his owners." (*i. e.* he would just as soon be killed as not). Some of the old men approached and began to coax the members. Bear's-teeth's "father" coaxingly encouraged his "son" to keep his promise of not being afraid of the enemy. Other old people would already make sounds as if crying and mourning, "Hā'-u-u, hā'-u-u!"

All the drummers were retired members of the society. The women singers were the wives, respectively, of the drum-keeper, the conductor of the orchestra, the two leaders, and another official whose business it was to look after what had to be bought for the society. This last officer had no special badge. Before a society gathering he would find out about the arrival of fresh meat in the village and direct the members to buy it. He had to examine the condition of the drumhead and see that, if necessary, it was

renewed. In recent times it was an incumbent of this office that first recommended the substitution of a white man's drum for the instrument formerly used. The same individual also recommended the use of a bell in place of the crier's summons. On this occasion he said, "Let us invite our 'sisters' and ask them to help us in getting a bell." The "sisters" meant were the members of the Goose Women's society. These women came to the Young Dogs' lodge and were informed as to their "brothers'" needs. Then each Young Dog contributed a robe, the Geese added their share, and a large bell was purchased.

Before the formation of the circle the members all whistled as they marched. During the formation of the circle, before the drummers' entrance, they used their hoof-rattles to keep time to a song by the two leaders. The performers could dance as they pleased, either standing in position or moving about. When the dance was completed, they went to another open space and repeated the performance. There were three of these halts and performances at different places before they returned to their lodge, where the dance was repeated. Sometimes a dance was held at night without the members wearing full dress, but for daytime dances, which were usually kept up until dark, all the paraphernalia belonging to the organization were worn.

A "father" was an active member up to the time of his "son's" entrance. *i. e.*, his place was taken by the novice. However, he kept his own costumes, merely having his wife duplicate them for the candidate.

During Bear's-teeth's membership so many of the Young Dogs were killed that the few survivors agreed that there were too few for a proper dance; accordingly they dissolved the organization.

The Pawnee have a tradition to the effect that the Arikara borrowed the Young Dog society from them, giving in exchange the Sun Dance, which the Skidi joined with their own performance.¹ There is, however, little evidence of specific resemblance between the Young Dog societies of these tribes beyond the whistle and string, owl feathers, and headdress that constitute part of the regalia.²

STRAIGHT-HEAD SOCIETY.

The members of this organization (nānc^{px}tē'hat), were noted people. When they learned of the dissolution of the Young Dog society they met and dispatched a messenger to each of the former members, inviting him

¹ This volume, p. 587.

² *ibid.*, p. 586.

to their lodge. When Bear's-teeth arrived, he was asked to join their organization, as they had learned of his plight and did not wish him to idle about. Bear's-teeth readily consented. In this case he did not become anyone's "child," and paid no initiation fee. There was no particular costume, everyone wearing what he could get. The headman wore a buckskin shirt and leggings of the same material. The name of the society applied to the lack of a horned headdress, such as formed the badge of an otherwise similar society, the Young Buffalo. The members were not of any particular age, some being young and others older.

The chiefs of the society carried fancy pipe pouches. The members carried bows, guns, and other weapons. Dances were performed both inside and outside the lodge. The society selected the two bravest men, whose horses had been killed or wounded in battle. These men daubed themselves with white clay and put on red paint to show that they had been shot. These two braves took horses with them outside the line of the members, jumping off from time to time to join in the dance. Four hand-drums were used in the performance.

The main object of the society was to aid the poor. If, during a dance, a member caught sight of a poor man, he would present him with a horse or a shirt, while an old woman might receive a robe. Sometimes a big feast was got up. Then the old people and orphans came as spectators, and all the food was distributed among them.

BUFFALO SOCIETY.

According to Bear's-teeth, the Buffalo society (*nancu'kos*), which he joined next, was connected with the Straight-Heads, but possibly he merely meant that they had certain traits in common. The badge of the society was a headdress worn by every member, which consisted of a cap made from the head and horns of a buffalo and extended over the wearer's eyebrows. One member wore, in addition to this cap, a mask of buffalo-hide with the mane on, cut to appropriate size, and provided with eye-slits and a mouth-opening. While of a separate piece, the mask was attached to the headdress so as to give the impression of being part of the same piece. Hair was hanging down from the jaw. This mask was usually given, after some deliberation, to the bravest man, who also carried a lance with a point at one end, while at the other there were feathers clipped as though for arrows, and a wrapping of dyed horsehair. This masked member did not join the rest in dancing, but remained by himself: he was often referred to as the "Crazy Buffalo."

The Buffalo organization resembled the Straight-Head society in its charitable acts on behalf of old people. Owing to an epidemic, most of the Straight-Heads had died, and the leaders of the Buffalo society thought Bear's-teeth had better change his affiliation and join their own society. Accordingly they sent for him, made him sit down on a mat, placed a pipe before him, brought a trimmed buckskin shirt and leggings, and put these clothes on him. When he had been clothed, each member rose and addressed him. They said he ought to cease to dance the Straight-Head dance owing to the recent deaths, and made him a leader. In explanation of the shirt they said that the fringe symbolized the poor people dependent on the organization. All the people were to be treated amiably by the new member. If a visitor came to his house, Bear's-teeth was instructed to share his last mouthful with his guest. Bear's-teeth presented the shirt-giver with a fine buckskin horse. Thereafter he never harbored any ill-feelings toward anyone. Even if he was struck by another tribesman, he was not expected to raise his hand since he was an officer of peace. But if an enemy came, it was his duty to protect his people.

It is clear that this organization cannot be connected with that of the Pawnee Buffalo fraternity.¹ The only point of similarity, the buffalo headdress, may be satisfactorily accounted for without assuming a common origin.

YOUNG BUFFALO SOCIETY.

The members of this society once paraded to Bear's-teeth's lodge, and danced in front of it. Then two of them entered, and led him outside. He went with the society to their lodge where a side seat was assigned to him. A lance was set by the fireplace. It was wrapped with otterskin; at its extremity there was a bunch of crow feathers, with a string of eagle feathers hanging down from the center. One member rose, and said that they had had a parade on purpose to bring in Bear's-teeth and make him join their number, also that he was to receive the lance. One man after another rose, each saying something about his admission. Finally, he was requested to step up to a certain man, who presented him with the lance. They brought him a headdress composed of a buffalo-skin cap with horns, and trimmed with concentric tiers of eagle feathers. A gourd rattle was placed on his wrist, while a small whistle, covered with quillwork as far as the mouthpiece, was put round his neck. The man who furnished these

¹ This volume, p. 604.

regalia received liberal compensation from Bear's-teeth's relatives, and the novice himself paid a horse.

Only one drum was used, and its owner was supposed to have a fine voice. When he started a song, each member seized his gourd, and continued rattling it until the termination of the song. These rattles were also shaken during the dance. While dancing, the members looked upward and hallooed.

The Young Buffalo continued their dance for a time, but when the Grass dance was introduced, many members left to join the new society. The Grass dance originated in the South, and a Pawnee once tried to teach it to the Arikara. However, the Sioux were the ones who actually introduced the dance while visiting the Arikara. It was a custom that when the members of a society took an individual by the hand, he must not refuse to join them. In this way a great many Young Buffalo had been made to change their affiliations. When Bear's-teeth was asked, however, he was offended because members had thus been drawn away, and, together with his associates, refused to become a Grass dancer. They had intended buying the Crazy Horse organization, but on account of their decreased numbers they resolved to become Black Mouths instead.

BLACK MOUTHS.

Bear's-teeth and his associates induced the old men who had belonged to the Black Mouth organization (*s^{xu}kátit*) to make the appropriate regalia for them. One of these old men made two lances for them. Above the point, each of them was wrapped with otterskin, while a fleshed crow was tied to the upper end. Two rattles were made out of baking-powder cans; in former times gourds had been used. Two musicians with hand-drums sat in the back; as soon as the rattlers began to shake their instruments, the drummers began to sing, and then the members danced. First, the rattlers crossed each other's paths, then the other Black Mouths danced. At the close of a performance, they cried, "*Hawā'wa! Hawā'wa!*" The costume was immaterial, but the face was painted red, except for the lower portion of the face, which was black. In going out for a public parade two officers carrying pipes took the lead, followed, in single file, by the lancers, and the rattlers; the drummers were in the rear of the rank and file. The position of these officers in the lodge was as follows: the pipe-bearers in the rear; one rattler and one lancer on the left side, midways between the rear and the door; and a similar pair on the right side, the rattler of either pair being nearer the door than the accompanying lancer.

The Black Mouths were the guards of the village. Bear's-teeth says that the age of the members did not matter. In the winter the buffalo were easily scared away by the echo of tree-chopping; consequently the Black Mouths forbade the cutting of trees. If anyone disobeyed after the order had been issued, the Black Mouths beat him and broke up his ax. If a man and his wife were caught together chopping a tree, the man was severely beaten, but the woman got off with a lighter punishment. If the offender became angry, the Black Mouths were likely to kill him, and nothing further would be said about the matter. If, on the other hand, he took his punishment in the proper spirit, the two pipe-bearers took a pipe to him. If he smoked it, the society gave him presents, even horses at times, lest he harbor ill feelings against them.

Once the Arikara were camped near the Hidatsa. An Arikara went to a bluff, and discharged a new gun at a rock. Some Hidatsa came along and wanted to know what he was doing. They broke his gun. When the Arikara heard what had happened, one of them said, "We are Black Mouths; these Hidatsa broke the gun without good cause." They advanced towards the Hidatsa camp, singing a song, and asked for the offender's camp. They tore up the lodge, but no one was home; had any people been there, they might have been killed. The men punished made no remonstrance thereafter. Accordingly the Black Mouths made the owner of the lodge smoke a pipe, and gave him a new tent, a bonnet, and two horses.

The Black Mouths constitute a notable difference from the Pawnee series of societies. The Pawnee had indeed a permanent camp police, but without any functions during a buffalo hunt, while the regulation of the hunt was not the prerogative of a distinct organization but might be assigned to any one of the four hunting societies selected by the priest in charge.¹

GRASS DANCE.

The Black Mouths decreased in numbers owing to the popularity of the Grass dance (hānāni't). Once a Grass Dancer visited Bear's-teeth, and invited him to join; he told him that if he came willingly, it would not cost him anything, whereas, if he were taken out by the hand, he would have to pay for his initiation. Bear's-teeth, however, was offended, and declined to join. He again refused when a second Grass dancer invited him. A third visitor told him the Grass dancers wished to give him a drum. Bear's-teeth ran away, but they took his little boy instead. Then Bear's-teeth's wife bade him come out of his hiding-place. The boy was sitting in his father's

¹ This volume, p. 557-558.

place in the society lodge, and then Bear's-teeth paid a large amount of property, including a horse, for the membership. He found that it was necessary for a drum-owner to stay up night after night and hospitably entertain all visitors. It proved to be hard on him and his wife. His fingers grew callous from the amount of tobacco he had to cut for his guests.

TARO'XPÀ.

This society received its name from the fact that the members cut a small section of hair on both sides in the shape of a half-moon. The leader of the society had died. Bear's-teeth had not heard of his death, when the members came and informed him of it, at the same time asking him to join in the dead man's place. Bear's-teeth could not refuse, and was thus drawn away from the Grass dance society. The *taro'xpà*, besides cutting the hair on the side as described above, combed it up stiff in the center, and wore switches in the back. Owl feathers, with eagle feathers in the center, were attached above the switch. All members wore shell breast-ornaments. Horn-shells were strung together in rows and attached to a strip of hide, which was placed on each side of the head. The shirt worn was generally of white muslin, with red flannel around the sleeves and shoulders, and along the border.

There were two lances in the society, which were wrapped with red broad-cloth. They symbolized the two short rainbows which are sometimes seen. As the swan, the owl, and the crow wished to be with the lances, their feathers were used for decoration. If one of the lance-bearers was in battle, he stuck his standard in the ground and stayed there until some fellow-tribesman plucked it out and ran away with it, when the officer was obliged to follow. The men who tore the lance out of the ground at the same time cried, "You had better run!" When new officers were appointed, it was difficult to decide who was to become a lance-bearer. Someone would rise and take a private by the hand, who was then obliged to accept the office. A lancer who had killed a Sioux in battle was greatly honored. Lance-bearers continued in office as long as they pleased, but if an officer had carried his emblem with honor he was allowed to abdicate, and a new man was selected. There were two other officers, who acted as leader and pipe-bearer. The pipes were filled up, and smoke was offered, principally to the moon and the rainbow. Bear's-teeth was the man to keep the lodge and the drum of the society. All the *taro'xpà* were warriors. In their dancing they sometimes imitated horses and pawed the ground; they also swung their arms in imitation of horses' legs.

This distinctively military organization seems to correspond to the Fighting Lance (*tirupahe*) society of the Pawnee.¹

Bear's-teeth said that the Bear society was identical with the *taro'xpà*, who sometimes performed the Bear dance. On such an occasion one man wore a bearskin robe, fastened with an arrow. It is impossible to connect this organization with the shamanistic society of the Pawnee named after the bear.² On the other hand, it is worth recalling that Brackenridge and Maximilian list a Bear organization in their series of military societies.

FOX SOCIETY.

Bear's-teeth saw a performance of this organization (*nānc teiwáku*) before he joined the Young Dogs. Two young men were being adopted. Two mats were spread in the Fox lodge, and each of the novices sat down on one of them. All the members used a pointed stick to part their hair from front to back. In the middle the novices' hair was stiffened back, and tied. On each side a little hair was braided. A roach was left in the center, and the rest of the hair was shaved. This work of hairdressing was well paid. Strings with long beads, shells and strips of weaselskin were attached to the braids, and a mixture of red paint and white clay was daubed over the shaved part of the head. This paint was rubbed down the edges of the roach, and then the fingers were run over the head. Finally, some paint was put under the temples. A black cloth was tied round the head, and earrings were worn in clusters. When the painting had been completed, each candidate received a broadcloth shirt decorated with gold braiding, brass wristlets and armlets, a belt with bells, the ends of which fell down loose, leggings with tin bells, and fancy moccasins. Preferably, two young fox or coyote skins were attached to each side of the belt, and between them there was attached either a weaselskin or a bunch of eagle feathers. The necklace consisted of a string of brass objects of half-moon shape.

When the novice had been completely dressed, a herald went outside and summoned all the Foxes to the lodge. They dressed and painted, and then obeyed the summons. There was no drum in the lodge. Instead, the dry hide of a young buffalo was rolled up into a hollow cylinder and was beaten, not with an up-and-down movement, but from left to right. There were three musicians,—two singers to beat the hide, and between them an older man shaking a pumpkin-gourd rattle above his head. The rattle

¹ This volume, p. 576.

² This volume, p. 604.

began the musical performance, his two associates keeping time with him. The rattler generally wore no shirt, and had pink paint all over his arms and face; he ran his fingers over the painted surface and put red paint on the spots thus marked. His necklace consisted of the whole of a fleshed crowskin, the tail sticking out in the back of the head. He wore wristlets. When the music had started, everyone rose. As the playing got faster, all put their hands in front of their waists and bent down, hallooing in imitation of birds (pelicans). Then they stood up straight again.

After several dances had been performed indoors, the Foxes went outside for a public parade. In passing out, the rattler wore his buffalo robe, fur side out. The leader carried a pipe, the mouthpiece of which was held in front of him. The man next to him carried a doubly-bent bow-spear. To each end of the emblem, pigeon-hawk legs, with the claws, were attached. The whole bow was decorated with beadwork and red cloth. At the end of the procession there came a second officer bearing a bow-spear, followed by the singers and two unmarried girls. The "drum" was not taken along. The paraders walked round the inside of the lodge three times before going out. Then they did not walk, but trotted. They hallooed in imitation of pelicans. The two girls trotted in line, while the singers lagged behind. At a certain point the pipe-bearer turned to form a circle, which was closed so as just to give the musicians and girls time enough to get inside, where they continued to trot around.

In selecting a girl singer, all the Foxes first debated whom they should choose, then the spear-bearers, in full costume, went to the girl's lodge, singing as they came along. After explaining the object of their trip, they took her by the hand and led her to the Fox lodge. The Foxes were not allowed to marry these girls, who were regarded as "sisters." Nor might any ordinary man take one of them to wife. The method of wooing one of these Fox girls is illustrated by the following narrative.

Once a member of the Young Dog society had lost his wife. His fellow-members urged him to re-marry. They cast about for the best girl they could purchase for him. When they had found her, they sent a man to inquire of the girl's father, whether he would give his consent. The father was greatly pleased at the honor, but said that his daughter's brother also had a voice in the matter. When the brother had been won over, he said that the Foxes also had to give their consent, as his sister belonged to their society. Accordingly, the Young Dog delegate went to the Foxes and asked for their consent, which was granted. When the favorable reply reached the Young Dogs, they called a meeting. Property was gathered for the girl, and a herd of horses was driven to her lodge. Her family entertained the visitors. The girl said she should tell her "brothers" that she was about

to get married. She did so, and the Foxes expressed their consent. At the same time they got together what property they could, and presented it to their "brother-in-law." The girl continued to sing for the Fox society. The Foxes drove a herd of horses to the Young Dog lodge, and left them there as a present. They entered the lodge, and the two organizations then discussed the marriage. Both regarded it as desirable. The Young Dogs addressed the Foxes as their "brothers-in-law."

The Fox society corresponds to the Pawnee Roached Head organization, which also goes by the name of "Fox Society."¹

HOT DANCE.

The members of this society (kawen'h6) put their arms into a kettle of boiling water, took out meat, and carried it on their shoulders. They imitated turkeys, wearing a headdress of turkey feathers or dressing the hair itself so that it suggested a turkey. In the back, tail feathers were attached to look like a turkey's tail. There was always an attendant who had to haul water for the society. The Hot dancers also, though rarely, performed the Elk dance, but then they arrayed themselves in a different fashion, painting themselves, carrying their weapons, and using whistles. Like the Grass dancers, the Hot dancers wore a deer-tail headdress, forming a ridge on the head.

Bear's-teeth was a small boy when he witnessed a performance of the Hot dance. He saw people crowding into a lodge. When he entered, he saw the young men divided into groups, with one elderly man in each group. When the young men were ready, they asked the older men to paint them. The old men at the same time took away the young men's clothes. Bear's-teeth noticed a big fire in the center. Some people ran towards it with sticks, bringing coals. They laid sweetgrass on the embers, and smoked it for incense. It seemed to Bear's-teeth that the members tried to mimic all the animals. Sometimes a special day was set aside for the celebration of the Elk dance. The Elks used a long whistle. From the elbows and knees downward, they painted themselves with dark paint, and likewise from the collar bone to the chest; the rest of the body was painted yellow, with patches of white. White clay was used round the eyes. Sometimes they painted in imitation of bears, sometimes to resemble crows.

The musical instruments employed in dancing were a drum and a pumpkin-gourd rattle. The performers crouched low and moved round the

¹ This volume, p. 582.

fire. One man, sitting near a pole, kept the fire alive. He also stirred the water in the kettle until the meat began to boil. Then the singers would say, "It is about ready." The fire-tender poked the fire once more, and the Elk actor started up alone, blowing his whistle. Then everyone rose, and followed him round the fire. They approached the fire, but dodged away from it. The leader reached down the kettle with his bare arm and pulled out meat, splashing the others with the water. Everyone had to follow suit. Those last in line had the worst of it, for they were obliged to reach farther down, some even tilting the kettle. Each performer brought his piece of meat to his "father," that is, the man who had painted him. The "father" accepted the meat, and began to doctor his "son" by chewing some medicine and putting it on the sore part of his arm. The "fathers" received the hot meat on sticks prepared for the purpose. Most of the meat used was fat, which retains heat best. Bear's-teeth saw an indoor performance only on one occasion. In parades, he thinks, the Hot dancers walked several abreast, or at least not in single file.

During a performance the old men were wont to say, "Don't be afraid, there's an enemy in front of you. This pot is pretty dangerous, but it represents the enemy." One fall the Assiniboiné stole horses from the Arikara. The Arikara, joined by the Mandan, overtook the raiders, and recaptured their horses. One of the Hot dancers shot an Assiniboiné in the thigh. The enemy fell, but shot an arrow into the Arikara's forearm. The Hot dancer struck him, but was killed by another Assiniboiné. This story, according to my informant, illustrates the parallelism of the kettle performance with fighting the enemy.

Bear's-teeth considers the Hot dance an old Arikara performance, which his tribe practised before they had come into contact with the Mandan and Hidatsa. This view corroborates Maximilian's statement on the subject, though not accepted by all of my Hidatsa informants.¹

Regardless of the difference in name, this organization must be identified with the Pawnee *iruska*.² The plunging of the arm into boiling water to take out meat forms too distinctive a feature to be otherwise accounted for, and the association of this performance with the proper attitude towards the enemy adds another specific similarity.

¹ See this volume, p. 252.

² This volume, pp. 608, 609, 615.

CUT-THROAT SOCIETY.

The members dressed well. The hair was braided in front and tied with strips of otterskin or red cloth. A space in the back was left for the attachment of a switch, which was decorated with perforated tin-disc ornaments. Bangs of hair were made to shade the forehead. The breechclout was generally long and of white broadcloth. Once young men with no society affiliations purchased the Cut-Throat organization (pā'ncū'k), and the former members of it then bought the Crazy Horse society.

CRAZY HORSE SOCIETY.

Candidates of admission were permitted to witness all the Crazy Horse (xō'sak hō'nu) dances for a time in order to learn the correct way of performing them. This period of instruction lasted from mid-winter until spring. Then the Crazy Horses gave up their membership. Some of them would rise, call their "grandsons," and say to them, "The women we are married to amount to nothing, for we expect to drop at any time in war." This was said as a hint to the buyers in order to make them surrender their wives. When the time for the purchase had come, the candidates, who occupied a special part of the lodge, went out, brought in their wives, and led them by the hand to the Crazy Horses. The Crazy Horses went out with the women. Bear's-teeth watched them. Some merely walked a little distance and came right back with the women. The others may have assumed marital prerogatives. Each Crazy Horse resigned his membership in favor of the man who had surrendered his wife to him. The sellers had prepared costumes for the buyers. When they were ready to give up their membership, they put on buffalo robes, fringed at the neck and from the waist down, and prepared to parade. Those who had done some notable deed while on horseback painted horses on their robes. They all carried skin rattles, decorated with dyed horsehair; otterskin was wrapped round the handle. When the parade was over, the Crazy Horses did not go to their own lodge, but to the largest tribal medicine lodge. Here they performed their dance for the last time, in the presence of the candidates and their wives. Among the insignia of the organization there were two exceptionally long bow-spears. The officers carrying these emblems wore their hair loose on one side, and braided on the other; a circlet of crow feathers was attached to the side of the loose hair. At both ends of the emblem eagle claws and a woolly strip of buffalo skin were attached. The whole length of the bow was decorated

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with beadwork, and at either side of the grip there was a ring of crow feathers, which was duplicated at some distance towards the ends. At the ends there were also eagle wing-feathers.

After the Crazy Horses had danced, each of them went out, and brought in one excellent horse and another of somewhat inferior quality. Then the Crazy Horse thus addressed his "son": "You may not be able to run well; you may have this horse to ride. On the other hand, when you get food for this daughter-in-law of mine, you may use this other horse for packing." Then the resigning Crazy Horse's wife gave a bundle of fine clothes to the "son's" wife. When all members had done likewise, they announced their resignation.

CROW SOCIETY.

The members of the Crow Society (*nānc kā'ka*) wore buckskin leggings, but no shirt. There were four lances, which were stuck up in the center of the lodge. Two of these resembled the emblems of the *taro'xpā*; they were wrapped with broadcloth and crow feathers, but had no white feathers. The two other lances were hooked, and wrapped with otterskin; at the end of the straight part an eagle feather was attached so as to stand up straight. Below the hook there were several twisted strips of otterskin, which ornamentation was repeated farther down. Members cut the front of their hair square, two braids were also cut in this fashion, and to the end of the braid-strings shells were attached. A long switch hung down in the back, and usually brass armlets were worn. Some painted their forehead, but the manner of painting was immaterial.

There were no rattles, but three hand-drums. In their dance the members alternately stamped each foot; they held a bow or other weapon in the left hand, and struck out with the arm of the same side. In their parades there were no pipe-bearers. The first crow-lance officer took the lead, followed by the first hooked-lance officer, then came the rank and file, in the center of whose line marched the second hooked-lance officer, while the second crow-lancer brought up the rear. The members trotted quickly, but the drummers marched in leisurely fashion. When the drummers began to sing, the members faced them and commenced to dance. When the singing had ceased, they recommenced their trotting. Two of the bravest members were mounted on horses. One of them had cut out the effigy of a person in rawhide and attached it to his horse's neck. The rider himself was not dressed, but had his face and body painted with white clay; over the mouth red paint indicated bleeding to symbolize a wound received in battle. The effigy represented an enemy. The second horseman had

two such images on his horse. At the sound of the drum, these horsemen spurred their horses and headed off the members to make them turn about and dance.

Although several Pawnee societies bear names suggestive of this society,¹ I find it impossible to identify any one of them with it.

HOPPING SOCIETY.

The members of the *káxkawis* were mostly boys about fifteen or seventeen years old, who were joined by a few men who knew the songs. There were no drums, but skin rattles decorated with hawk feathers and attached to the arm by means of a wrist-loop. Whistles were worn suspended from the neck. The hair was cut in front, and two braids were cut off square at the end. On one side of the top of the head a crow, with night-owl feathers arranged in a disc, was attached. A breechclout, with a narrow border of fancywork, hung down in front and in the back. The older members shook their rattles, and all the boys sang with them. In dancing, the members stamped each foot alternately on the ground. Sometimes the society had horse-parades.

CHIPPEWA SOCIETY.

Most of the members of the *nānc chiá* wore fringed buckskin leggings. Stripes on the legs symbolized war exploits. Black paint with yellow and speckles indicated presence in many battles, the black spots representing bullets. Wigs were secured on the head by means of red flannel, and the hair was worn loose in the back. The whole of a slit weaselskin was tied right above the wig, a weasel-tail hung down from the end of the right side of the wig, and from the other end there was suspended a strip of buckskin. The face was painted with specks of white clay and yellow. Some men wore a feather. Bear's-teeth has seen three, and also four, hand-drums in use. During a dance the members held some weapon in the left hand, while with the right they shook bells. They did not stand erect, but stooped, throwing the head back and extending their weapons. There were two bow-lances similar to those of the Crazy Horses, but shorter. At both ends of the bow there was a bunch of weasel-tails, with three bear-gut strings hanging down from them. The whole bow was wrapped with bear guts. The bowstring was loose, and had eagle plumes attached to it at each end.

¹ This volume, pp. 570, 573, 581.

Bear's-teeth identified this society with the *miraxi'ci* of the Hidatsa;¹ I rather think that he was influenced in this opinion by the similarity of the bow-spear regalia.

FOOLISH PEOPLE.

There were two boys who decided to be *sakhū'nu*. They always did the opposite of what they were bidden. They carried a bow, arrows and quiver; there was one black arrow in the quiver. Once enemies were in sight, while White-ear, one of the boys, was sleeping. In such a case it was not permissible to rouse him, but his comrade went to his "father" and was prepared for battle. This comrade went along singing merrily. He reached the scene of battle. He went on singing into the midst of the fray, and came back, blowing a whistle suspended from his neck. He pulled out a black arrow and shot it at the enemy. Had anyone said to him, "Foolish-One, do not get angry," he would have become angry. But no one said anything to him. He went to look for his arrow right among the Sioux. His song was: "I am not afraid of anything except the Heavens." He was struck by the enemy, but got the arrow and turned back towards his people, when he was shot and killed.

By this time White-ear had made his appearance. All the people shouted, and decided not to inform him of his "brother's" death. White-ear acted like his comrade. He discharged an arrow at the Sioux, then he went right into their midst to recover it. The Sioux struck him, but he got his arrow and came back, wounded in the shoulder, but not fatally. The Arikara wished to extract the arrow from the wound, but White-ear insisted on bringing it to his "father." They said to him, "Don't go home, Foolish-One!" He went, but fainted on the way. They found him, and tried to pull out the arrow, but only succeeded in extracting the shaft. Finally, he got home and told his "father" he had left the arrow in the wound, but that someone else had removed it. The "father" had already heard of the case, and tried to discover the arrow-head, but in vain. For some years White-ear had a large lump in the spot; finally it burst, and the arrow-head was pulled out.

Whenever White-ear found a frog or toad in a river, he whipped it and played with it, saying, "This is your grandfather that is whipping you."

In later years White-ear initiated another young man into the *sakhū'nu* mysteries. Bear's-teeth does not know what prompted a man to join.

¹ This volume, p. 259.

Everyone ran to the lodge where the initiation was to take place, and so did Bear's-teeth. A buffalo head was laid on the candidate's right side. White-ear rose, and tied a stick to the skull. The novice was undressed and made to step on the horn, balancing himself by means of the stick. White-ear painted the young man's face and body. He took some blackish paint in his hand, held it towards the west, and prayed. He painted an oval, of a finger's breadth, on the tyro's face. The young man's head was shaved except for one part, to which was attached a long strip of buckskin, as wide as a finger, and decorated with all kinds of feathers. An eagle wing-feather was stuck on the head. White-ear put a bow in the novice's left hand, and slung a quiver containing a black arrow round his neck. He also slipped a deer-hoof on his arm by means of a wrist-loop. Then he led the candidate away from the skull to two wooden bowls, each of which contained a solution. He took the first bowl, held it up straight above him, and prayed. Thereupon he handed it to the young man, bidding him drink the solution. The novice obeyed, whereupon White-ear took the bowl, and set it down. In taking up the second bowl, White-ear did not hold it aloft, but merely turned towards the west, took a sip himself, and then gave the bowl to the young man, who drank, whereupon White-ear rubbed the fluid sipped on his head. When this ceremony had been completed, the candidate already began to smile as an effect of the drink. He started out, holding up his head, took a whistle, blew it for a long time, and shook his rattle. He was considered dangerous, for if some child should say to him, "Don't shoot me!" he would shoot at it. Accordingly, people had to look out for their children.

Long ago the *sakhū'nu* went on a buffalo hunt with the whole tribe. The Arikara killed buffalo, dried the meat, and got ready to go home, but the Foolish-Ones lagged behind, singing. The people ran across a red snake never seen before. All of them stopped, and made offerings of smoke or bundles of dried meat. The *sakhū'nu* arrived at the spot and caught sight of the meat offerings. One of them said, "We must not go over to that pile, and must not see what they were not doing over there." They went there, and found the snake coiled up in the center of the place. One of the Foolish-Ones said, "This is not the one to whom they have given this dried meat." The other said, "He cannot be (?)¹ everything anyway. Let us not take all this dry meat away." They removed the dry meat. Then one of them said, "Let us not kill that snake." They killed it. Then they went after their people and overtook them. The people saw that they were carrying dry meat, and thought they had taken it from the snakes. When the *sakhū'nu* arrived at the village, they began to make plain arrows, and the people

¹ Eat?

wondered at what they were doing. One night, when all the people were in bed, the Foolish-Ones stayed up, joking. Early in the morning a woman rose barefoot to relieve herself, and was bitten, first in one ankle, then in the other. She ran back, rousing the rest of her family. The whole village was seen to swarm with snakes. All the people fled to the tops of their corn scaffolds and the roofs of their earth-lodges. The snakes crawled up, and the people tried to push them down with sticks, but many of them were bitten. The *sakhū'nu* shot their arrows at the snakes, but were bitten in their shins. After a while they dropped dead. Then all the snakes, apparently knowing that they had killed their enemies, departed. Many lives had been lost.

This society obviously corresponds to the Pawnee Children of the *Iruska*.¹ The Skidi also call it the "Children-of-the-Sun society"; in a version published by G. A. Dorsey the heroes conquer the snakes, and also a water serpent on behalf of an eagle whose children it had menaced, but in a subsequent engagement with an enemy one of them is killed, and the other dies from grief.²

BUFFALO-CALLING CEREMONY.

In some of the medicine societies for the calling of buffalo, a human forearm bone was notched and used as a musical instrument. When Bear's-teeth attended one of these ceremonies, all the members sat in a big lodge, wearing their robes with the fur side out. No drums or gourds were there, but four of the notched bones were used. Each of these was made to rest on the ground at one end, and a stick served as a rasp. When the musicians began to sing, the members danced so as to meet in the middle of the ground. They went round in imitation of buffalo. No man living is able to conduct this ceremony. Two young men with a reputation for good runners were ordered to travel all night, with the fur side of their robes out, in order to locate a buffalo herd. When they had seen the herd, they went close enough to be seen, then they waved their robes and ran as fast as possible, trying to conceal themselves. If very tired and about to be overtaken, they covered their heads with their robes and allowed the buffalo to pass them. Their object was to entice the buffalo into a corral with extended diverging enclosures, in the back of which a hole was left to permit the drivers to slip out. There was a master of ceremonies, whose place was in the center of the pen. When the buffalo were inside, the people came and shot them.

This ceremony was observed only once in a long while.

¹ This volume, p. 580.

² Dorsey, (a), pp. 57-59, 339.

WOMEN'S SOCIETIES.

So far as I am aware, no women's societies have been recorded by early travelers,¹ but Bear's-teeth mentioned two such organizations, the River Snake and the Goose Society.

RIVER SNAKE SOCIETY.

This society (sdāns hā'nini) was very generous in aiding the men's societies. Its badge consisted of a headband of braided grass, wrapped in front with beaded cloth. Five straws and an eagle feather were stuck in obliquely in front. When a meeting was to be held, a crier made an announcement to that effect. Then women of all ages unbraided their hair and combed it so as to make it hang loose down the back. Most of them put on dresses of goat-skin. The headbands were kept in the dance-lodge, strung on a rope between two poles. The members took them off and put them on their heads. They placed red paint on their faces from the corner of the eyes to the ears; very little paint was put below the cheeks. There were four male singers; the two in the middle had a hand-drum and gourd rattle respectively, while the two on the outside held pipes. The dance of this society was in imitation of snakes: instead of advancing in a straight line, the performers were supposed to zigzag. Beyond this, Bear's-teeth knew nothing of the object of the society.

GOOSE SOCIETY.

The badge of this organization (sdānc gō'hat) consisted of a headband made from the head and neck of a goose. Otherwise, the members wore their everyday clothes. During a dance the women circled about in a ring, sidestepping like soldiers (?). Each carried a bundle of sage enclosing a partly visible ear of corn. The seeds of these ears were to be planted for next year's crop; at the close of the performance they were laid on the ground.

A woman inherited membership in the society through her mother. A girl entering the organization was expected to take good care of the garden work; she was asked to join if she had distinguished herself in this line. Of

¹ But Brackenridge, as already stated (p. 650), notes a dance by women.

course, she had to pay for the honor of being admitted. The society gave her further instructions with regard to the care of the fields.

Sometimes all the members assembled to have their fields blessed. They gathered together quantities of meat, paraded about, and danced, usually going outside of the village. Some carried two pairs of sticks tied together, which were afterwards set up as a meat-rack from which to suspend the dry meat. Three or four men sat down in one place and an equal number in another; these men represented the sunflowers on the edge of cornfields. Little children who sat down near the members were said to symbolize the blackbirds on the edge of the fields. When the members were ready, they entertained the men with meat served in a wooden bowl. A bowlful was also thrown to the children. Two of the men singers rose, took up meat in large pieces, and gave each member one slice. Then each of the women went out to her own field, cooked a portion of the meat, and blessed the field.

If the owner of the garden had a good crop at the time of the harvest, she selected the finest pieces of dried meat and prepared a feast by her field. She cooked most of the pieces, but left a few aside. Then she invited the owners of secret bundles to sing over and bless the field. An old man took a pipe and approached the field. He went from corner to corner and sang his songs. When he had completed the performance, he made an offering of smoke. This was done by way of rejoicing over the success of the year. The old man took some meat from a pot, "fed the corn" by running his hands with the meat over the corn, and finally deposited the meat anywhere on the field.

One middle-aged woman would not come home when her vegetables began to grow, but remained in the field overnight. At last she had a vision. The corn addressed her, saying that it was well for her to stay there overnight to watch her own corn, that all the Corn agreed to have this one representative come to let her know that they would be with her wherever she went. She was to join the Goose society and prove to the members that she had been blessed by the Corn. Bear's-teeth saw this woman perform. She stepped out from the ring into the center, and closed her eyes tight. Suddenly some corn seeds came out of the corner of her eyes. Two old men singers laid down their things and approached the performer. They placed some sage on coals and smoked it. Then one of the old men smoked his hands and placed them on the woman's eyes, thus making the corn seeds recede again. One of the two musicians had a big gourd rattle, the other a drum. The woman that makes corn seeds come out of her eyes must be old. Before the performer seen by Bear's-teeth died she had become blind. A cornstalk about eight inches long came out

of her mouth. It was pretty well withered. The reason for its coming out was that the woman was approaching death. As soon as it came out entirely, she died.

The Father in Heaven instructed the Arikara to perform the ceremony of the Goose society with sacrifices of buffalo and elk meat. As buffalo and elk are no longer in existence, the performance can no longer be undertaken. The association of geese with the corn is due to the fact that the Geese wished to have something to do with the ceremony. The Goose spoke to the Arikara as follows: "I will go to the edge of the big rivers. When it is time for you to prepare something for me to eat, I shall return. When I shall have come back, you may proceed with your garden work, and you will be sure of success." This is why the geese come in the spring, when the sowing begins, and depart after the harvest.

Bear's-teeth emphatically denied that the Goose society was anything but an old Arikara organization, his argument being that the Arikara had always had corn.

SOCIETIES OF THE IOWA.

BY ALANSON SKINNER.

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INTRODUCTION.

The Iowa are a small tribe of the Tciwere branch of the Siouan stock, whose closest relations lie with the Winnebago, Missouri, and Oto. Their ethnology has been practically unknown save for the scattered writings of Rev. J. O. Dorsey and Catlin. Historically, they have fared better, the latest volume on the subject being "The Iowa" by William Harvey Miner.

The former habitat of the tribe was principally in the state which now bears its name, but now they occupy two reservations, one, on the Cimarron River, near Perkins in central Oklahoma, the other, on the Kansas-Nebraska border. The data here given were obtained in Oklahoma, mostly from Chief David Towhee and Joe Springer, the latter also serving as interpreter.

There has been some discussion as to the meaning of the name Iowa, but the writer offers the following data on the subject. According to Springer, the proper name for the tribe is "Áiyuwe," a title given by themselves, which means (probably) "marrow." The Oto call them Ba^xoje, they say, because the Oto are supposed to have first seen them in the winter when their lodges were covered with snow, hence the name, meaning "snow-covered." The Iowa call the Oto "Odo'to" meaning "lechers," on account of their profligacy. The Eastern Dakota call the Iowa, Aiyúhoba.

The Iowa are divided into six exogamous gentes which are still extant, while traditional and historical information add several which are now extinct, making nine or ten in all. Each gens is further divided into four subgentes, each of which is supposed to be descended from one of the four ancestors of the gens. Chieftainship in each subgens was hereditary in the leading family and during the winter the tribal chief was the eldest lineal descendant of the eldest gens ancestor of the bear gens; during the summer the chief was the eldest lineal descendant of the leading buffalo gens ancestor. There was once a time when the tribe was divided into two groups with the bear and buffalo gentes as opposing leaders, but this is obsolete.

In addition to these divisions, there are three important social cleavages which should be noted. The Iowa recognize three social classes: namely, royalty, nobility, and commoners. These groups are made up, first, of the

hereditary chiefs and their families; second, of braves who have "built up their names"¹ and their families; third, the people at large.

These groups tended to be endogamous, it being thought disgraceful for a chief's child not to marry a chief's child. The braves also intermarried among themselves, though it was not thought out of the way for the child of a very prominent brave to marry into the family of an hereditary chief.

In addition, in some societies, notably the haⁿhe waci, or night dance, which belonged to the chiefs, and the kaiugera waci, or braves dance, which belonged to the braves, membership was denied to those not socially qualified. In others, less exclusive, the officers were chief's or brave's sons or daughters. The comparative size of these social groups cannot be learned at this late date; presumably the two upper groups were small in number.

These class strata are not entirely peculiar to the Iowa though they seem more highly developed among them than with the other southern Siouan tribes. The Ponca and Osage, and perhaps the Kansa, had something of the sort, though less pronounced. Among the Ponca, the writer was told that there were hereditary chiefs and chiefs whose office was acquired through social and military merit. These latter were privileged to have their daughters tattooed and did so at great expense in a public ceremony. The tattooed women had their own dancing society and special privileges. Among the Iowa the noble women and chiefs' daughters were also tattooed by the gentile tattooing bundle owners, and even though they were little girls, no one was permitted to take liberties with them; no other children might even pull their hair.

The Kansa, according to my information (p. 752) and the Osage² also, had customs suggestive of the Iowa social distinctions. It will be remembered that among the Natchez to the south, these castes were carried to a much more elaborate conclusion.³ Hence it is possible that the Ofo and Quapaw, who must have come in contact with the Osage, but who lived nearer the Natchez and their neighbors, acted as carriers of these relatively unusual features to their northern relatives.

¹ Braves were those who had obtained the war honors recognized by the tribe, served as soldiers, or police, who had been tattooed, were noted for their generosity, or had received the pipe dance, etc. They were also permitted, like the chiefs, to contract polygynous marriages, to eat with the chiefs at their feasts, and to have their daughters tattooed. They themselves might be braves' sons, or even commoners who had risen through their achievements. As a title was attached to each of these achievements, progression up the scale, or the earning of these titles, was called "building up one's name."

² La Flesche, 127-130.

³ Swanton, 100, *et seq.*

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION.

CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

The civil chiefs of each gens are the eldest male lineal descendants of the four ancestors, the descendant of the eldest brother being paramount in each gens. The offices are hereditary. If a chief dies his eldest living son succeeds, if he has no sons his daughter's son or his niece's son succeeds, never a female relative. If the heir apparent is a child, another chief or notable warrior is chosen as his regent. The war chiefs are those who have charge of the gentile war bundle. The writer is not able to state whether ownership of the bundle was hereditary, or through visions. He inclines to the latter belief, since the modern Iowa look upon the war bundles as individual property.

As the ancestors of the bear and buffalo gentes were supposed to have been the founders of the tribe, these gentes are most important, and the bear gens rules half the year, during fall and winter, as bears like the cold, and the buffalo the rest of the year. That is, the tribal chief during half the year is the eldest lineal descendant of the eldest bear clan ancestor, and during the rest of the year, of the buffalo. This is suggestive of Omaha, Pawnee, and Southwestern customs.

When on the march a leader was chosen each day by the chiefs of the leading gens during that part of the year. This man took charge of the people, saw to it that they were guarded and well cared for during the day, and selected the camping spot at night. When he pitched his lodge no one dared to pass ahead, but all camped behind him in a circle (*watuda*) or semi-circle, if the nature of the land would permit. The camp criers were then ordered to tell the individual bands where to camp, and each band camped with its chief in some part of the circle. I could find no fixed order for this. The tribal chief camped in the center of the circle. If anyone broke away and camped further on than the tent of the leader of the day, he was treated to a soldier killing, in this case a ceremonial whipping by the *waiakida* or soldiers, two of whom were allotted to each chief and lived in his lodge. When all was in order, and night had fallen, the officer of the day invited all the other chiefs of the tribe to his lodge, feasted them, and surrendered his office. They then chose another leader for the next day.

The buffalo gens was supposed to "own the corn" and in the spring no one might break the earth and plant corn until after a ceremonial beginning,

had been made in which the chiefs of the buffalo gens planted a few grains. The buffalo chiefs then gave a feast and announced that the others could start.

MILITARY GOVERNMENT.

The military affairs of the tribe were in the hands of the gens war bundle owners and those braves who had made a name for themselves in war. When a young man of importance wished to go to war he called all the war leaders (or war bundle owners) together and they gladly came when they heard that a chief's or brave's son wanted to go on the warpath. The waruhawe or war bundles of the gens were brought in and opened,¹ while songs were sung to the accompaniment of the gourd rattle. No women were allowed to be present under any consideration, and all the men present must be sexually clean. They prepared by taking sweat baths on four successive days before coming and by abstaining from their wives, and above all things, from contact with menstruating women.

After the bundle songs came the war dance, during which, and indeed during the entire performance, the owner of the clan war bundle had charge of the entire procedure and sat back doing nothing.

After the war dance, however, he called for volunteers, when the youths came forward and announced their intention of joining the party. When this was done the leader or bundle owner (dotuⁿpagre), presumably the bundle owner of the leading subgens, picked out four assistants (nikowatha) and a fifth man (waruhawekle) to carry the bundle. He then selected three youths, preferably his own nephews, to act as cooks and waiters (lexik^xe), and set the time of departure for eight days later.

Meanwhile, as soon as the meeting broke up, the volunteers informed their families and female relatives that they were going on the warpath. The relatives were proud, and the women prepared many moccasins for the youths to carry and got ready roots, herbs, and medicines, preferably those pertaining to the buffalo, to bring him back safely.

Catlin gives some data on the war ceremony known as the "wolf song." He says:—

"This amusing song, which I have since learned more of, and which I believe to be peculiar to the Ioways, seems to come strictly under the province of the *medicine* or *mystery* man. . . . The occasion that calls for this song in the Ioway country is, when a party of young men who are preparing to start on a war excursion against their enemy (after having fatigued the whole village for several days with the war

¹ This suggests that each gens may have had several bundles, probably one for each subgens.

dance, making their boasts how they are going to slay their enemies, &c.) have retired to rest, at a late hour in the night, to start the next morning, at break of day, on their intended expedition. In the dead of that night, and after the vaunting war party have got into a sound sleep, the serenading party, to sing this song, made up of a number of young fellows who care at that time much less about taking scalps than they do for a little good fun, appear back of the wig-wams of these "*men of war*," and commence serenading them with this curious song, which they have ingeniously taken from the howling of a gang of wolves, and so admirably adapted it to music as to form it into a most amusing duet, quartet, or whatever it may be better termed; and with this song, with its barking and howling chorus, they are sure to annoy the party until they get up, light the fire, get out their tobacco, and other little luxuries they may have prepared for their excursion, which they will smoke and partake with them until daylight, if they last so long, when they will take leave of their morning friends who are for the "death," thanking them for their liberality and kindness in starting, wishing them a good night's sleep (when night comes again) and a successful campaign against their enemies."¹

Conduct of a War Party. Men went to war for various reasons, but chiefly for fame. A father might say to his son. "Go out and die so that I may hear of you till the end of my days. Increase your name. If you are shot in the back and fall on your face I'll be ashamed, but if you are wounded in front and fall on your back, I'll be proud."

For this reason, young men often went to war weaponless, with the intention of being killed. Others bore only whips or light slender sticks, clubs, or spears, but the majority bore bows and arrows, or later, guns. A seer or prophet was taken along to insure success, and warn them of impending triumph or disaster.

No one knew the exact time at which they left, they just disappeared together on the appointed day, some time early in the morning or after dusk, as a rule. The advancing war party sent out three or four men as scouts who always reconnoitered before them. If the scouts saw the track of a foeman or a horse, they returned, singing one of the sacred bundle songs expressly made for the occasion. The leader on hearing it at once recognized its import and ordered his warriors to paint and prepare themselves, for one of the scouts had seen an enemy or a track, or whatever the case may have been. These songs ran: "I see men." Or, "I see a track."

The men now painted and rubbed themselves with the sacred bundle medicine intended to deflect the arrows and weapons of the foe, armed themselves, and prepared. There was generally, and should always have been, a buffalo shaman present with his sacred bundle, its flutes, buffalo hoof rattles, buffalo tails, and medicines calculated to heal wounds, and cause clotted blood to be cast out or drained away.

¹ Catlin, (b), vol. 2, 24, footnote.

After this preparation the attack commenced. During the fight, the bundle owner stayed behind and sang and rattled to help his men. All trophies were brought back and given him. He sang about each victor, and at this time gave him a new name if he so desired. He himself took no part in the actual fighting, but got great credit if his party were successful. The special honorary title given a successful partisan was the highest that could be attained.

Ceremonies on Return of a War Party. After the fight the party returned. If unsuccessful, they stole noiselessly into the village, covered with shame and confusion, in deep disgrace. If successful, the partisan ordered his band to stop on a hill or knoll some half mile from the village where they were commanded to whoop and fire off their guns to announce the good news.

The relatives of the absent warriors were overjoyed and all poured forth to meet the returning war party and learn what their favorites had done. Each young man rode up to his sister or near female relative and said, "I did so-and-so, and my name is now So-and-so."

The girl scurried back to the village shouting the news that all might hear. The women and men now took all the captured scalps and a scalp dance was held. The trophies were spread on netted hoops and fastened to the ends of sticks about a yard long which they held before them. The nephews, uncles, sisters, brothers, and other relatives of the triumphant braves gave horses and other presents to them to be given away.

The dance continued until the war leader ordered it to cease. After this the oath bundle was brought out to decide contested coups. He then withdrew and went out of the camp where he stayed until he could raise another war party, for most partisans and warriors went out on four warpaths in succession; for to be successful in four warpaths, one after another, was the acme of greatness. When a successful war party returned, a white oak tree about two feet in circumference was cut down, peeled, sharpened, and set up in the ground to make a war post. It was painted red, and on it, in charcoal, were drawn the exploits of the party. The scalps taken were depicted as stretched on netted hoops and suspended from sticks. Dead enemies were shown as headless bodies. The scalp dance was held around this stake. It was the partisan's ambition to be able to set up four of these posts, one at each point of the compass, just outside the village.

After the scalp dance, no one was supposed to go near it, but from time to time people would clear away the grass and leave the clean smooth earth about it in a large bare circular space. If the family of the partisan or "post owner" caught them at this, they would make them many costly presents.

Coups and War Honors. The Iowa warrior strove to obtain as many as possible of a series of graded titles accorded to those who performed certain specified feats of valor, especially since these carried with them desirable social perquisites. Each man tried to be known by as many of these titles as possible, or to have it said by the people that he had earned such a title so many times, such another so many. Of course the primary titles were most sought for. These titles were of three classes, and are, in order of their importance:—

1. Watc!e, "successful partisan," the greatest title a man could possibly receive, given only to bundle owners who conducted victorious war parties; a hunt leader (gixrowatogera) who was attacked and whose men fought off the foe was entitled to great honor also.

2. Wabothage, "foe killer," the term applied to a man who actually killed a foe. This is next in rank to the preceding.

3. The following honors are all third rate and all belong to the same group, being of equal value. There is no order of precedence:—

- (a) Ucka'o^a, "coup striker," a term applied to the first two men to strike a foe, living or dead.

- (b) Paruthe, "head cutter." Galloping up to the body of a fallen enemy a man would make the motions of cutting off the head or nose, or if he had time he would actually do so. For this he received the title.

- (c) A^xodulte, "scalper" given the man who secured an enemy's scalp. In scalping, the bowstring was tied around the top of the victim's head, a knife cut made under its guidance, and the scalp ripped off.

- (d) Na^athudilte, "lock taker," awarded to the warrior who succeeded in cutting a lock of hair, other than the scalplock, from a fallen foe.

A War Custom. The Iowa braves often ate the heart of an enemy in order to attain the bravery of their fallen foe. Brothers were not allowed to partake of the same heart lest it breed enmity between them. Another custom was to swallow a small turtle alive. If it could be kept down, the warrior would be brave and tenacious of life. This is the same as the Menomini and Omaha custom. Many powerful men had live animals, such as turtles, resident in their bodies and could, it is said, cough them up and show them on occasion.

The Braves. Various honors were shown those who had achieved war titles. Every chief was entitled to two body guards who also acted as camp police or soldiers (waiak'ida) and these he chose from among the titled braves. Very brave men had the right to be tattooed on the breast, something which is also true of the Kansa and Osage. Those who were entitled to this honor "had to sit down four days before it was done to them."

If a youth wishes to wear an eagle feather in the dance he repairs to a

waiak'ida or some other brave and gives him a horse or some other rich present with a request to that effect:—"I give you the right to wear an eagle feather and to boast that you did what I did on such and such an occasion."

While the writer believes that few of the above distinctions were confined to the waiak'ida alone, since the latter, after all, were only appointed officers, but to all braves, the following privileges and duties were the especial prerogatives of the soldiers:—

(a) Exemption from vengeance, blood or otherwise, at the hands of those whom they had injured during the performance of their duty.

(b) The privilege of being present even at feasts given by the chiefs. In fact they were always invited to feasts in the chiefs' lodges.

(c) Whipping ungrateful friends from other tribes. A waiak'ida who frequently visited some friend in another tribe, say the Oto, without receiving a horse from his host, waited until the Oto visited him, when he had the culprit taken and bound to a tree. Then he would approach and count one of his coups, striking the captive, who was then released and given a horse by his captor amid the whoops, laughter, and approval of the assembled Iowa. Such a gentle rebuke was thought to be conducive to increased friendship between the tribes.

(d) To walk about the village of an evening wearing the "crow" eagle feather bustle. None but braves were permitted to do this. It advertised their position in society.

The following were the recognized duties of the waiak'ida:—

(a) As camp police and protectors the waiak'ida prevented quarrels, and guarded the camp from the attacks of the enemy.

(b) Keeping men in line when charging the foe that none might break away and attack alone.

(c) Keeping men in line when surrounding and charging the buffalo herd until the chief orders the attack.

(d) Preventing people from camping ahead of the tent of the officer of the day when on the move, and assigning the individuals of their band their camping spot.

(e) Keeping order during ceremonies. Children were forbidden to ride on horseback during the dance of the buffalo shamans, for example, lest the shamans should shoot them with magic arrows. The soldiers had to restrain the children.

(f) Inflicting punishment. This was the well known flogging or "soldier killing" of the Plains without the common accompaniment of the destruction of property. It was dealt out in two ways: an offender might be flogged on the spot, without ceremony, or, if he resisted, or afterwards complained,

he might be visited by all the waiak'ida, captured, brought to some lodge or public place, stripped, and bound. Then each waiak'ida would step up and count his coups, saying: "At such a place and time I hit a man who looked just like this one." Then he struck the victim.

As an example of "soldier killing" the following incident was related:— A white man who was married into the Iowa tribe thought that he could over-ride the authority of the soldiers, so when the leader of the day pitched his tent, the squaw man tried to go on ahead to a tempting clump of trees. He had not gone far before he was stopped by the chief's two waiak'ida who rained blows on his horses' heads with their quirts until he was obliged to turn back. The squaw man was very angry and publicly declared his contempt for the soldiers who, in due course, heard of his threats and repaired in a body to his lodge. When he saw them coming he tried to beg off, claiming that he had only spoken in fun, but his excuses were unavailing and he was severely thrashed.

The waiak'ida were also scouts, and it was one of their duties to observe the approach of enemies and report it to the heralds, who announced the approach of danger to the village. The waiak'ida then kept the warriors in line and prevented a premature charge, just as was done on the buffalo hunt. Each band chief had two waiak'ida allotted to him as assistants. Each chief had his own lodge in which the soldiers dwelt with him.

CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION.

The dances and societies of the Iowa may be divided into four groups: namely, war dances, social dances, animal and mystery dances including the medicine dance, and modern religious dances.

The first group is made up of unorganized dances performed, as the name implies, always in connection with war. It includes the ceremonies connected with the ritual of the gens war bundles, the war, discovery, victory, and scalp dances. Only the last dance was participated in by women, and was held around a painted post upon which the exploits of the victorious war party were depicted. This resembles the painted war posts of the Iroquois and others much farther east.

The second group of dances is composed of social and military ceremonies of the true Plains type performed for the most part by organized societies with definite officers. These societies were purely social, or military, and essentially non-religious. They took part in all public celebrations and state occasions, befriended the poor or infirm, and condoled with those in mourning.

These societies usually sprang from a dream of the founder, although some are obviously not native to the tribe, even though so considered by the Iowa. The officers were appointed and instructed by the founder, who acted as leader, and on his death the officer best acquainted with the ritual took his place. The societies seem not to have been graded, admission was free and depended merely upon the candidate agreeing to observe certain requisite conditions as to dress, actions, etc. There was no age limit, but those socially ineligible might be debarred. A person might belong to as many societies at one time as he could afford, or as would admit him.

Some of the societies "belonged to the braves, or the chiefs," that is, membership was limited to the royalty or nobility. In others, the officers or chorus had to be the sons or daughters of chiefs or nobles. Each society owned a certain ritual of speech, song, and dance, and its own costume, paraphernalia, and painting.

Rivalry was keen between the military societies, and each tried to be represented on every warpath. Coups counted by members increased the society's prestige, and the organization was allowed to boast of them. Hence, each society courted the membership of braves, and tried to outdo all others. The rival associations *par excellence* were the tukala and mawatani, who, while also posing as rivals among the Ponca, curiously enough do not seem to bear this opposing relationship among the Dakota, where the tukala presumably originated. On the contrary, the Iowa societies are more like the Foxes and Lumpwoods of the Crow. The fact that the society which corresponds with the lumpwoods is called mawatani, which is Dakota for Mandan, is significant. However, the Iowa (and Ponca) custom of members of one society stealing wives from the other, finds no parallel among the Mandan-Hidatsa, or the Sioux, who borrowed the associations directly from the Mandan, though the usage is a prominent feature among the Crow.

The next group is that of the animal or mystery dances, including the medicine dance. This series of dances is made up of strictly religious and ritualistic performances built up around sacred bundles (except in the case of the medicine dance) and is of the Central Algonkin type. Indeed, most of these ceremonies are found in very similar form among the Algonkin of the Woodlands. They bear every indication of being old among the Iowa, with perhaps the exception of the red bean, or mescal bundle ceremony, which some, though by no means all, informants declare to have come from the Pawnee.

Most of the minor ceremonies consist of the repetition of rituals in song, chant, or speeches, based on dream revelations made to an ancient founder, a feast, the ceremonial production or opening of the bundle, and mimetic

dances, in which the performers were disguised as the animals which gave their power to the society. Some of these bundle societies, all of which were at least semi-secret, had to do with war, and the line of demarkation between the war and the mystery dances is therefore not always as sharp as we have made it in this paper. Other societies had as their object the cure of the sick and wounded through the aid of their animal patrons invoked by the members as shamans. Membership in these societies may have depended upon dreams to some extent, but it was requisite to purchase admission and subsequent knowledge of the ritual at a high price.

The medicine dance stands alone as the ancient religious society of the Iowa, *par excellence*. It resembled the other societies of this group in that it was a secret order of shamans, to which admission was gained by purchase, but differed in that it had fixed officers, a lengthy ritual which had to be learned verbatim, an elaborate initiation, and a code of morality.

As practised by the Iowa the medicine dance resembled the Dakota-Winnebago ceremony rather than that of the Central Algonkin. It lacked progressive degrees, was not founded upon a myth dealing with the culture hero, and the members were divided into four bands with their respective leaders. As among the Algonkin, admission could be secured purely through purchase, or (also by purchase in a lesser degree) in the place of a deceased member. It likewise possessed an identical lodge building and paraphernalia with the Algonkin, and the so-called "shooting" ceremony is, of course, the same as that found wherever the society occurs, even in the aberrant Omaha and Ponca types. As among the other Siouan, the society is obviously borrowed from the Algonkin and even some of the songs are still sung in an Algonkin dialect unintelligible to them. This dance will be treated in a later publication.

The last group, the religious dances and societies of modern origin, comprises the ghost dance religion and the peyote. All are tinctured with Christianity, and all have ancient conservative features. The story of their introduction is doubtless parallel with that of the introduction of the ancient dances, but, as their advent is more recent, the whole story is available. It seems that the social and religious history of all the Woodland and Central Siouan tribes, since record has been kept of them by the whites, has been one of revival, change, and innovation and doubtless the same conditions obtained ages before European advent.

The peyote cult has caused all those ancient practices of the Iowa, which were still in vogue at its introduction to be cast aside, and if, as bids fair to be the case, now that the Iowa are no longer numerous and their culture virile, it persists a few generations, the whole of Iowa culture as such will be obliterated, and a more profound change made than any other influence

has ever effected. This cult, founded on a mixture of biblical and pagan teachings, with a new and semi-christian code of morality, combined with a curious ceremony in which the peyote plant is eaten for its supposedly narcotic effects, is frowned upon both by the Government and missionaries as a peculiar form of the drug habit. It does, however, seem to destroy the desire of the user to drink alcoholic liquors or to use tobacco, and, as it does not appear to leave any evil effects after taking, is not an unmixed evil.

J. O. Dorsey refers to a dance now obsolete which does not fit in any of our categories.¹ This was the introduced green corn dance. He says:—"This dance did not originate with the Iowa: It is said that the Sac tribe obtained it from the Shawnee. It is held after night. Men and women dance together, and if any women or men wish to leave their consorts they do it at this dance and mate anew, nothing being urged against it."

SOCIETIES AND SOCIAL DANCES.

THE HELOCKA SOCIETY.

This society, the Iowa claim, was founded by themselves and introduced elsewhere among other tribes, including the Cheyenne and Arapaho. The ceremonies of the society are held either outdoors or inside a round wooden house with a conical roof. This house is called waⁿkotci, an antique word the meaning of which is now forgotten, or by the more modern term hel'ocka watci. The society is composed of the following officers and an indefinite number of members:—

- 1 leader or "song starter" who owns the dance called hel'ocka dotuⁿa.
- 4 rulers or heads (hel'ugra) chosen by the leader.
- 4 female singers (ni'awalajê) chosen by the hel'ugra. Chiefs' daughters are always chosen for these positions.
- 4 male singers (o^x'ke) chosen by the female singers.
- 4 female singers (ni'awalajê) chosen by the preceding.
- 2 waiters (wa'rutaⁿ).
- x members.

There are no whip bearers, as among the Kansa and Osage, where the Iowa have seen them. The positions the members assume in the dance lodge are shown in the accompanying diagram, Fig. 1. The dance leader and waiters have no fixed positions, but move about.

When the leader or owner of the dance wishes to call a ceremony he

¹ J. O. Dorsey, (a), 429.

gathers the society and thus addresses them:—"Collect game and other good food and cook it, for we are about to give a hel'ocka dance to the tribe. Bring lots of food and we'll dance. Paint, and you warriors put on your deer hair roaches, perfume yourselves and bring your little flutes or whistles. Carry your war clubs."

The members then begin to prepare. They all get together to paint. Many pat their palms in paint and then stamp them on their faces and bodies. Only the braves (of any status) are allowed to wear the deer hair roach, and formerly only they were allowed to wear the "crow" or eagle feather bustle. The braves also bound bunches of grass on their legs below the knees, on their heads, and thrust it in their belts that everyone might know who they were. Those who had been to war in winter painted

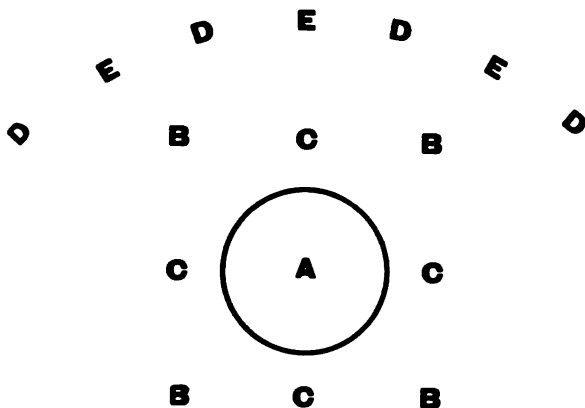


Fig. 1. Diagram of the Helocka Dance. A, drum; B, leaders at ceremonial points of compass; C, male singers chosen by female singers; D, female singers; E, female singers chosen by male singers.

their legs white up to their knees to show how deep the snow had been when they set out, for this dance is considered a "brave dance."

Before the indoor ceremony, when all were ready, they often went the rounds of the village, dancing before every camp; this was especially prevalent in the evening. When they did this the lodge owners were in honor bound to come out and make presents which the dancers divided among themselves. After this open air performance they went to the hel'ocka lodge and danced there.

Catlin gives the following notes on what he calls the war dance, or Eh-Ros-Ka, which is probably the helocka. Its connection with war is not now so pronounced as in Catlin's time, and several features may always have had counterparts in the real Iowa war dance:—

"The War Dance, which is one of the most exciting and spirited modes of the American Indians, is danced by the warriors before starting on a war excursion, and as often after they have returned, making their boasts how they are going to slay their enemies in battle, or how they have met them and taken their scalps, to be carried through the dance by their women and children, &c. &c. It is a long and tiresome dance if given entire, and is divided into the number of parts named and described below.

EH-ROS-KA,

The Warrior's Dance.

This exciting part of the war dance is generally given after a party have returned from war, as a boast, and oftentimes when not at war, is given as an amusement merely.

The song in this dance seems to be addressed to the body of an enemy, from its name, Eh-Ros-ka, meaning the body, the tribe, or war party, rather than an individual, although the beginning of the song is addressed to an individual chief or warrior of the enemies party, thus:

O-ta-pa!

Why run you from us when you

Are the most powerful?

But it was not you,

O-ta-pa!

It was your body that run,

It was your body, O-ta-pa!

It was your body that run.

(WA-SISSICA) THE WAR SONG

is sung for the last part of this dance, and the movement in the dance is quickened, beginning with — the ejaculation —

How-a! How-a!

O-ta-pa!

I am proud of being at home!

I am proud, O-ta-pa! I am proud

I am at home — my enemy run

I am proud, I am proud, O-ta-pa!

Such is near the interpretation of this song — and, like this, the various parts of the war dance are accompanied with boasts and threats upon an enemy to whom the songs are usually addressed."¹

"The Approaching dance is a spirited part of the *War Dance*, in which the dancers are by their gestures exhibiting the mode of advancing upon an enemy, by hunting out and following up the track, discovering the enemy, and preparing for the attack, &c., and the song for this dance runs thus: —

¹ Catlin, (c), 18-20.

O-ta-pa!

I am creeping on your track,
Keep on your guard, O-ta-pa!
Or I will hop on your back,
I will hop on you, I will hop on you.

Stand back, my friends, I see them;
The enemies are here, I see them!
They are in a good place,
Don't move, I see them!¹
&c. &c. &c.

When a prominent man, say a chief or a brave, lost a child the hel'ocka members often went over to "help him mourn." They would weep, slash themselves, and let the blood drip on the ground, run skewers through their flesh, and sing wailing songs. One song, referring to the daughter of a chief was:—"If I had power to stand her up, I'd stand her up." They would give presents to the mourners, perhaps as many as fifteen or twenty horses. They also made presents to the very poor. Therefore, the hel'ocka was considered a helpful as well as a social society.

TUKALA SOCIETY.

The túkala² and máwatani societies were famous as rival organizations and flourished up to within the memory of Towhee and Springer. The last survivor of either, a mawatani, died about 1906. In war, the societies strove their hardest to outdo each other in bravery and sometimes rival war parties made up entirely of members of the societies, went out. They vied with each other as to who could give the most brilliant social functions, and members of either society tried to steal the wives of members of the other, although this was not sanctioned by the officers. They chose opposite styles of dress, paint, and regalia, and played against each other in games.

The officers of the tukala society were:—

- 2 leaders (dotohúⁿ)
- 4 drum chiefs (real chiefs of subgentes)
- 4 assistants (idúgerú)
- 4 women singers (canwalätcé)
- 4 "tails" (th'injerugerú)
- 2 waiters (warutan) (chiefs' sons were always chosen)
- 100 (?) members

¹ Catlin, (c), 23, footnote.

² The meaning of the name is not known, but Dave Towhee suggested "coyote," though he afterwards retracted the suggestion. The origin of both the tukala and mawatani is so ancient that no one remembers what it was.

The leaders wore buffalo robes, with eagle feathers and otter fur strips sewn at intervals down the back. All members cut their hair short around the sides of the head, banged it over the eyes, and let it grow long on top. They wore eagle feathers with their bottoms wrapped in otter fur, and painted in red and white, i. e., they were stripped to the clout and painted the body red and face white, or vice versa. They also used bells instead of rattles. When they went to war they might never flee but were obliged to fight to the death. If they dropped anything they had to hire a brave to pick it up for them, and if they were thrown from their horses or fell, they had to wait until some one, preferably a brave, raised them. For this assistance they gave a large reward, generally a horse.

As illustrating this obligation it is told of a túkala man named Ta^aak-wûn^a (Wants-to-be-chief) that he was thrown from his horse and lay in the road for hours. As no one came, he at last got up, and gave his horse to the first person he met, an old squaw, to whom he told the story of his mishap.

Anyone could join the túkala who was willing to live up to the obligations; initiation was free and consisted merely in adopting the characteristic hair cut and regalia and joining the dances. Any person might go to a company of assembled túkala and offer them a tied package of tobacco. This could not be opened until some one gave him a horse. When it was opened he was taken in as a guest and all members present showered him with gifts.

The túkala had the privilege, which seems peculiar to them and not to the máwatani, of causing persons to cease mourning. When a prominent Iowa lost a member of his family, it was customary for the various organizations to cease their functions for the time being. After a few days the túkala might hold a council and decide to put a stop to the general gloom pervading the camp. They prepared a feast and sent for the mourner whom they caused to be led into their midst. Then one of the leaders would say to him: "We want to dance. It is true we stopped out of respect to you, but now we've let you have so many days, and we should like to begin again. May we begin?" If the mourner said, "Yes," and he invariably did, the túkala leader went on. "Well, we won't do it right away, we are going to make it right with you first." Then they would give him many presents to make all well with him again.

Túkala endeavored to steal the wives of máwatani whenever they could though their leaders inveighed against the practice. If the woman stolen by a túkala (or by a máwatani from a túkala) was the wife of a very prominent and popular man, the braves (waiak'ida) might go directly over and take her away from her abductor and restore her to her husband, who himself appears to have pretended to be unmoved by the loss. The braves

also made him gifts to overlook the theft. The thief durst not keep her for fear of the vengeance of the soldiers who might beat or even kill him if he resisted. Ordinarily, however, it was the part of the thief's parents to make good the loss of the bereaved husband by presents.

In playing lacrosse *túkala* and *máwatani* often opposed each other. Ordinarily in the lacrosse game the sticks of all the players were shuffled and a blindfolded man picked out two at a time and laid them in separate heaps until two equal sides were chosen and the ball stick pile exhausted, but if the two societies were present he might then say: "You *túkala*, take such a side, and you *máwatani*, the other." So they took sides with the players as societies, and never as individuals.

MAWATANI SOCIETY.

The *máwatani* society had the same number of officials and members as the *túkala*, and their titles were the same, except that in each case the name of the society was prefixed to the name of the office, as *máwatani didúgerú* or *tukala didúgerú*.

2 leaders	4 women singers
4 drum chiefs	2 waiters
4 assistants	100 (?) members
4 tails	

Like the *túkala*, the *máwatani* had their special drum, but instead of bells they used little deer-hoof rattles. The leaders wore buffalo robes which were cut at the top and the fringe so made was wrapped with otter-skin streamers with beads and red feathers at the ends.

The members shaved one half the head and let the hair on the other half grow long and flowing. This may connect them with the "Half shaved Heads" society of the Mandan. They caught up the lock over the forehead and bound it with otter fur. They wore bunches of hawk and owl feathers with one red plume in the midst on their heads and they went naked, painted in yellow and blue applied in the same manner as the opposing colors of the *túkala*.

The leaders were accustomed to announce that at such a time they would give a feast in honor of their drum chiefs. (In both the *mawatani* and *tukala* societies the drum chiefs were also the chiefs of subgentes, outside of the organization their prestige in the society was supposed to lend prestige and make for order.) Everyone would then prepare the best of food. When the dance came off every member had a song which he sang if called on and when he did so he had to give a big present. There were other songs,

however, which imposed no such duty on the singer. Between songs the drum chiefs preached to the society on morality and right conduct.

Towards the end of the ceremony the assistants, who had been running it, turned it over to the "tails," who would announce how much longer the performance was to last. They then sang an eating song and waiters served the food. Before the members could commence, a brave was called upon to tell them to do so, and they were obliged to finish every crumb of their portions, or else find someone else to eat it for them, and pay a fine of a deer, some pumpkins, or some other eatable at the next dance. All these things, including this type of ceremony, were also found among the *túkala*.

In April, they challenged the *túkala* at lacrosse, and after the game season, as April is generally referred to by the Iowa, they were apt to go on the warpath. They too had the no-flight obligation, and the obligation never to pick up dropped articles or themselves. Whenever they got up a feast, or indeed attempted anything, the *túkala* would strive to outdo them at the same time, and they followed the movements of the *túkala* with the same end in view. The chiefs are said to have gotten up these societies, but no one now knows why or how.

BRAVES DANCE.

The function of this society (*kafugera waci*) seems to have been that of publicly entertaining other tribes when they came to visit, and the like. These people had their special drum and peace pipe and the following officers:—

- 1 leader (who bore a straight feathered lance or staff)
- 4 assistants (braves' sons)
- 2 women singers (braves' daughters)

They had a feast of venison at stated intervals, and performed a peculiar dance by hopping around. When another tribe came to visit the Iowa they would get out their peace pipe and all would dress and paint and men and women, would mount their spotted or race horses and ride out in full regalia, first around the visitors, then around their own people, performing a sort of welcoming dance on horseback. They had their own songs, peculiar to them. The society has long been obsolete.

Catlin speaks of a welcome dance and song, which may have been this dance. He says:—

This peculiar dance is given to a stranger, or strangers, whom they are decided to welcome in their village; and out of respect to the person or persons to whom they

are expressing this welcome, the musicians and all the spectators rise upon their feet while it is being danced.

The song is at first a lament for some friend, or friends, who are dead or gone away, and ends in a gay and lively and cheerful step, whilst they are announcing that the friend to whom they are addressing it is received into the place which has been left.¹

ACTING DEAD DANCE.

This society (tcé'uⁿwaci) was founded by a man who blackened his face and fasted to obtain power in the usual way. The white wolf took pity on him, and appearing in a dream spoke as follows:² — "I have interest in the Powers Above. I have pity on you people, for I am myself a sort of wakanda, and I shall help you."

The wolf then proceeded to give him the ritual of the society. When the founder had learned it he proceeded to call together his friends and impart the news to them. He selected officers as follows:—

- 1 leader (originally founder)
- 2 pigeon feather bonnet wearers
- 2 crooked staff bearers
- 4 servants or waiters
- x members

The founder commanded all those who desired to be members to let their hair grow till it fell to their waists. It will be remembered that the shaved head with the standing roach was the typical Iowa hair dressing, and this was the only requirement for admission. "It was a long hair lodge," said Dave Towhee, my informant. Each member was further ordered to furnish himself with a buffalo rawhide rattle, gourd rattles being taboo. The crooked staves were hung with feathers, and were called ugrepactuce.

The dance itself was not unlike the helócka. It was led by the crooked staff bearers and the pigeon headdress wearers dancing two and two. All had their hair flowing and were naked. The dancers, howling like wolves would go about from house to house throughout the village and dance before the lodges. If the four leaders entered anywhere, the others followed.

This society which is now long extinct, is reputed to have had the greatest number of brave members of any Iowa organization. On one occasion two famous chiefs Gá'íkê Wacace (Osage-chief) and Notcínínga (No-heart) both members, were on the warpath. Osage-chief killed the first enemy

¹ Catlin, (b), vol. 2, 31, footnote.

² This is a typical wolf dream speech, the wording is nearly identical for other societies who were befriended by the wolf.

and No-heart counted the next coup both securing the great honors for the society. It is said further that these two men used to dress every evening in their best clothes with otter fur garters and head bands and circle the village. No one ever knew why, but it was surmised to be some medicine rite, presumably a prayer, connected with the society.

FIRE DANCE.

This is another long obsolete ceremony (petcuduthe utakohi). The founder was called Pabr²edethe (Good-smeller, or Trailer) and he obtained the rites in a vision, apparently of an eagle, and a wolf who gave him the leaf of a certain tree as his medicine. A buffalo also had something to do with the revelation, because after Good-smeller founded the association his name was changed to Tcéuwarupi, or Easily-makes-himself-buffalo, because he had that power. The society was nicknamed the "children's lodge" because so many young people joined. The dance is said to have resembled the helócka in part. The officers were:—

- 1 leader (originally the founder)
- 4 assistant leaders
- 4 waiters
- x members

The assistant leaders and waiters were chosen by the leader. Prior to the dance all the members took a ceremonial sweat to purify themselves, and a herald was sent out to announce in his loud rapid monotonous sing-song:—"The coal grabbers¹ will dance now. All you women cook food and have it ready and very hot."

All the dancers having sweated they retired to the leader's lodge, whence he appeared and howled like a wolf; on his fourth appearance all the society followed him and they sang and danced in front of their tipi. The first song referred to wakanda and his goodness to the people. The second was:—"Hohomani a ye a ye. (The man said an eagle told me to do this, that's why I do it.)" The third and fourth songs referred to other donors of the society's powers. The leader yelled "He! he! he! he!" and danced while his followers sang. A sacrifice of native tobacco was made with each song.

Meanwhile the women in the various lodges cooked bear, deer, or dog meat and made it as hot as possible to see whether or not the dancers really dared to take it. The society proceeded from tipi to tipi and the members

¹ Another nickname for the society.

danced up to the kettles and plunged their naked arms into the boiling broth and drew forth collops of meat which they handed the spectators. The food was so hot that uninitiates could not take it even then, but often dropped it, whereas the society members were hardly troubled, the only effect noticed being a slight reddening of their arms. After this performance the members danced back to their own tipi or wigwam and the rite was over.

BONE DANCE.

This was a very ancient dance (*wa^xúragê waci*), long antedating the *túkala* and *máwatani*. It has long been obsolete and its origin is lost. The officers of the society were:—

- 1 leader
- 4 braves
- 2 waiters

No women were in its ranks. The members were recruited entirely from among the braves, and wore skunkskin garters outside their leggings below the knee to show who they were and as badges of the society. During dances the members carried and used rattles made of deer or buffalo shoulder blades cut into sections. They had their own special society songs, of course. The function of the society was purely social; the dances had no significance save for pleasure. When the Iowa went to visit some friendly tribe, the *wa^xúragê* often danced before the strangers. The regular dancers wore feathers on their heads, stripped to the clout, and blackened the body all over. They daubed themselves with white spots to represent crow dung, and tied a bunch of hair over the forehead with a string made of otter fur, and through this forelock they thrust feathers. They stuck jay feathers in their earring holes. The leader blackened his face and drew a red line across it through his eyes. He wore whole dried jay birds in his ears, and a necklace of painted dogwood shavings.

BOUNCING DANCE.

This dance (*agahâ waci*) was started by a man who came upon a coyote performing it, and received the ritual from him. It was a foggy, showery day, and the coyote found a fine fat buffalo which had died. He gorged himself on fat meat until he felt so good that he began to dance and sing. When he looked up and saw the founder of the society watching him, he cried, "Oh, you think you've caught me at this, but I intended it for you

all along, it is for your own good." So he taught the eavesdropper. The peculiar actions of the dancers were in imitation of the dancing of the happy coyote.

This dance "belonged to the braves," and only brave men were allowed in it. There were from four to seven leaders. All sat in a row and acted in unison with each other, causing a rhythmic effect. The dance consisted in the repetition of eight songs with their accompanying maneuvers. During the first song the dancers remained seated, but shook their heads. During the second they shook their heads and bodies, during the third they partially arose and repeatedly pretended they were going to get up, during the fourth they actually rose and during the next four songs they danced.

At the conclusion of the eighth song the bravest man present was the last to sit down. As he did so he postured with his war club and grunted, "e^x e^x! e^x! e^x!" etc.

Sometimes when other tribes were visiting the Iowa they were challenged to compete with the horses in this dance and judges were chosen to see who did better.

NIGHT DANCE.

This dance (haⁿhe waci) the Iowa say was undoubtedly founded on a dream. It belonged to the chiefs, and so is often called the chiefs' dance. Each chief had the songs. In the spring they would get together and announce that they would hold this ceremony in praise of wakanda to bring long life and health to the tribe and themselves. They would then order the young men to go out and hunt for deer, buffalo, elk, bear, and turkey, and the hunter who brought in the first deer was given a prize.

The giver of the feast of that year sent out invitation sticks (slender twigs about six inches long) to the other chiefs, who had to bring them back as their tickets of admission. Women also danced in this ceremony.

When all was ready a flag was raised as a signal. Then the giver caused his drummers, of whom each chief had several assigned to him, to beat their drums while he sang. Then the drum was passed to the next chief, and so on, until all had done their part. The dance usually lasted all night long. It began in the evening because every chief of every subgens had to take part. In the morning a feast was made of the game provided, but first the viands were offered to the wakanda (or "manitou") who dwells in the east, with a prayer for health and long life.

This ceremony was given every spring by a different chief. It is said that the dancers all turned to look at the giver while they performed.

LEADERS PIPE DANCE.

This dance (*hfrāni waci*) perhaps derives its name from the fact that the leader carried a pipe while dancing. It originated through a dream of the sun; the owner is also a war bundle owner, and carries the bundle during the ceremony. The dance was held in the spring when everything begins to turn green, at this time the host notified all the chiefs, and they agreed to come and help him out with donations. When they appeared he opened his *war'uhawe* or war bundle and displayed its contents. He then took a fine buckskin, marked a figure of the sun on it in red and blue, and spread it on the ground before his guests who all deposited native tobacco on it, with prayers to *wakanda*. Next a pole was erected and the buckskin hung on it like a flag. This was called giving the buckskin to *wakanda* and no one ever touched it again. Two chiefs were then selected for leaders, and with them two women who had been tattooed.¹

A double row of dancers, two men, then two women, and so on, alternating, was started off to a song. After the conclusion of the dancing, a feast was made on "chiefs food." After this the paraphernalia were packed away, and it was announced that the dance would be repeated the following year at the same season.

CONDOLENCE DANCE.

According to the seers who have fasted and dreamed and know, the souls of the departed go to a splendid village in the western heavens, beyond a river. When anyone dies who is at all important, a death feast (*wawacihi*) is held and a four days' and nights' wake is held over the body which is dressed and painted and carefully laid out. If outsiders see that the relatives take their loss very hard, they procure a drum and come to the place to hold a mourning dance.

They begin by lacerating themselves; running long withes of peeled and scraped dogwood, with bunches of shavings left on, through the flesh. These withes are about the thickness of a ten penny nail, and when dappled with blood, and with drops of it on the white shavings, they are supposed to look beautiful. They are thrust through the flesh of the forearm.²

¹ Persons of affluence and distinction paid large sums to owners of the gens tattooing bundles to tattoo their daughters who thus were permanently marked as among the social elite. Even as children no liberties could be taken with them, and other children dared not pull their hair. They were always persons of distinction and consideration thereafter. The Ponca tattooed women had their own dance and certain special privileges.

² Joe Springer, my interpreter, showed me that his arms were mottled with scars received in this way.

Others merely gash themselves and let the blood drip on the ground. Others again thrust skewers through the skin and flesh of their backs and drag horses' heads attached to these pegs up to the funeral, where they sing some of the same songs used in the *helócka* mourning observances, addressing themselves to the corpse or the mourners:—"Chief, if I could stand you up, I'd stand you up."

The survivors then come out, take the skewers from their backs and lead away the horses as condolence gifts. They attempt to return these gifts many times, but the donors persist in refusing until the mourners accept them.¹ At last the chief mourner asks the condolers to dance over the dead. They withdraw to think it over and pick out four braves to be leaders. They then come back and begin.

The four braves sit at the cardinal points and the mourner squats between them with a drum and two or three singers. He commences and sings the first song. He then gives the drumstick to one of the braves who mounts, circles the group on horseback, dismounts, dances, and reënacts one of his coups. Then another song is sung and the performance is repeated.

The object of this is to secure the direct passage of the soul of the deceased to heaven, and this is obviously connected with the Menomini and other Central Algonkin practices where four braves, after counting their coups appoint the spirits of those they have slain to guide the ghost of the dead man to its destination.

CALUMET OR PIPE DANCE.

The *waioⁿewaci* is one of, if not the most elaborate of all Iowa dances or ceremonies except perhaps the medicine dance. The symbolism is most thoroughly worked out and remarkable, though this is true of most of the neighboring tribes where the ceremony is found. The Iowa, as usual, claim to have originated the ceremony, but it is a form of the well-known and very widely disseminated calumet dance, found in some form among the Omaha, Pawnee, Oto, Kansa, Osage, Plains-Cree, and probably other tribes, some far to the east.

The founder of the *waioⁿewaci* received the rite through the usual source of the dream fast. He dreamed that a large number of animals appeared to him and gave him power. First, there came to him two eagles, one white and one dark. Each claimed to be the leader of all fowls, but he believed the white one because it came

¹ These donations, and the arm-cutting performances, etc., all count towards social prestige, and may be boasted of. Sometimes some brave man will offer a horse to the person who can boast that he has slashed himself at more condolence ceremonies than anyone else. Horse giving in any form now takes the place of war coups.

first. They promised him eagle powers. Next he saw a duck, which offered him the privileges of the duck people who can even walk on water. The owl came to him in the clear day, and it hooted for him, saying, "This is what I can do and you and your children to come shall follow me. If you desire my power, you can have it." So it gave the dreamer owl power over the night. Then it seemed to the dreamer that it was a still clear cold day, with hoar frost on the ground, yet he saw a woodpecker seated on a mossy tree trunk and a shaft of warm sunlight played upon it and the moss steamed in the sun. "Now this is my work," said the woodpecker to him. "This nice clear day, with the streak of warmth. I give you and your children to come, power to do this." The plover next appeared, and said, "I called you that I might give you and your children my power. I can give you health." The prairie owl that lives in the burrows of the prairie dogs, appeared and cried: "I am the keeper of the day. Just at dawn you see the streaks of light appear above the eastern horizon. I bring them, I bring daylight. This power I give to you and your children." Then the little owl screeched four times and disappeared in the north.

The dreamer then set to work to prepare paraphernalia after the fashion that he had been instructed in the dream. He procured two slender sticks about a yard long, and perforated them to show that they were pipes, for these symbolic pipes have no bowls. Then he caught two eagles. First he caught a white eagle, and said to it: "I shall use you because you are the king of all birds." He took white eagle feathers to make a fan-like pendant for one stick or wand.¹ Then he caught a dark eagle and made a fan pendant for the other wand. Then he caught two ducks, and capped one end of each of the sticks, one with a green and one with a gray duck head. Then he put on owl feathers in bunches, and pendants of white yarn to symbolize the plover; and red, the shedding of the blood of the animals he had killed to symbolize peace on the wands. There is a special song for this red pendant.

Next he killed a deer, and took its bladder to hold tobacco. He painted lines upon it in blue, like those on a Kansa specimen collected. He prepared a forked stick, sharpened at the end and about a yard long. This was to run in the ground during the ceremony, when the wands are laid with one end of each in the fork and the ducks' heads on the ground, apart at an angle of 30° or 35°. At this time the birds are supposed to have lighted and to be present, sitting on the dead crotched tree which the little fork represents. Last of all he killed a wildcat that he might have its skin to spread on the ground behind the crotched stick and there deposit his two gourd rattles.

The use of the pipe wands is this. Whenever their owner wishes to receive favors of and make friendships with some prominent member of another tribe, he calls on the owners of the seven gens pipes. They come together in a council, and he begs his own gens pipe owner to accept a horse and teach him some of the songs and speeches of the gens pipe that he may use them and thus have more power. The pipe bearer agrees also to accompany him on his mission.

They set out as though they were going to war. Four scouts or assistants are chosen to be waiters and to spy out the country ahead of them.

¹ By the way, both the pipe wands used by the Iowa are regarded as males whereas among the Kansa they are considered male and female.

The leader himself acts as pipe filler for the smoking pipes that are also carried. All those who are invited to go prepare presents, such as blankets, leggings, garments, etc. to be carried to the other tribe. Many who do not go also invest, for each donor of a gift expects to receive a horse in return for it.

The party then sets out and on the way, at the various nightly camps, the men practise the pipe dance that the two best may be chosen to dance before the strange tribe. In the morning, before the delegation arrives, they encamp about a mile or a half mile from the other tribe, and the leader selects two men to carry the tobacco bladder to the others to see whether or not he and his party will be received. He first opens and medicates the tobacco, then gives it to his couriers, and sends them off on horseback, or as they did before they had horses, on foot. The party then awaits their return.

On receipt of the tobacco the other tribesman to whom it is sent tells the messengers where their party may camp and sends them back. From this point on, the recipient becomes the adopted son of the donor of the wands and all his tribe address the donor's people as fathers and mothers.

As the donors approach and the people come out to greet them, the two wand bearers dismount and begin a beautiful graceful dance waving the feathered wands through the air before them, and sing. "We bring health, power, and prosperity to our new son, he shall live to be white-headed and to carry a cane."

The dancers halt four times on their way to the village, and each time their party halts behind them. They all go to the recipient's lodge, where the forked stick is set up with the wands and a servant detailed to watch them and from this time on, until the wands are hung up in the recipient's lodge, they are never left alone. There is a special ceremonial song for the setting up of the stick.

The recipient now says to the dancer, "Father, cook something, I want to gather my friends." The donor then causes a beef or other meat to be cooked and carried to the recipient's lodge where he asks for a blanket to spread the feast upon. The recipient's friends now gather to the banquet and talk over the reception of the dance, whether to accept the wands or not. One remarks: "Here is the bladder of tobacco they sent us. If we even untie it to look at it, it will cost us a horse." Then someone volunteers, and so on, until four have promised horses after which the pouch is opened. "Our father will now have to cook for four days," they say, meaning that the donors will have to feast the recipient's friends for four days, while the ceremony lasts.

The next day the pipe dance is given and at the end of the session on the last day, before the pipe wands with all their powers, songs, and rites

are finally hung up in the recipient's lodge, he takes his favorite child, for whom he wishes a long and prosperous life, dresses it, paints it, and prepares it for adoption. The donor's party learns which child is to be given and four braves are sent over for it, at about ten o'clock in the morning. They rush into the recipient's tent and count their coups, then seize the child and take it on their backs to the donor's camp, where they redress it and paint it, and dance back with it, bearing the wands.

The recipient's people, although they have been giving horses all along, still ride up to the dancers, dismount and give away their horses. Last of all the recipient gives the finest horse in his power to the donor, and the child is returned to him. The paint is wiped from its face with a paw of the wildcat skin; eagle down, representing fair weather is tied on its head, and the donor tells the assembled crowd the story of the origin of the dance. He concludes by saying:—"I must now think more of this child that has been given me than of my own children who drew life from my body, even than my own son."

He must now never fail to make the child presents, such as horses, whenever he meets it in the future. The packet of gifts brought over by the donors from their tribesmen is now opened, and every horse giver receives a gift, and they depart. The ceremony is repeated for four successive years.

Catlin says of the calumet dance:—

The Calumet, or *Pipe of Peace* Dance, is given at the conclusion of a treaty of peace, after smoking through its sacred stem, by the dancers holding the calumet in the left hand, and a *sheshequoi*, or rattle, in the other.

The calumet is a sacred pipe, and its stem is ornamented with *war eagle's* quills.

This dance is also often given in compliment to a warrior or brave, and is looked upon as the highest compliment they can pay to his courage and bravery, and on such occasions it is expected he will make some handsome presents. By this dance also they initiate friends into the relationship of brothers or sisters, by adoption.

To commence this dance the pipes and rattles are handed to the dancers by the greatest warrior present, who makes his boast as he gives them, and the one on whom the honour is conferred has the right to boast of it all his life.¹

ANIMAL AND MYSTERY DANCES.

BUFFALO DANCE.

Two varieties of the buffalo dance² (*tce! waci*) exist. One works through the power of the buffalo alone, another has assistance from the

¹ Catlin, (c), 21.

² Under the appropriate title of "Buffalo Dancing Society," J. O. Dorsey (a,429) gives a brief note on this organization.

bear also. The man who founded the original dance was named Istaⁿmaⁿyi, or Lone-walker. When he was a very young boy his father went off on a buffalo hunt. The little fellow wanted to go too and followed after the hunters, weeping. In the distance he saw them shoot a buffalo bull, a small one, and leave it lying there while they passed on. Just as he was passing the carcass, sobbing and crying, the bull spoke to him. "Oh, so it's you, Lone-walker? I'm glad you came, for I've recovered and am just about to get up again. Now I'm going to tell you what to do from this time on. You must skin me over the forehead, taking my horns and a strip of fur down over my backbone to my tail, and you must use me in doctoring. Also take a piece of flesh from my leg, dry it, and pulverize it. Take some of my back fat to grease yourself and the wounds of your patients.¹ Next remove my dewclaws and make them into a rattle. You have been trying to dream something, so today I'll show you what we buffaloes will give you and you may hereafter do to your own people as we do to ourselves. This doctoring will be called tce!hówe, the buffalo's ways."

Then the buffalo taught him the roots and herbs they used to heal the sick. They were especially potent for broken bones and wounds. He showed the lad how to use splints in binding them up and he taught him the potent buffalo songs, and what preachments and prayers to make. "You are too young to do all this yourself," said the buffalo. "Tell your father and let him do it for you. Always have a piece of my manure in your sacred buffalo bundle to administer with my medicines that I may always be with you and your patients. Take some earth from a mole hill for your paint. Crush it into powder with your hands, mix it with water, and taking some on your palm, rub it once diagonally across your face, once on your knees, once on your hips, and once on your shoulders, then you will have my power." The buffalo also taught his pupil a certain song to sing while painting.²

The society had a number of leaders, six or seven, all of whom possessed sacred buffalo bundles. When anyone wished to be a member he approached a leader and asked to join his following or division of the society. The candidate was obliged to wait until the leader had called his colleagues together, feasted them, and learned their opinion on the matter. If they approved the candidate he was told that his application had been successful, and it devolved upon him to give a feast to the society every July for four successive years when they danced, at the end of which time he was formally taken in.

¹ There are supposed to be pieces of dried buffalo meat and fat in the bundles (Tce: wardhawe) of the buffalo society to this day.

² The Menomini and other Central tribes insist that clay is the "buffalo's paint" and no other kind should be used by buffalo shamans or dreamers.

When an initiation was at hand the candidate handed each of the band leaders of the society a bundle of invitation sticks which they sent out to their followers by a messenger. When the guests, or rather the members, received these invitations, they repaired to the lodge of their leader, returning the little sticks to him as their credentials, and proceeded to paint and prepare. Women had their distinctive style of painting, and so did the men. If a member of either sex desired to paint in the style of the other, he or she sent a present, generally a blanket, to the band leader with a request to be permitted to change. When the band was ready, they set out in single file, led by their chief, for the lodge of the head of the society where the initiation was to be held.

When they approached the dance lodge, the head of the society was seen sitting in the doorway, and as they drew near he bellowed in imitation of a buffalo bull, while the band leader replied in kind. Each band as it came up entered the lodge, circled it four times, the leader calling all present by terms of relationship and thanking them, and took its allotted place and was seated. When all the bands had arrived, the head of the society rose and said. "All of you who so desired are present so I'll drum and sing."¹

While the head was singing, the leader who was first to enter, got up, and ran around the lodge imitating a buffalo until all the others rose and fell to dancing. When the first song was over there was a pause, then the drum went to the first band leader, the one who had just imitated a buffalo, who now sang his song, while the band leader next to him performed, and so on until all had had a turn. The drum was then placed in the center of the lodge. The head of the society then led his band up to the drum and sang his set of buffalo songs, while all the rest danced around them. Then, one after another, the minor leaders took their turns.

When they had all finished, food was served, and after this the members took turns rising and testifying to the cures wrought by their medicines with preachments on the story of the dreams on which the society was founded and the proper rules of life in general. A typical speech was that concerning the dream of one Hómatcutze, or Red-elk, who augmented the powers of the society. The story runs:—

Homatcutze was taken by the buffaloes to a place where they were doctoring their sick. They were near the bend of a river where a cow lay badly hurt. "Watch us make this cripple well," they told him. They helped her to a pond, and got her into the water, where they danced and pawed and made her whole. Then they dismissed Red-elk with promises of their power, and he went away satisfied. We have many of our cures through him.

¹ Instead of doing this himself he could deliver the drum to the leader of the first band that entered the lodge on this occasion.

After this all the leaders began singing all their songs at once, making a terrible din. The first leader to come in was the first to go out, and the others followed in order.

This is the regular performance. When a candidate was being initiated, each leader in turn led him by the hand about the lodge, instructed him during the performance, and transferred his power to him, telling the novice that in the future he would have the right to pass on his new powers in the same way.

In the dances all members but braves hold the dewclaw rattles upside down. Braves have the exclusive right to hold the rattle the proper way. Buffalo doctors stay with their patients for periods of four days, keeping the bandages they use saturated with medicated water.

The second form of the buffalo society is one which, as has been stated above, draws upon the bear for part of its power. It was founded by I'watce^xga, or Little-rock. This hero fasted for four days and never saw any person nor tasted water, still he was not rewarded with any vision whatever. Early in the fourth night he began to bemoan his fate. "It is a shame," he thought, "I'll gain nothing, after all my fasting." Scarcely had he uttered this complaint when he fell asleep.

Someone came to Little-rock and spoke to him: "Man, I've come after you," he cried. Little-rock looked up and saw a person standing there. He followed the stranger over bad rough roads leading through cedar timber, till suddenly they came on a large party of bears seated in a circle. They had cushions of cedar boughs under them and they were all painted. Then he realized that his conductor was a bear too. "Mr. Man," said the chief of the bears, "we knew you were fasting, hoping to get power to go to war and 'build up your name.' We took pity on you, but not in the way you desire. We want you to raise people up instead of knocking them down, to give them life instead of death. We bears are partners of the buffalo and it is high time that your people learned it and received our assistance in doctoring. We're going to give you our whole power, so that when anyone is ill and your heart turns toward him, remember us, and whatever you wish shall be so."

Then the bears showed him among themselves what they could do. They broke each others arms and legs and made them whole again, they wounded each other and healed the injuries; then they gave him power to cure injuries too. "We want you to know this for your own and your tribe's good," they said.

They gave him a bearskin hat, which is still in the possession of Dave Towhee, and told him that if he had a patient who was suffering from the hot weather he could take this cap and sprinkle water on it and it would be

foggy, rainy, and cool for four days. If it was placed under the head of a very sick man it would watch his spirit and prevent it from getting away.

When chief Dave Towhee's father wore this hat in the buffalo dance he wore only a clout besides. He painted his body red and drew lines obliquely from the corners of his eyes and mouth to make him look like a bear. His song was: "You must depend on me because what I tell you I can accomplish, I wouldn't say so if I couldn't."

Catlin tells of another sort of buffalo dance. He says:—

This and all the other tribes living within the country abounding in Buffaloes, are in the habit of giving the Buffalo Dance, preparatory to starting out upon a Buffalo Hunt. For each animal that these people hunt, they believe there is some invisible spirit presiding over their peculiar destinies, and before they have any faith in their hunts for them, that spirit must needs be consulted in a song, and entertained with a dance. For this curious scene nearly every man in an Indian village, keeps hanging in his wig-wam, a mask of the buffalo's head and horns, which he places on his head when he joins in this amusing masquerade, imagining himself looking like a buffalo.¹

BUFFALO TAIL DANCE.

This is a sort of shamanistic society (*tcéthinjiwag're waci*) that closely resembles the hawk bundle group. It still exists. The bundle owner gave a little feast in the spring to which he asked certain people, whom he begged to bring him game and corn, pumpkins, beans, or Indian potatoes, for his ceremony. Before the feast he tells the guests: "Tonight I'm going to sing all night alone in behalf of my medicine. Next night I'll cook and dance."

The guests then eat and depart, spending the morrow obtaining game for him. When he has received and prepared the game the host sends invitation sticks out, and, as is usual, those who receive them know without questioning what is to happen and get ready their own wooden bowls and wooden or buffalo horn spoons to bring to the feast. Both men and women are invited, and when all the guests have arrived, the host addresses them as follows, first laying down his buffalo tail medicine and a bunch of feathers:—"This is the way I was taught to do at these feasts; it is the way of our ancestors." All the guests interrupt, crying, "Hau." "I've invited you all to come here and have a good dance, and I want to see your ranks full." All agree crying, "Hau."

The host then produces two little dolls, three or four inches high, made of basswood, and makes them dance by reason of his magic power.² After

¹ Catlin, (c), 22.

² This trick is performed by Menomini shamans in the *mit'áwin* or medicine dance. It is significant that the Iowa buffalo tail owner also takes part in the medicine dance with his buffalo tail medicine, and perhaps these dolls as well.

this all dance, but no one sings except the host. When all is over the guests bring up their bowls and spoons to receive their share of the feast. The shaman wears his buffalo tail upright in his hair or headband during the rites.

BEAR DANCE.

A dream faster had a vision in which a bear came to him and gave him the ritual of this society (*mató waci*). There were five leaders, all of whom had their own dancing songs, and all of them were instructed by the originator who saw exactly how the bear danced.

In the spring the five leaders held a council and made arrangements for the ceremony. They appointed someone to go out and get a cedar tree, for they must have one in the middle of their dancing ground. They then prepared a sweat lodge, and a cushion of sagebrush was made for them to sit on while they were being steamed. One of them was appointed captain in the sweat lodge. This man made a noise like a bear when he went in. The other four followed immediately in silence. Once inside they growled like bears and proceeded to crush the stones, no matter how hot, with the palms of their bare left hands. When they had finished this rite, water was poured on the rocks, but first the waiter was generally called in. He might not go in, however, if he was not invited. All then sang their appropriate songs and finished their bath.

The sudatory was always placed close to the wigwam or tipi where they intended to perform, so the minute the bath was over they went into the lodge and seated themselves. There they painted in yellow, green, brown, or some other color, to resemble bears. When they were ready to dance, they commenced to imitate bears. They smelled the palms of their hands, some danced on all fours, or on their knees. Their leader went ahead, and ran his index finger into the ground exclaiming, "I'll get this out." Then he pulled out an Indian turnip. Another exclaimed, "You have done a great thing, but watch me." He cried like a bear, circled the lodge four times, and then thrusting his forefinger into the earth, withdrew it with a wild bean adhering to it. A third would make a similar remark, dance four times around the lodge, scratch himself under the arm, raise his hand aloft and show blood flowing from his wounded side. "That is what I can do," he boasted. A fourth would cry, "See what I'm good for," and taking an old gun he would shoot one of his comrades dead, and then resuscitate him.

For this dance only meat was cooked, since bears particularly like it. It is said that the founder of this society was unusually afraid of menstruating women, since contact with one nearly killed him on a certain occasion.

Catlin speaks of a Bear Dance which is apparently not the one previously described. He says:—

"This curious dance is given when a party are preparing to hunt the *black bear*, for its delicious food; or to contend with the more ferocious and dangerous '*grizzly bear*,' when a similar appeal is made to the *bear-spirit*, and with similar results (*i. e.*) all hands having strictly attended to the important and necessary form of conciliating in this way the good will and protection of the peculiar *spirit* presiding over the destinies of those animals, they start off upon their hunt with a confidence and prospect of success which they could not otherwise have ventured to count upon. In this grotesque and amusing mode, each dancer imitates with his hands, alternately, the habits of the bear when running, and when sitting up, upon its feet, its paws suspended from its breast."¹

This account certainly connects the dance noted above with the bear spirit propitiating rites of the Algonkin to the northward, and shows it probably not to be a part of the bear society's functions, which were entirely directed to the curing of the sick.

FORK-TAILED KITE DANCE.

This dance (I'uⁿke waci) was connected with the i'uⁿke warúhawe, or Fork-tailed Hawk war bundle. It originated as follows: When the founder received it he was helplessly bedridden. He even had to be carried to war, but, as was usual in such cases, since he provided the means of the warrior's success through his bundle, he was entitled to the name of successful partisan and could boast of all their coups even though he had not stirred from the dug-out canoe in which they transported him. His bundle had one great virtue above all others. It had a song, which, when its owner gave it, could cause a storm to arise and drive back fleeing foemen.

After the return from a successful raid, early some morning the hawk-skin from the bundle would be raised on a pole, and the people would dance about it, singing songs as in praise, while tobacco was heaped beneath it. The owner told his followers never to point at the hawk, or touch it; but one doubter presented his forefinger to the dried skin and exclaimed "Bite me, if you dare," and the hawk did nip out his finger nail. It is said that the nail is still in the mouth of the bird as it lies in the sacred bundle.

This dance was given annually, in May, when the cottonwood buds fall. All the women dressed up and painted their faces and their hair partings with vermilion before taking part. A scalp dance was usually held in connection with this dance, and those who had taken a scalp were entitled to blow on a reed flute or whistle. There were many songs.

¹ Catlin, (b), vol. II, 31.

EAGLE DANCE.

In Catlin's "Fourteen Ioway Indians" he gives this additional statement concerning the eagle dance or "Ha-Kon-E-Crase."

The Eagle Dance (or as they call it) the "soaring eagle" is one of the most pleasing of their dances, and forms a part of the war dance. The war eagle of their country conquers every variety of the eagle species in those regions, and esteeming the bird for its valor, they highly value its quills for pluming their heads and parts of their dresses; and a part, therefore, of the war dance must needs be given in compliment to this noble bird.

In this beautiful dance each dancer imagines himself a soaring eagle, and as they dance forward from behind the musicians, they take the positions of the eagles, heading against the wind, and looking down, preparing to make the stoop on their prey below them; the wind seems too strong for them, and they fall back, and repeatedly advance forward, imitating the chattering of that bird, with the whistles carried in their hands, whilst they sing:—

It's me—I am a War Eagle!
 The wind is strong, but I am an Eagle!
 I am not ashamed—no, I am not,
 The twisting Eagle's quill is on my head.
 I see my enemy below me!
 I am an Eagle, a War Eagle!
 &c. &c. &c.¹

In another work, Catlin adds:—

"The *Drum* (and their "*Eagle Whistles*," with which they imitate the chattering of the soaring eagle), with their voices, formed the music for this truly picturesque and exciting dance. . . . The song in this dance is addressed to their favourite bird the war-eagle, and each dancer carries a fan made of the eagle's tail, in his left hand, as he dances, and by his attitudes endeavours to imitate the motions of the soaring eagle. This, being a part of the war-dance, is a *boasting* dance; and at the end of each strain in the song some one of the warriors steps forth and, in an excited speech, describes the time and the manner in which he has slain his enemy in battle, or captured his horses, or performed some other achievement in war. After this the dance proceeds with increased spirit; and several in succession having thus excited their fellow-dancers, an indescribable thrill and effect are often produced before they get through.

In the midst of the noise and excitement of this dance the Doctor (or *mystery-man*) jumped forward to the edge of the platform, and making the most tremendous flourish of his spear which he held in his right hand, and his shield extended upon his left arm, recited the military deeds of his life—how he had slain his enemies in battle and taken their scalps; and with singular effect fitting the action to the word, acting them out as he described."²

This dance does not seem to be in vogue today, but it may have been something similar to the Fork-tailed Kite ceremony.

¹ Catlin, (c), 20.

² Catlin, (b), 17-18.

I do not believe with Catlin that this was a part of the war dance, but more probably an eagle cult dance in which the braves, with their boasting, took a prominent part, or possibly a ceremony connected with an eagle war bundle.

TURTLE DANCE.

This society (ke'toⁿ waci) was founded by a man who saw the turtles dancing. While he was watching them their leader suddenly looked up and caught him peeping. "Well," he cried, "you saw us dancing. Some day you can do this; it is yours, we give it to you with our power, and this is the way we do. In the spring, when the water gets warm, that is the time we come out and perform."

This dance only had one leader, and, while there were no restrictions to that effect, the membership was largely composed of old people. The members painted their cheeks with stripes to represent turtles, and there were no rattles used. In dancing the members formed a ring and moved counter-clockwise, pawing the air in front of them with their open hands to resemble turtles crawling. The conclusion of the ceremony was a feast of green corn, supposed to be "turtle food."

BONE SHOOTING DANCE.

The origin of this dance (tatate^x! waci) is lost in obscurity, but it is supposed to have come from the Sauk and Fox or Prairie Potawatomi. Many of the details are forgotten, since the society has long been in disuse. It is said that only unmarried men were eligible for membership, since anyone who had ever known a woman before joining was likely to die when "shot" by the magic bones as only the pure could endure the shock. If a man married after he had joined and had been shot, it made no difference. The lodge was therefore mostly composed of youths.

During the performance of the rites the members were stripped to the clout. They divided into two companies, danced up to each other, blew on their clenched hands after striking them on their left breasts, and thrust them at the opposing party, at the same time flinging their palms open. Magic bones which were then plucked from the flesh of their breasts were "shot" right into the flesh of their opponents. Both parties whooped and sang.

Bystanders who ridiculed the performance were liable to be shot with the bones by members, and such a proceeding was extremely painful. The bone could only be removed by the shooter, who had to be handsomely

feed for his pains. He then removed the magic bone by rubbing one hand over the wound. The dancers would even shoot their mysterious bones into the drum and knock the sound out of it so that it could no longer be beaten.

Sleight-of-hand performances were commonly given after the dance. A non-member once expressed his disbelief in the powers of the society, so a member came up to him and said. "Wrap up your blanket and put it over in one corner and I'll send two bones into it."

This was done, and sure enough the member shot the strange bones from his hand into the blanket, and sent a third into the cheek of the non-believer. The pain was so great that the victim cried aloud. He found two holes through his blanket, and the bones lying in the center. The member, having proved his power, then drew the bones back into his breast.

RED BEAN DANCE.

This is an ancient rite (*maⁿkácutzi waci*) far antedating the modern peyote eating practice but on the same principle. The society was founded by a faster who dreamed that he received it from the deer, for red beans (*mescal*) are sometimes found in deer's stomachs. There are four assistant leaders besides the leader, and it is their duty to strike the drum and sing during ceremonies.

In this society members were obliged to purchase admission from some one of the four assistant leaders. This was done in the regular ceremonial way. A candidate brought gifts and heaped them on the ground before the assistant leader and begged for the songs, etc., which he taught him and was then a member. There was no initiation ceremony. During performances the members painted themselves white and wore a bunch of split owl feathers on their heads. Small gourd rattles were used and the members while singing held a bow and arrow in the right hand which they waved back and forth in front of the body while they manipulated the rattle with the left.

This ceremony was held in the spring when the sunflowers were in blossom on the prairie, for then nearly all the vegetable foods given by *wakanda* were ripe. The leader, who was the owner of a medicine and war bundle called *maⁿkácutzi warúhawe* connected with this society, had his men prepare by "killing" the beans¹ by placing them before the fire until they turned yellow. Then they are taken and pounded up fine and made

¹ The *maⁿkácutzi* beans are supposed to be alive. Those I have seen in the possession of various Iowa were kept in a buckskin wrapper which was carefully and copiously perforated that they might see out.

into a medicine brew. The members then danced all night, and just past midnight they commenced to drink the red bean decoction. They kept this up until about dawn when it began to work upon them so that they vomited and prayed repeatedly, and were thus cleansed ceremonially, the evil being having been driven from their bodies. Then a feast of the new vegetable foods was given them and a prayer of thanks was made to wakanda for vegetable foods and tobacco.

The connection of the maⁿkácutzi warúhawe, or red bean war bundle with the society is not altogether clear to me, save that it was a sacred object possessed by the society which brought success in war, hunting, especially for the buffalo, and in horse racing. Members of the society tied red beans around their belts when they went to war, deeming them a protection against injury. Cedar berries and sagebrush were also used with this medicine. Sage was boiled and used to medicate sweat baths on the war trail.

RECENT RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS.

GHOST DANCE.

This dance (wanáki waci), in which my interpreter, Joe Springer, had often taken part, was of very recent origin as compared with most of the others, but is equally obsolete today. It did not take its rise among the Iowa, but was brought to them by an Indian named Standing-buffalo, who they think was either a Cheyenne or an Arapaho. Standing-buffalo, as usual, "dreamed" the dance.

The only paraphernalia were shields carried by the dancers, and little drums. Sometimes the dancers performed singly with their arms outstretched towards the sun or moon, according to the time the dance was held, and worshipped wakanda through these signs. They would dance all day and all night and only think of God, weeping until their tears fell on the ground.

At other times, the dancers, men and women, would join in a circle and clasp hands, fingers between fingers, and dance, the men singing, while some old leader would walk around outside the ring and exhort them. "Do this for God. Look at the ground and put your mind on nothing else but wakanda while you pour your tears on the earth."

These dances were held even in the rain and snow, and the performers often fell in fits. Such a state was called feeling happy. A leader would approach a dancer who was showing indications of extreme fervor and flick him with a black silk scarf until he fell over. The exhorter would then feel

the hands and toes of his victim and pant, waving the handkerchief over his face until the fit was complete.

Persons in this condition were said to be dead. They had visions in which their souls left their bodies and went westward across the river to the village of ghosts, where they were well received. The ghost chief would say: "You see we are all alive and happy here. How are our relatives on earth, and how are so-and-so," etc., asking for specific persons.

When the person in the trance began to recover, or as the Indians say "When his soul came back to his body," he would lie there panting for a time, then arise and begin to weep: "Aiii, a-i-i-i!" All the other dancers would crowd around, but the man was always unable to speak loudly, so he had to have some one to whom he could talk who would orate for him. In this manner he would relate his experiences. The day after the dance a feast was held.

Springer confessed that he himself had never been in a trance of this nature, explaining it by stating that he had led too impure a life and that he was not a thorough believer.

CHIEF'S DRUM DANCE.

This dance (*wanikihidekúroci waci*) and the accompanying drum came to the Iowa from the Kickapoo of Kansas in the year of the Omaha Exposition (1898). Both Dave Towhee, whose deceased brother Dan was the recipient of the drum, and Joe Springer, who was the third of the four braves, possess the entire ritual, of which this is but a fraction, probably a half or a third. In almost every respect this society seems identical with that of the Menomini of Wisconsin who claim to have received their drum from the Prairie Potawatomi of Kansas. In the Iowa ceremony a large red wooden cross, capped by a cloth and tinsel crown supposed to be the crown of thorns forced upon Jesus, plays a conspicuous part. At the time of the present writing (July, 1914) these objects are in Dave Towhee's house where I have seen them. They do not come into any part of the ceremony on which I have gathered data. Joe Springer has another drum of the type mentioned here, called a "Brave's Drum." This I have seen; it looks exactly like those used by the Menomini, but is said to be smaller than the chief's drum. It came from the Sauk and Fox, and belongs to another ceremony probably very like the one described here. It is also very recent. The presence of these ultra-modern societies and dances shows that there has been a succession of borrowings and lendings since very ancient times, up to today. The peyote is the most recent acquisition, with its, biblical

teachings, and the ghost dance connects the most recent dances with antiquity. Some of the Iowa ceremonies are no doubt original with them, most probably all those connected with sacred bundles are either original or very old.

Origin of the Chief's Drum. Early in July or late in June in the year of the Omaha World's Fair two Kansas Kickapoo came to Dan Towhee, then chief of the Iowa, and placed tobacco in his hand. When he had received it he could not refuse to listen to their errand, as he could have done had they told him before presenting the tobacco.

They said to him, "We suppose you want to know why we came and brought you this tobacco. Our chief, Kíokúk sent it to you to be put in your hand. It represents a drum that is coming to you this fall at the first frost."

In the fall, two men, one a pipe bearer, the other his servant, appeared. They requested the Iowa to select a suitable place for the dance ground, which they proceeded to examine. Then they measured off a circular space for the dance ground, to be used in the daytime, and another to use at night. After this the Kickapoo told the Iowa when the drum would arrive, and departed.

Eight days later all the Kickapoo drum society arrived with the drum. The two Indians who had measured off the ground had also told the Iowa: "Keep your mind on the drum all the time and ask God for help. Dream over it if you can, and select officers. You must have four drummers and singers, one assistant to sit with you, one drum heater (to tighten the drum heads), four braves, four "young chiefs," one "green chief," one speaker for the braves, one pipe man each for the braves, chiefs, drummers, and yourself. Have them ready when the drum arrives. God will help you."

When the Kickapoo came with the drum they camped half a mile from the chosen spot. The Iowa went out to meet them and they danced towards each other abreast with their right hands raised to God. They passed each other, then turned back and shook hands. Then all repaired to the dance ground, and arranged for the ceremony, which is described below. The accompanying diagram shows the positions occupied by the members and officers in the dance ground circle, Fig. 2. All persons must go counter-clockwise to their positions on entering and in going out.

The chief and his assistant pick out the secondary chief, the four chiefs, four braves, four young chiefs and the green chief. The braves select the male drummers or singers while each in turn selects an assistant and a female singer; the female singers again select an assistant each. The drummers also select a pipe man, and each of the other bodies selects its pipe man or servant.

The drummers are seated in rotation as follows: west, north, east, south. Their pipe man is placed on the east side of the drum. The four young chiefs sit at the left of the entrance door and no one may go out without presenting them with a fee. Among the Kickapoo and Menomini, tobacco is required, but with the Iowa tobacco is not much used, and a silk handkerchief or other gift is more acceptable. The drummers have to care for the drum and replace broken parts. The four braves are looked upon as "angels from heaven" (probably servants of God) and they run or regulate the dance. They drive out evil spirits. The four chiefs bring fair weather. "Everything blue is theirs." The function of the 'green

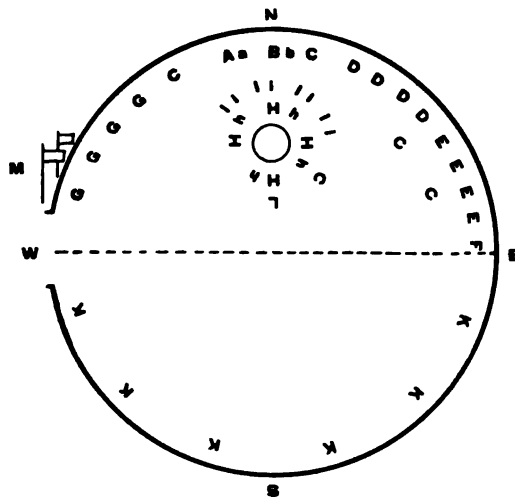


Fig. 2. Diagram of the Chief's Drum Dance. A, head chief (representing God) and (a) his assistant; B, chief, and (b) his assistant; C-C, servants of officials; D-D, chiefs; E-E, braves; F, green chief; G-G, young chiefs; H-H, drummers, and (h) their assistants; I, women singers, and (i) their assistants; K-K, members; ----, imaginary line, drawn from W, door across the dance ground, which only braves may pass; L, drum beater; M, two American flags.

chief' is to ask for rain or fair weather as the case requires. He always prays for fair weather while the dance goes on. The young chiefs, besides their duty as guards, have four songs to sing at quitting time. During these songs all must rise and dance, and their leader, club in hand, orders everyone up who does not respond. The drummers then carry the drum out, and all is over.

Various songs with dances are sung during the day, and speeches are made, with intervals of rest. At noon, when the sun is at meridian, food is brought in buckets and placed around the feet of the head chief and the four

chiefs and braves. The chief next to the head chief then harangues the company on tobacco and its sacredness, an idea presumably derived, with other teachings, from the Kickapoo, for, as has been pointed out, the Iowa, at least today, care little for the weed. Then the chief orders the feast.

The food is brought out and placed in the center of the dance circle. The leader, or chief, then sings four songs and dances about the food. After or during the last song he dances up to the food and pretends to grab a handful. He dances up to the north and pretends to throw it away. This he repeats to the east, south, and west, to nadir and zenith. Then he goes back, sings a song and dances up towards the food, but retreats as though in terror. This he does until the fourth song, when he whoops and snatches up the bucket. Then all present dance, and the feast follows. At the end of the day the drummers carry out the drum and all follow. The flags are hauled down and all is over until after dark. This is the regular first three days' performance. The ceremony lasts four days.

The Night Session. The rules of the dance are not so strict, except that all who enter the grounds must keep dancing, otherwise evil spirits will enter. All tobacco received at the night session by the chief is given to the braves who give it to their waiter who serves it, but dances four songs first. After the tobacco is given out, four more songs are sung and danced and all is over.

The Fourth Day Session. This day differs from the other three in that the "members' songs" are sung, and then those who are referred to must give away presents. These songs are for braves, for those who have been wounded, for buffalo, horses, bears, and other animals, for various tribes of Indians, half breeds, and the like. Those to whom the songs apply are required to dance while they are sung. Members who are not present are hunted up by messengers who present a pipe to them and demand their presence, which they dare not refuse. They must enter, passing as usual to the left, leave a present of tobacco with the god chief, take their places and dance. Their songs are kept up until they arrive.

At noon comes the dog feast. In this case the braves come forward and strike the dog's head and count their coups before eating it. An attendant feeds the other officers with dog meat which he presents to them on a wooden skewer about a foot long. He approaches each four times before placing the bit in their mouths. The members have dog meat served them in their own bowls or dishes where they sit.

After the feast, the braves give the charge of the ceremony over to the drummers, who sing the members' songs, beginning with the god chief and his assistant, and so on, down the line. The drum is generally taken out about noon every day, and the drum heater tightens the parchments over

the fire. Meanwhile the members dance to the sound of sleigh bells. Every day four pipes are passed. Two in the morning and two in the afternoon. On the last day the rags or handkerchiefs used to wrap up tobacco offerings are returned by a waiter. After this four songs are sung and the performance is over.

The object of the whole thing is to worship God through the medium of the drum. In the brave's drum ceremony the eagle feather belts or dance bustles are worn, and those who wear them must hire another to take them off, as in the Menomini and Potawatomi ceremony.

THE PEYOTE.

The following description of the peyote society and its religious practices was obtained from Joe Springer, who is at present one of the leaders. The introduction of the peyote has driven out of existence almost all the other societies and ancient customs of the tribe. Almost all of the Iowa in Oklahoma are ardent peyote disciples, and only Dave Towhee and perhaps a few others still follow the old practices.

The name peyote is Mexican and it is not to be confounded with 'mescal' which is a different plant, bearing red beans which come two or three in a pod. Some southern peoples have used it for many years before it came to us. The 'Flathead,' Caddo, and Comanche have used it for very different purposes than what we do nowadays. Now a great change has taken place, and it is used to worship Jesus Christ and God, his father. It is only those who do not yet know Jesus and have not seen His light who utilize peyote for heathen practices.

We eat the peyote medicine buttons, and we know that we must not eat too much of them, for too much of anything, even food, is bad for any one. Some people eat as many as sixteen buttons. I, myself, have eaten that many.

We go into the tent, for we use a tipi for housing our society, late in the evening to begin our worship. To accompany our singing we have little drums made out of kettles, with buckskin stretched over them and small rattles made of little gourds, with handles decorated handsomely with beads and fringe; we have as ornaments five or six white eagle feathers beaded at the base and fastened together. These are badges of the society, for the eagle is a noble bird of lofty flight.

The leader sits in the rear of the lodge, opposite the door. He enters and goes to the left around the lodge. On his right sits the drum chief, and on his left the cedar chief. Before them rests the open Bible, in front of which lie the gourds, feathers, etc., of the members. In the center is a large crescent-shaped altar in the center of which is placed a huge peyote button. A fire burns between the horns of the crescent, and the four fire chiefs who sit two on each side of the door, are obligated to clear away the ashes when they tend it, and draw them back in another crescent just before the altar. The four fire sticks are built up in a conical shape, overlapping each other so that they will burn quickly and purely.

In front of the fire and altar, that is, to the east of it, stands a pitcher filled with rain water, which fell from God in heaven. Sagebrush is piled thick along the walls for the devotees to sit on. The men form the inner circle, the women the outer, and sing.

The peyote chief sees to the seating of guests and members, and leads in the preaching and Bible reading. When it is over he orders the head fire chief to distribute the peyote. Each male member receives an even number of buttons. He gets, according to his desire, two, four, six, or eight of them. Women get only two each. They also have the privilege of leaving the lodge at midnight, if they are so inclined, but the men should stay till dawn, though only the fire chiefs and other officials must do so.

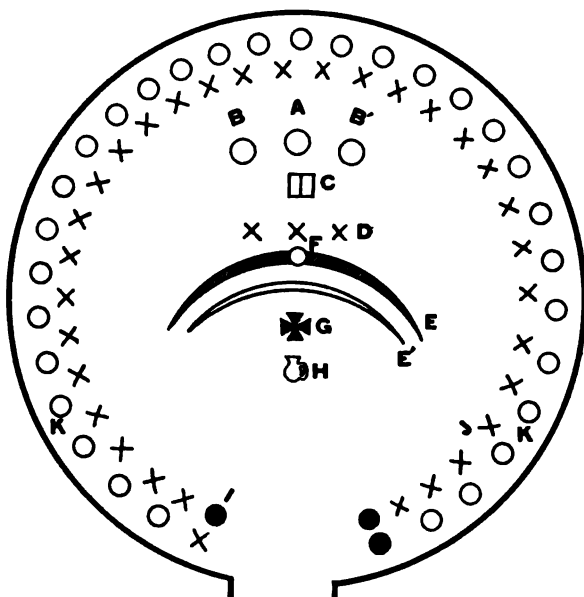


Fig. 3. Diagram of the Peyote Ceremony. A, peyote chief; B, drum chief; B', cedar chief; C, bible, D, gourds, and feather ornaments; E, altar; E', crescent of ashes; F, peyote button; G, fire; H, pitcher of rain water; I, fire chiefs, leader first from left at entrance; J, male devotees; K, female devotees.

The peyote chief gives orders that all must eat the peyote and think of Jesus and his goodness. All the medicines must be eaten before the singing begins. When the peyote chief sees everyone is done, he orders the cedar chief to burn cedar leaves on the coals that incense may be offered to the Lord. While this is being done all kneel and pray to the Lord silently in their hearts.

Then the leader picks up his gourd and his cane, which represents the staff of the Saviour. He holds it up in his hand and prays, singing four songs, each of which he repeats four times, making sixteen in all. (As a matter of fact, each song is usually sung only twice.) When he is through he passes the staff to the 'cedar chief' on his left, who goes through the same performance, the 'drum chief' going over and drum-

ming for him, then to the first member on his left. In this way the staff circles the lodge, each member singing his sixteen (now eight) songs. The drum chief going along and accompanying each.

When the staff reaches the first fire chief on the left, he holds it a while. The leader (or, as the writer understands it) perhaps some visiting preacher of the faith, gets up and delivers a sermon, while the cedar chief casts more incense on the fire. He also says:

I want all of you to rise and confess your sins. You know what Jesus has done for you, tell us, if you would repent.

So the members get up, one after another and testify that they have given up drinking (peyote is believed to kill the taste for liquor), smoking, chewing, adultery, etc. "And all this Jesus has done for me," is the conclusion of each statement.

The leader then calls on other preachers to talk, and then asks the fire chief on the right of the door, opposite the one who is holding the staff, to pass the peyote again. Meantime he continues to read the Bible and exhort all sinners to repent. He points out that all the old ways have been given up, and with them their "idols," such as the great drum of the religion dance, and the various other paraphernalia of magic:

"They are dead and cannot talk or hear. We worship our own true living God, who is Jesus Christ. Believe in him; repent and be baptized in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.¹

There are no more societies and dances as of old. This is the way we do now. Throw away liquor, tobacco, stealing, lying, and gossip. The Bible teaches us to do as we would be done by, and to love our neighbors. The Bible says to give up bad language, quit having plural wives and forsake adultery. We ask Jesus to take all this sin away from us; to take our passions away and give us his. When we have that, we are clear of all our burdens. So this peyote we eat gives us a joyful feeling. It gives us a sensation that cannot be described."

Once Joe Springer, after eating peyote, dreamed that he traveled a long way on horseback to a penitentiary where he 'talked Jesus' to an Indian convict, exhorted him to repent and be saved. Later, Joe actually did as directed in his dream, and he says that the prisoner, who was serving a life term, was converted and soon pardoned.

After the preaching is over, the pitcher of rain water is brought in by the fire chief and placed before the altar. The fire chief then kneels and prays, after asking all present to join him in their hearts. The pitcher, which is said to contain "blessed water" is then carried up and set in front of the chief or leader where it stands till morning.

The leader now starts the singing again by causing the sacred staff to be passed to the next fire chief on the left of the present holder. Then the dawn chief carries the gourd and staff across the lodge and starts it on the other side. There is then a pause in the singing. The fire chiefs on the east build up the fire and clean the fire-place. The cedar chief next burns some incense with a prayer, and the singing commences once more. At last it reaches the drum chief's place again. When it arrives there is another burning of cedar and all pray. The fire is again cleaned at this point, and the chief sings again and the staff starts on its second round.

Just about dawn four quitting songs are sung. Then all the musical instruments

¹ This baptism is performed either by sprinkling or immersion, both forms being recognized.

are piled in front of the chief who takes the pitcher of blessed water and all pray, asking God to make it the living water, teach us, guide us, give us health, strength, and power to live and be Christians.

Then the fire chief takes a little dipper of water to everyone, beginning with the cedar chief and so on, around. When he gets back to his starting point, he takes food, fruit, and candy, and distributes it to all present. Then the women go out and cook breakfast. When the little feast is over, the peyote chief, followed by the fire chief shakes hands with everyone in token of friendship and good will.

A big feast is now ready, but before eating all must wash with soap and water where they sit. The peyote chief himself carries the water to show his humility, because of Biblical references to the washing of the feet, etc. All then leave the tipi



Fig. 4. Towhee and Springer, Iowa informants. Springer (standing) holds peyote rattle and feather badge.

and go out under a shed where the feast is served. The peyote chief asks a blessing saying:—

We are all relatives in Christianity. We must be one, and stick together. No difference of color shall deter a Christian from being one of our number. That is what this great and wonderful Book teaches us. So today I shall ask some member (or visiting peyote preacher) to ask God to bless this food, for which we thank him.

After the blessing, which no peyote devotee omits before any meal, the feast is held and all is over. Peyote ceremonies are usually held Saturday nights.

Some typical peyote society songs are given. Most of them are sung in English, but with Indian style and pronunciation, with Indian refrains and syllables added to the last word. It is by no means easy to recognize and understand them when heard, unless they are explained. They are sung in a high voice, through the nose.

Typical Songs of the Peyote Society.

I.

Jesus' way is the only way.

II.

Saviour Jesus is the only Saviour.

III.

Oh Lord, Lord, Lord! It is not everyone who says that who shall be saved.

IV.

I know Jesus now.

V.

You must be born again.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

Before taking up our study of the gentes it seems best to give the following (probably fragmentary) origin myth, obtained from Dave Towhee:—

In the beginning, wakanda made the earth and all the universe. Then there was a man who fasted under an elm tree. His face was blackened with charcoal, and he strove to gain a vision. While he was there four bears came out from under the ground, they were the four who became ancestors of the bear gens, and whose names are borne by the subgentes. They told the faster that they would give him power and that they would become people. At the time he saw them they acted like human beings, but had the appearance of bears.

Then they passed on, and he saw them on their journey as though he were in a dream. As they traveled they heard a distant noise as of someone pounding. Henghru,¹ the oldest, ordered one of the others to go ahead and see what it was. He returned soon and reported that he saw an old man, very old indeed, hard at work at something. Henghru the first born, sent him ahead to investigate again. This time he returned and said that the white-headed one had disappeared. Then all four bears rushed forward and found no one, only a stone pipe lay there. The pipe was made in the shape of a man, for the old person who had been heard hammering had turned himself into this pipe bowl.

"This will be for some good and great use," said Henghru, and he took it and carried it. Because of this circumstance the descendants of this eldest brother own the pipe of the bear gens, and possess the titles Hangeskûna or Not-There, and Hangeskûna-tmi, She's-Not-There, Wita'tai, Hears-Pounding, and Witai-tmi, She-Hears-Pounding.

¹ Note the use of ordinal names.

The bears went on and they came to a place along the river where they saw a stick floating upright as though it was standing. On it were streamers of green or blue weeds or moss. It looked pretty, so Henghru took it for his pipestem. That is why the sacred pipestem anciently had strings ornamented with dyed quills, though colored ribbons which represent the weeds or moss are now used. All this was told to the man who fasted with a darkened face.

As they journeyed, the bears met the four ancestors of the buffalo gens. These brothers also had a pipe, so they offered it in peace to the bears. Each sat on the ground, and the pipestems were crossed and each accepted the mouthpiece of the other's pipe. That peace conference was the origin of the custom of dividing the year between the buffalo and bear gentes; the chief of each is chief for half the year, the bears in the fall and winter, the buffalo in spring and summer.

A feast was being prepared by both bands, but the Henghru bear was so ravenous he seized the pipe in his mouth with such a grip that he split the stem, hence the gens name Ma^agrudjê, "Splitting the Pipestem." He gave himself that name at the time with a laugh to smooth matters over.

Then a village, the first Indian village, was made there. In the center of the camp circle the chief's tent was set up and Henghru observed it. Hence, the personal name in the bear gens, Wighreu, meaning, notices everything.

GENTILE ORGANIZATION.

J. O. Dorsey gives a list of gentes and subgentes which in the main corresponds with mine. Where there are discrepancies, however, I believe that Dorsey's list, which was collected thirty-four years ago by the late Rev. Wm. Hamilton, and corroborated by himself, should be accepted as final, although in some cases a dual terminology may exist. He gives nine gentes as compared with the writer's seven. The modern Iowa deny that they ever had a Snake gens, referring it to the Oto. Dorsey gives it as a gens extinct in his time. He also gives an Owl gens which I have not recorded, and marks it extinct, and a Beaver gens which he says was then incorporated in the Oto tribe. This gens too I failed to obtain. I, however, found the Elk gens which he calls extinct, still extant, or at least remembered, and obtained the name of an additional Red Earth band, now extinct. Morgan, in his "Ancient Society" (p. 160) gives eight Iowa gentes and adds the Beaver gens which he says was extinct even then. Dorsey also gives two phratries, listing the gentes as follows: first phratry, Black Bear, Wolf, Eagle, and Thunder, Elk, Beaver; Second Phratry, Pigeon, Buffalo, Snake, and Owl. No traces of this remain, but doubtless the Bear and Buffalo gentes were the leaders of their respective phratries. The writer's information is that the tribal chief was the chief of the Bear gens in the fall and winter and of the Buffalo during spring and summer. Dorsey gives the ruling power to the first phratry and second phratry in the order named.

The names of the subgentes gathered by Dorsey differ not a little from my list. I cannot account for this, as my information was definite.

The Rev. S. M. Irvin and the Rev. Wm. Hamilton, in a report on the Iowa and Sauk, made to Schoolcraft and dated February 1, 1849, enumerate eight Iowa gentes, namely: the Eagle, Pigeon, Wolf, Bear, Elk, Beaver, Buffalo, and Snake. They also give some interesting data on a custom now entirely obsolete, that of characteristic hair cuts for the youths of the different gentes. This has been noted at length among the Omaha by Miss Fletcher and Mr. La Flesche. Irvin and Hamilton say on the Iowa:—

These families are known severally in the tribe by the particular manner in which their hair is cut: 1st, the Eagle family, is marked by two locks of hair on the front part of the head, and one on the back part left long: 3d, Wolf, scattered branches of hair left to grow promiscuously over the head, representing islands, whence this family is supposed to have sprung: 4th, Bear, one side of the hair of the head left to grow much longer than the other: 7th, Buffalo, a strip of hair left long from the front to the rear part of the head, with two branches on each side to represent horns.

The other families, with their peculiar badges, are lost. This manner of cutting the hair is confined to the male children; as soon as they are grown, they adopt the common fashion of the tribe, which is to shave off all the hair except a small braid, or scalp-lock, left near the top of the head, with a small formation of cut hair surrounding it about two inches on the front and sides, and extending down the back of the head. This cutting is usually done about once a year, and is said, by them, to be of great advantage in expelling vermin.¹

Though a number of the Iowa with whom the writer talked had worn their hair in the roach, which was the tribal style, none now do so, probably owing to peyote teachings, and none remembered the distinctive gentile hair cuts.

Each gens was traditionally founded by four animals, brothers, who became human beings, and hence each gens is composed of four subgentes, the members of which claim descent from one of the four gens ancestors.

If asked his gens a man might reply merely giving the gens name, or if he wished to be precise he might give his gens and his subgens, as, in the Bear gens, "Múnjê Watogehri." Again, he might give the gens and the ordinal name of his subgens ancestor. In former times, the members of every gens had the right to call children after one of the ancestor brothers and a feminine form of each name existed, formed by adding the syllable *me* or *mi* to the masculine: as, Watógehri-me, Inúwahu-me, etc. As before stated, these remarks apply to every gens. The gentes are exogamic and patrilineal. I did not learn that the subgentes had any functions.

The gentes in order of their present importance are: The Bear, Buffalo,

¹ Schoolcraft, part 3, 269.

Pigeon, Elk, Eagle and Thunder, Wolf, Red Earth, Snake, and Owl, the last three, as stated, being extinct. Data on them was given as follows:—

Living Gentes and their Subgentes.

- 1 Tunápi Kiradji or Bean gens ¹
 - a Watogehri — Four Together
 - b Inúwahu — Comes with Him
 - c Wann'íⁿtcaki — Strong Mind
 - d Thigripi — Good Tracks
- 2 Tce Kiradji (also called Aruwha),² or Buffalo Gens
 - a Tc'inúkiuⁿ — Village Maker
 - b K²érataⁱ — Clear Day
 - c Naoⁿtaⁱ — Road Maker ³
 - d Mao²radje — Mired in Mud
- 3 Lútcí Kiradji or Pigeon Gens
 - a Lutciⁿya — "Mister" Pigeon
 - b Lutcahren — Old Pigeon
 - c Awemongre — Up Wing
 - d Miⁿkā²hingre — Big Raccoon.⁴
- 4 Hrodadtci Kiradji or Elk Gens
 - a Homakixrtci — Elk Bend
 - b Homa²únya — Big Elk
 - c Homa²ka — White Elk
 - d Hompé²a — Bull Elk
- 5 Hra Kiradji (eagle) and Wakanda Kiradji (Thunder) Linked Gens.⁵
 - a Bacumani — Storm and Hail
 - or
 - K'lomaⁿye — Thunder
 - b Noto'we — Lightning Struck
 - c Ni^u'manⁱ — Always Raining (Walking Rain?)
 - d Mangri ta'amani — Soaring Eagle

¹ The bear gens also has a second or common name, Múnjé, the term Tunápi being considered a sacred or ceremonial appellation.

² The second name is a ceremonial title.

³ Reference to the old time buffalo trails so deeply worn in the prairie.

⁴ No explanation of the fact that a raccoon subgens occurs in the pigeon gens was obtainable.

⁵ Though the two names were given as separate they seem interchangeable, a fact noted by Dorsey. The Wakanda (literally, god) gens is also called Tcei hida.

6 Cunta Kiradje or Wolf Gens¹

- a Cuntátheré — Black Wolf
- b Cuntánka — Big Wolf
- c Cuntahodje — Half Coyote
- d Maⁿyikati — Coyote

Extinct Gentes.

7 Mokátcuze Kiradji or Red Earth Band

A band, who, tradition states, first moved westward from a mythical home in the east where the sunrise reddens the land by the ocean. No subgentes remembered. The next two are from Dorsey.

8 Wa-kaⁿ — Snake.

- a Wa-ka^{n'}-çi — Yellow snake, i. e., Rattlesnake
- b Wa-ka^{n'}-qtci — Real Snake (named after a species shorter than the rattlesnake.)
- c Cé-ke-yiñ'-e — Small or young like the copperhead snake.
- d Wa-ka^{n'}-qó-tce — Gray snake (a long snake, which the Omaha call swift blue snake)

9 Ma^{n'}-ko-ke — Owl. Subgentes forgotten.

ORDINAL AND GENTILE PERSONAL NAMES.

Every Iowa had an abundance of names. First, there were the fixed ordinal names always applicable in every family and used for men and women both. Then there were the regular gentile personal names. Each family of each gens had the right to call their children, male or female, by a name referring to the ancestor of their father's subgens, or some attribute thereof. In addition, a man who performed an exploit in war might change his name on that account, and could change it on the occasion of every new exploit or supernatural experience. Hence, one man might have half a dozen names during the course of his life, and of these he always had two or three at once; that is, his ordinal name, next his gentile name, given by his parents, and third, his own chosen war exploit, or individual name.

The ordinal names, being the first a man or woman receives are given here before the others. They find parallels among the Sioux and Menomini. They are:—

¹ Dorsey gives mitcraatce for this gens, it may be the ceremonial title.

	Male	Female
First born	Henghru	Henu
Second born	Henu	Miha
Third born	Haka	Hatika
Last one ¹	Hakainê	Hatika'inê

The individual names belonging to each gens are many, and may be made up apparently *ad infinitum*. The following are samples. All have a mythological reference.

Bear Gens

- 1 Hangeskuna — Not-there. Reference to disappearance of the mythical pipe-maker.

Hangeskuna-imi (female) She's-not-there

Wita'tai (male) Hears-pounding.² Witai-imi (female form)

These names belong by right only to the leading family which owns the sacred pipe, and have special reference to it. The more common bears are named more as follows. (Each name has a feminine counterpart in each gens.)

a Mantrêhowe — Bear-guardian.

b Thrididuwê — Four-tracks.

c Wigre^u — Noticing-them.

The names pertaining to bears can only be used by bear gens members, and so on, throughout the tribe.

2 Buffalo Gens

a Nuy'atci — Forked-corn-sprout

b Ma'otcera — Corn-tassel-man ³

c Tceinê — Little-buffalo

d Tceto^{n'}ê — Standing-buffalo

e Abrako^{n'}eⁱ — Buffalo-standing-in-bottom

f Tcedutu — Buffalo-ribs

g Tcewan'aki — Buffalo-ghost

h Ahenaskai — Fetlock

3 Pigeon Gens

a Min²ăxû — White-raccoon

b Maio^{n'}p'idgri — Bird-who-found-land, i. e., the world. Mythical reference.

c Lomftcingû — Island (the earth)

¹ In any case where there are more than four children, male or female, all above are called by the last name given.

² Reference to third of the brothers, who heard the pounding of the mysterious pipe-maker, according to tradition.

³ Joe Springer is a buffalo gens member and one of his daughters bears the feminine version of this name: Corn-tassel-woman.

4 Elk Gens

- a Xomaiyo or Xomaiunji — Little-elk
- b Xompexretca — Filled-out-antlers

5 Eagle — Thunder Gens

- a Wakandath'ere — Black-god (thunder?)
- b Wakanda — God (thunder?)
- c K^rratci — Original-eagle
- d Maⁿgruwe — Circling-eagle

6 Wolf Gens

- a Cuntaⁿai — Standing-wolf
- b Cuntanka — Big (black)-wolf
- c Cuntaioⁿyê — Little-wolf
- d Cuntahojê — Gray-wolf ¹

GENTILE PROPERTIES.

Each gens had its sacred pipe, obtained traditionally by the four ancestor founders (p. 734). It had also its war bundle and tattooing bundle. No taboos were learned but certain gentes had special privileges. There is some connection between the seven gens pipes and the constellation called "Seven Stars" by the Iowa which I do not understand. The pipes were used, among other things, to make peace for murderers. If a man was killed the slayer or his relatives sought out the pipe owner of their gens and got him to intercede. He would take the pipe and point the mouthpiece at the avengers and they were required to cease their attempts at vengeance and the murder compounded. If they refused it, as was their privilege, for four successive times, then nothing could save the murderer from death at their hands, except perhaps, his precipitate flight. In practice, however, it was considered almost surely fatal to refuse the pipe, the refuser being liable to death on his next warpath. Hence, if a murderer could get the pipe owner to help him, he was usually safe. Seven seems to be a magical number among the Iowa. Towhee remarked to me, "Everything goes by sevens. There are the seven stars, the seven gentes, and the seven pipes." These pipes seem to have been the property of the gens chiefs.

The so-called "ghost bundle," which is really nothing more or less than an oath bundle, is the property of the Wakanda Kiradje (god or thunder gens). The chief part of this bundle is a "spirit rock" or iron

¹ "The people of this gens make fun of themselves in their names, they pretend they breed with coyotes!" Springer.

(maⁿdewatsaⁿsa), imbued with sacred power, which came from Wakanda. The bundle is used when war coups are contested.

Two or more warriors, each claiming the same coup, call upon the bundle owner to open his pack. This he does for them, unwrapping the sacred rock which is enclosed in seven buffalo bladder envelopes. Each one who thinks himself in the right will take from it a slender stick about two feet long and will hold it up towards heaven, calling upon the sacred powers to hear his oath that his statement is true. He then drops the wand upon the rock and if it sticks there he has spoken the truth, if it rolls off he has lied, and is in danger of disaster, particularly of being struck by lightning himself or losing his horses this way. As a consequence, very few are willing to run the risk of such an extreme penalty and it is seldom that the oath is taken. Even if a man escapes the wrath of the gods he is publicly disgraced if his wand rolls off the rock because the people are all supposed to be present and such a mishap would point to his lack of veracity and would mean social ruin. The bundle is called into requisition just after the scalp dance.

TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP.¹

Hee-to6-ga (intúga), my grandfather and all males of ascending generations, lineal or collateral.

Hee-ko6-n'-ye (inkuⁿye), my grandmother and all females of ascending generations, own or collateral.

Heen'-ká (xinka; naⁿje, your father),² my father, my father's brother; my mother's brother's daughter's husband (M. S. and F. S.); my father's father's brother's son (M. S.); my father's father's father's brother's son's son; my stepfather.

Heen'-nä (xinⁿ), my mother; my father's brother's wife; my mother's brother's daughter, older or younger (F. S. and M. S.); my mother's brother's son's daughter (M. and F. S.); my mother's mother's brother's son's daughter (M. S.); my mother's mother's brother's son's son's daughter (M. and F. S.); my mother's mother's sister's daughter; my stepmother.

Hee-yin'-ga (xeiⁿga), my son; my brother's son (M. S.); my sister's son (F. S.); my sister's daughter (F. S.); my father's brother's son's son (M. S.); my father's brother's daughter's son (F. S.); my father's sister's older or younger son (F. S.); my mother's sister's son's son (M. S.); my mother's sister's daughter's son (F. S.); my father's father's brother's son's

¹ The terms in parenthesis are those obtained by the writer, the others those obtained by Morgan (see Smithsonian Contributions, Vol. XVII). The abbreviations M.S. and F.S. are used to designate "Male Speaking" or "Female Speaking," respectively.

² For father's brother, the writer obtained áxinkainya or "little father."

son's son (M. S.); my mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter's son (F. S.); my father's father's father's brother's son's son's son's son (M. S.); my stepson (M. or F. S.).

Hee-yun'-ga (xeu²ka), my daughter; my brother's daughter (M. S.); my father's brother's son's daughter (M. S.); my father's brother's daughter's daughter (F. S.); my father's sister's daughter, older or younger (F. S.); my mother's sister's son's daughter (M. S.); my mother's sister's daughter's daughter (F. S.); my father's father's brother's son's son's daughter (F. S.); my mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter (F. S.); my older or younger stepsister (F. S.); my stepdaughter (M. or F. S.).

Heen-tā'-kwā, my grandson and all males of descending generations own or collateral.

Heen-tā'-kwā-me, my granddaughter and all females of descending generations own or collateral.

He-yen'-nā (xeina), my elder brother (M. S. and F. S.); my father's brother's son older than self (M. and F. S.); my mother's brother's daughter's son (M. and F. S.); my mother's sister's son (older) (M. and F. S.); my father's father's brother's son's son, older (M. S.); my father's father's brother's son's son's son, older (M. S.); my elder stepbrother (M. and F. S.); my wife's sister's husband.

He-yú-na (xeu²a), my elder sister (M. S.); my father's brother's daughter, older (M. S.); my mother's brother's daughter's daughter (M. S.); my mother's sister's daughter, older (M. S.); my older stepsister (M. S.).

Heen-tan'-ga,¹ my elder sister (F. S.); my father's brother's daughter, older (F. S.); my mother's sister's daughter, older (F. S.); my mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter, elder or younger (F. S.).

Heen-thun'-ga (xi²su²ga), my younger brother (M. S.); my father's brother's son, younger than self (M. S.); my mother's sister's son, younger (M. S.); my father's father's brother's son's son, younger (M. S.); my younger stepbrother (M. S.).

E-chun'-cha, my younger brother (F. S.); my father's brother's son, younger (F. S.); my mother's sister's son, younger (F. S.); my younger stepbrother (M. S.).

Heen-tan'-ya (xinta²ga), my younger sister (M. S.); my father's brother's daughter, younger (M. S.); my mother's brother's daughter's daughter (F. S.); my mother's sister's daughter, younger (M. S.); my younger stepsister (M. S.).

Heen-tun'-ga, my younger sister (F. S.); my father's brother's daughter, younger (F. S.); my mother's sister's daughter, younger (F. S.).

¹ The writer collected this term (xita²ga) for younger sister.

E-nú-kā-ne, my sisters (F. S.); my brothers (M. S.).

E-chin'-cho, my brothers (F. S.).

Wa-he-cha, my sisters (M. S.).

Heen-toan'-ye, my brother's son's wife (M. S.).

Wā-dō-hā (waⁿdoha), my son-in-law (M. S.); my brother's or sister's daughter's husband (M. S.); my brother's daughter's husband (F. S.); my father's sister's daughter's husband (M. S. and F. S.).

Heen-toas'-ka, my sister's son (M. S.); my brother's son (F. S.); my father's brother's son's son (F. S.); my father's brother's daughter's son (M. S.); my father's sister's older or younger son (M. S.); my mother's sister's son's son (F. S.); my mother's sister's daughter's son (M. S.); my father's father's brother's son's son (F. S.); my father's father's sister's daughter's son (M. S.); my mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter's son (M. S.).

Heen-toan'-ye (xeintuⁿya), my sister's son's wife (M. or F. S.); my brother's son's wife (F. S.); my sister's daughter's husband (F. S.); my father's sister's son's wife (M. or F. S.); my daughter-in-law (M. or F. S.).

Heen-toas'-ka-me, my sister's daughter (M. S.); my brother's daughter (F. S.); my father's brother's son's daughter (F. S.); my father's brother's daughter's daughter (M. S.); my father's sister's daughter, older or younger (M. S.); my mother's sister's son's daughter (F. S.); my mother's sister's daughter's daughter (M. S.); my father's father's brother's son's son's daughter (F. S.); my father's father's sister's daughter's daughter (M. S.); my mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter (M. S.); my sister-in-law; my father's father's father's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter (M. S.).

Hun'-ga, brother's son's wife (M. S.); my mother's sister's son's wife (M. S.); my wife's sister; my brother's wife (M. S.). Cf. my ahānga, my husband's brother's daughter.

Hee-shé-kā (xiⁿtciké), my sister-in-law (F. S.); my son-in-law (F. S.);¹ my father's brother's son's wife (F. S.); my brother-in-law (F. S.); my father's brother's daughter's husband (F. S.); my mother's sister's son's wife (F. S.); my mother's sister's daughter's husband; my husband's brother; my sister's husband (F. S.); my husband's sister's husband; my husband's sister; my brother's wife's sister (F. S.).

Heen-tā'-hā (xint'ahaⁿ), my wife's brother's son, my brother-in-law; my father's brother's daughter's husband (M. S.); my mother's sister's daughter's husband (M. S.); my sister's husband (M. S.); my wife's brother.

Heen-toō-me (iⁿtoⁿmi), my father's sister; my mother's brother's wife;

¹ My notes give niⁿtciké for son-in-law (M.S.).

my mother's brother's son's wife (M. and F. S.); my father's father's sister's daughter (M. S.).

Heen-já-kä (indjêka), my father's sister's husband; my mother's brother; my mother's brother's (older or younger) son (M. S. and F. S.); my mother's brother's son's son (M. S. and F. S.); my mother's mother's brother's son, my mother's mother's brother's son's son (M. S.); my mother's mother's brother's son's son's son (M. S.); my father's father's father's sister's daughter's daughter; my mother's mother's mother's brother's son's son; my mother's mother's mother's brother's son's son's son; my mother's mother's mother's brother's son's son's son's son.

Heen-gä'-me (xiⁿgera), my husband.

Hee-tă'-me (xiⁿtamê), my wife.

Joking-Relationship. A man may joke with his wife's sister and brothers, his uncles and those whom he calls xintáhaⁿ or brothers-in-law and wife's brother's sons, and own nephews. These jokes may be obscene in character. On the warpath, joking-relatives may make fun of each other. One will say to another: "Your wife was heavy when we left, perhaps she is delivered by now." Or, "Your wife was very sick, may be she is dead by this time." The butt of these jibes could take no offence.

Mother-in-law Taboo. The mother-in-law taboo was strictly observed, and the father-in-law was scarcely ever addressed. A person's wife's or husband's brother's children were also considered very closely and warmly related to him or to her and treated accordingly.

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

Three types of marriage were recognized: first those of the royalty, then nobility, and then commoners. It was considered best for a chief's child to marry a chief's child, in order to keep the blood pure; it will be remembered that among the Iowa rank is hereditary. A chief's child might however, marry into the family of a distinguished brave.

The parents of the groom usually negotiated with the girl's parents. If they gained their consent they would take the girl home, dress her in a magnificent gown and send her back with fifteen or twenty head of horses. When the girl's father saw these he did not take them, but sent for his eldest son, to whom he said:

"Let your sister give these away to her brothers and her brothers-in-law, then, if there are any left, distribute them among the chiefs and braves."

Then the father gave a feast, for which the groom's relatives provided large quantities of food. They also brought him clothing, blankets, and

other rich gifts. After the feast the groom spent three or four days with his wife and her family, then he returned to his own lodge accompanied by many horses and other gifts sent his parents by the bride's father in his turn.

In the case of the marriage of the lesser braves or the "nobility" the ceremony was quite similar. The groom's parents arranged a feast after which fifteen or twenty horses were given the guests, who were supposed to return them in one year's time.

For the commoners, who are often very poor, one or two horses, or perhaps even none, change hands, and no notice is taken by the public of such a ceremony. The man and women merely live together with little or no display.

Polygamy was allowed chiefs and nobles. Sisters were generally taken.

Adultery was severely punished by men whose wives had been unfaithful while their spouses were on the warpath. Such a woman might be killed by her returned husband without causing comment. Otherwise, it might be one of many causes for divorce, which was a mere parting. The children were cared for by one or the other of their sets of grandparents. A man who unjustly divorced his wife might be caused by his parents-in-law to give them several head of horses before they would consent to his marrying another woman.

TRAINING OF CHILDREN AND FASTING CUSTOMS.

Among the Iowa, parents began to inure their children to hardship while they were yet very young, with the object in view of preparing them for their sacred fast. At first, the young child would be made to go without food for half a day, a day, and then a couple of days. At last, when he was about the age of puberty, he blackened his face and went to some dismal and unfrequented place to fast for four days and nights, the full period.

The places selected were high rocks, bluffs, canyons, or other lonely places where god powers were apt to dwell. The faster wailed ceaselessly and prayed for war power, for success in life, and for many horses. Iowa ideals do not seem to have been as high as those of the Central Algonkin.

When it was time for a boy to begin to fast his father or some old man said to him: "Now it is time for you to use the burnt stick (i. e., rub charcoal on your face) and let your tears drop on our mother, the earth, that she may pity you and help you in the future. Find out your way; the creator will help you. He may send a voice to speak to you and prophesy whether or not you will be of any account in the tribe. May be you'll

dream of the thunder or some other one above, one of its assistants or servants. They may give you long life. Weep for help from the sun. The sun is a great power.

"If something comes up out of the water or the earth, don't accept it. Throw it away. Pay no attention to it. Don't listen at all or you'll soon die. That is the way to do. Be careful, there are both heavenly and evil powers, and the latter will try to deceive you. You must be willing to fast, for, if Wakanda helps you, you will be a great man and a protector of your people. You will become famous."

The following example of an unusually powerful dream, was collected:—

Ahésoje (Smoking-hill) was a great man at the old Iowa home on the Des Moines River. He got his name from the buffalo, for he was said to have talked to a buffalo called Tcémageida (Heavenly Buffalo) in his dream. This animal was white with black horns, eyes, and hooves. It said: "I am the leader of all buffalo. I belong to Wakanda, and I gave all the buffalo dances to the people through the minor buffalo. I showed them all the roots and herbs and other things for doctoring."

This dreamer became a very potent doctor, so much so that if he ever sang a song over his patient the sufferer began to get better before the medicines were administered.

He made himself a whistle, rattles of buffalo dewclaws, buffalo horn bonnets and other paraphernalia. He was above all those who had merely dreamed of common animals. Once when he was alone on the prairie he saw a buffalo coming out of a wallow. It was blue, even to its horns. He soon saw that it was really *Ít'ci!i* (like the Dakota Unktehi, a horned water panther, purely mythological, also occurring in Central Algonkin lore) who had assumed this guise to deceive him. He refused its aid, as it was evil.

This dreamer had an even hundred songs. He painted one half of his face red and the other dark blue. He used dirt for this. He would simply scratch some up in his hands, spit in it, rub it, and make paint that way through the aid of the heavenly buffalo. When he snorted through his nose, like a buffalo, he puffed out colored down and split feathers.

Inside the buffalo dance lodge he once did the following exploit:—

There was a keg of whiskey to regale the dancers. The chiefs ordered the waiter to drive the bung in tight in order to see who had power enough to draw it with his teeth. All failed, until Smoking-hill tried. He dropped on his knees, wallowed and grunted like a bull, shook his head, and seized the bung. He pulled and pulled until his knees sank in the ground out of sight. Rumbling and bellowing, he jerked out the stopper and spat it forth with a snort that sent colored down in all directions. The keg rolled across the room until stopped by the waiters, and there were two huge dents where his knees had sunk in the pounded clay. Such was his power.

KANSA ORGANIZATIONS.

By ALANSON SKINNER.

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INTRODUCTION.

The Kansa (or Kânzê) are a small tribe of the Dhegiha Siouan group, whose closest relationship is with the Osage and Quapaw. Their former home was in Kansas on the Kansas River. In 1850 they numbered 1700. At present the remnant of the tribe numbers about two hundred, of whom seventy are full bloods. They reside in northern Oklahoma near Kaw City on the Arkansas River.

Many of the remaining Kansa are quite conservative, habitually wearing native dress, at least in part; but in June, 1914, when the writer visited them, only one man, So^ojo^omaihe, still roached his hair in the ancient fashion. The peyote religion and the acquisition of considerable wealth (many Kansa have automobiles, telephones, and other luxuries) have broken down old customs. Some very prominent features of their former life, such as the earth-lodges, so minutely described by Say, are apparently no longer recollected by the few old people who survive.

The Kansa, or Kaw, as they are popularly called, do not seem to have had, at least they claim not to recollect, the elaborate system of societies of the Iowa, Ponca, and other not far distant Siouan tribes. Possibly the Osage, who are closely related to them, may furnish a clue to the truth of this statement.

The literature on the Kansa is meager. The following are the most important titles, exclusive of the writings of J. O. Dorsey mentioned in the body of this paper, and the article in the *Thirtieth Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology*: Rev. Joab Spencer, *The Kaw or Kansas Indians: Their Customs, Manners, and Folk-Lore* (Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, Vol. X, p. 374); George P. Morehouse, *History of the Kansa or Kaw Indians* (Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, Vol. X, p. 327); and T. Say in *Long's Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in 1820*.

Most of the data here given were obtained from Wamoi^oke, Forest Choteau, Jesse Mihejeh, Charles Sumner, So^ojo^omaihe, and Roy Monroe, on the Kansa Reservation, Oklahoma, June, 1914.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION.

First of all, the tribe was governed by five hereditary chiefs whose offices were held in the five leading clans. The five chiefs who first held office were doubtless elected by a common council of the people because of their bravery and wisdom, but the origin of these offices is now forgotten. Now the eldest son follows his father in office. In case a chief died and left no male issue, the office went to his brother or eldest daughter; hence, female chiefs were known. These civil chiefs, and those about to be mentioned, had no war powers whatever.

Besides the five hereditary chiefs, the people, in common council, could elect a man chief and announce it to the world, after which he held office for life and his children became chiefs afterwards. The chiefs themselves could also elect a commoner to join them, without the consent of the people, if they felt the man was worthy and well qualified.

The three bands also had chiefs who were elected in common council, at least in Choteau's time. A tribal chief was also so elected and the other chiefs formed his council.

REGULATION OF THE BUFFALO HUNT.

Just prior to going on the buffalo hunt, the three band chiefs would send a herald through the camp announcing that they would start. Then all the people would assemble and hold a general council as to where to go. When this was decided, some citizen noted for his reliability of character, and especially for his reputation as a *successful* man, was chosen to be oje^a, or leader, during the hunt. This was one of the greatest honors within the power of the tribe to confer. He was told: — "We are now going to hunt, and we have chosen you as leader because of your well known success in life. We want you to take charge of us, and bring us where we will find plenty of buffalo, and have a safe and prosperous trip. That is why we have chosen you."

The citizen was always glad to accept, and at once proceeded to "give them a horse to feast on." This is the regular Kansa phrase, which really means that he gave them a horse which was sold or traded to buy food for a feast.

The chiefs in their turn now formally thank the leader-elect, and when

this is done, they select twenty men to act as akida, or police. The twenty have to be persons of proven courage, who have taken a scalp, counted coup, or slain an enemy, because their task of controlling the others is an arduous and often dangerous one. Their tenure of office lasts during the trip only. Scouts are sent out by them and they police in home camps. These men prevent premature attacks on the herd by individuals, allow no noise, guard the hunters during the hunt (they have men to hunt for them), and regulate the camp. Offenders are severely whipped but their property is not destroyed.

After the chase, when the successful hunters are returning with their ponies laden with fresh meat, the akida (or police) stop each one, and take a share of the choicest parts, which are afterwards given to the hunt leader. If an individual does not care to give up his portion, he is privileged to take a whipping from the soldiers, and then pass on without paying his tax. The meat received from this source is turned over to seven or eight boys whom the soldiers have selected as their assistants, and carried to the lodge of the hunt leader.

At the time when the twenty akida are chosen by the chiefs, seven or eight supernumerary officers, called, wabolutcé, are also chosen. Their duty is to be present during all "soldier killings" and if one of the akida fails to do his duty, they whip him.

After the buffalo hunt was over, heralds were sent through the village to announce that the hunt had been a success, the number of buffalo killed, and whether or not there were any accidents.

When a man had done something meriting a "soldier killing" the akida went to the culprit's lodge and called him out. If he resisted, all beat him mercilessly instead of limiting the punishment to one stroke each. Rods, about the size and length of a buggy whip, which were always carried by the akida, were used for chastisement.

Wamoⁿike denied that the Kansa ever used the camp circle. He declares that the tribesmen pitched their lodges in two rows on the prairie and that there was no order or fixed division, except that the earth people pitched first. This, of course, does not agree with Dorsey, who had more and better informants at an earlier date than the writer.

GENS WAR BUNDLES AND THEIR OWNERS.

According to Forest Choteau and Wamoⁿike, from the latter of whom the war bundle of the Pta (Deer) gens was collected, there were certain men in each gens who had the right to own the gens war bundle (wa^xobe).

These men acquired the privilege through fasting and prayer which brought them the proper vision. After this had been obtained they sought out an old bundle owner and paid him to teach them how to make and use a clan bundle; henceforward, the new bundle owner was a potential war chief and might be called upon at any time to lead a war party.

The bundle obtained from Wamo^oike was made up of an outer wrapping composed of a reed mat with angular designs, a bag woven of buffalo wool, and a leathern (perhaps deer or antelope foetus skin) bag in which was contained the mummified body of a hawk, daubed with thick bluish or greenish clay paint. A braided yarn cord was fastened to the hawk's neck for suspension, and a couple of scalplocks were attached to its tail. In other specimens, collected by Mr. M. R. Harrington and now in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, the hawks are literally covered with scalps. This is also true of the hawks in two Osage bundles in the American Museum collections. Osage and Kansa bundles are remarkably similar throughout in every detail. Besides the hawk there were a number of dry (buffalo?) bladders, and a twist of sweetgrass. The bundle was tied with broad leather thongs to which scalps are formerly said to have been attached. There were also a number of short sticks or reeds thrust under these thongs outside the bundle. They were said to represent the number of warriors concerned in striking the foe when it was last used. In addition to being a war talisman this bundle was looked upon as a watcher of the lodge and a guardian of health. During the menstruation of any woman in the family the bundle was taken outside and hung up. It was also taken outdoors and aired on sunny days "to keep it well." Apparently the contents of the bundles of different gentes differed slightly. Some had large sea shell gorgets in them. J. O. Dorsey, referring to the ceremony before starting to war, states:—

The clam shell had been brought from the 'great water at the east' by the ancestors of the Kansas. This was the case with all the sacred objects of the tribe, including the pipes and sundry roots used as medicines. The shell was opened and made like the face of a man, with eyes, teeth, etc.

When the sacred pipe is smoked by a Large Hāñga (Black eagle) or a Small Hāñga (Chicken-hawk) man, he must hold it in his right hand, blowing the smoke into the clam shell, which is held in his left. The smoke is supposed to ascend to the thunder-god, the god of war, to whom it is pleasant. There are five envelopes or wrappings for the shell, similar to those around the war pipe. All of the wrappings are called the "i^ohe-cabe." The inmost one is the bladder of a buffalo bull; the next is the spotted fur of a fawn; the third is matting made of the tall grass called *sa*; the fourth a broad piece of deer skin; the outmost one is interwoven hair from the head of a buffalo bull.

The war pipe was kept by Paha^ole-wak'ū (son of Ali^okawahu), who died in 1883. It is made of red pipestone (i^oyi^o), and is called i^o-jūdge nanū^oba or nanū-

ū'ba jūdje. The stem forms part of the stone, being just long enough to be put between the lips. The stone is about the thickness of two hands (two or three inches). On each side of the pipe is an eye, that it may see the enemies. The opening of the bundle containing it is regulated by Ali'kawahu.¹

The occasion for a war party was the death of a gens member, the idea among the Kansa (and also among the Osage) being that blood (formerly of an enemy, now of any living thing) must be shed to make up for the loss of a member of the gens. On such an occurrence the relatives of the deceased would approach their gens bundle owner and give him a horse, bidding him to mourn from one to six months (Dorsey makes it less) as the case might be.

After this period had elapsed, the bundle owner would call the tribe to council and select four braves (akida) to help him as officers, gather a war party, and set out. Before going into battle, the sacred bundle was opened and two braves took from it the hawk or the sea shell (gorget) and the reed and buckskin wrappers. The two warriors who did this thereby pledged themselves to kill an enemy or die in the attempt. These badges were hung around their necks by the leader, who removed the charms at night before the party slept, and hung them on the forks of a crotched stick, whence they were removed and placed on their wearers early in the morning when they rose. The rest of the bundle, the bag and contents, was left behind. Dorsey gives an excellent detailed account of the rites performed at the death of Hosasage, a Kansa, in the winter of 1882-3. He says: —

Now, as the Kansas are few, all the men of the tribe assemble and go on the war path; but formerly it was not so. Then a sufficient number of warriors could be raised from a few gentes, probably among the gentes connected with the deceased by blood or marriage. Then a pipe was given to one who was an important man in the tribe; and he fasted for six days before summoning the warriors to join him in the expedition....

As soon as Hosasage died, his father-in-law, Wakanda, went after Paha'le-gaqli, the war captain. The old man said, "Hosasage is dead. Therefore I have come to tell you to take the sacred pipe." The reply was, "Yes, I will take the sacred pipe. I will also take the sacred bag." Wakanda returned home, reaching it as day was coming. Paha'le-gaqli took the mysterious objects, and put clay on his face as a sign of mourning. He fasted, performing the ceremonies of the ancients. At day he took the pipe and went to the

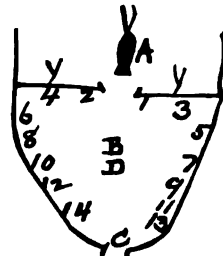


Fig. 1. Diagram of the Kansa Mourning Ceremony. After Dorsey.

¹ J. O. Dorsey, (d), 670 et seq. All the references to Dorsey in this section refer to this article.

house of the deceased. Hosasage's affinities had laid out the corpse, placing the body in the house near the door, and with the head to the east.

A skin tent was erected outside, extending from the front of the house towards the east. Representative men from all the gentes entered the tent and took their stations, as in the accompanying figure, beginning with No. 1.

When Paha^ale-gaqli arrived he first stood at C. Then the body was brought from the house and placed at B, with the head to the east. Then Paha^ale-gaqli stood at D, where he wept a great deal for the dead. He could not touch the corpse or any other dead body.

After mourning for him a long time, he said, "I will sit still for four days, smoking the sacred pipe. Then will I wander about, and I will kill any animals that I find." Then he condoled with all present. After which Wakanda took the ghost [a lock of hair] from the corpse, and carried it back to the house, crying as he went. Then Paha^ale-gaqli selected four young men to act as servants for himself and the warriors.¹ They were Gahia-ma^ayi^a, of the Turtle gens; I^auka-gaqli, the brother Paha^ale-gaqli, of the Black eagle gens; Tcehawale, or Shield, of the same gens; and Tadjek^auwe, of the Qūya or Eagle gens. This last is the brother-in-law of Paha^ale-gaqli. All are Yata men, i. e., men from gentes on the left side of the tribal circle. They were called djexe-k^ai^a, or *kettle-carriers*, answering to the Osage *ixexe-k^ai^a*, *leaders of the expedition*, or *qlets'age*. They always decide what is to be done, as the *duda^ahañga*, or war captain cannot do that. On this occasion the men chosen were Kibaq^ala-hū, of the Elk gens; Jiñgawasa, of the Qūya (Eagle) gens; Cu^amikase (Wolf), of the Ibatc^ae gens; and Wats^aaji, of the Black bear gens. Three were Yata men, and the fourth was an Ictufi^a (Right) man.

The directors consulted one another, saying, "Let us go on the war path in four days." Then they addressed Paha^ale-gaqli for the first time in their official capacity, "O war captain, let us go on the war path in four days." Then Paha^ale-gaqli announced their decision to all the others present, saying, "O comrades! in four days I will go on the war path."

As a reward for his services Wakanda gave Paha^ale-gaqli a spotted horse, two red blankets, two white ones and a calico shirt. The two red blankets, one white one and the shirt were divided at once among the four directors. Then all present, except Paha^ale-gaqli, returned to their homes. Paha^ale-gaqli could not go to his home for four days. He had told the kettle-carriers to make him a small lodge by the course of a small stream which used to flow near his house. This was done by Gahia-ma^ayi^a and Tcehawale. Paha^ale-gaqli was required to fast, wandering about and crying in solitary places, having clay on his face. At sunset his brother, I^auka-gaqli, brought him water. Then could the mourner wash his face and drink a cupful of the water, but he could eat no food. After sleeping awhile at night, he arose and put more clay on his face. At sunset on the fourth day the four directors went to the house of Paha^ale-gaqli and sent the four kettle-carriers to summon the mourner to his house. Then was he permitted to take food. The next morning he went for Gahia-ma^ayi^a and Tcehawale. Before they arrived he and his wife left their house. He ordered them to invite the guests to his lodge. The messengers went in different directions, saying to each invited guest, "I have come to call you to go on the war path." And each man replied, "Yes, I will go with you." A lodge was set up near the house of Paha^ale-gaqli, and there the guests assembled.

¹ Nixudje-yinge says that there are six instead of four when the waqpele gaxe is performed.

Only two gentes met as such, the two Hāfīga gentes, Black eagle and Chicken-hawk, but there were present the directors and kettle-carriers, some of whom were members of other gentes.

Paha'le-gaqli, who took his seat suddenly when the guests arrived, was present in two capacities, as war captain and as the head of his gens; Cu'mikase was there as a member of his gens and as a director; and Iḡuka-gaqle was there as a member of his gens and also as a kettle-carrier.

Only three were allowed to sing the sacred songs, Ali'kawahu, Gahi'ge-wadayiṅga (who died in Jan., 1883) and Paha'le-gaqli.

Two young men, one of the Turtle gens and one of the Qūya (Eagle) gens, attended to the sacred boiling (for the feast). Paha'le-gaqli sent Tadge-k'uwe for the sacred clam shell, saying, "I will take the large covering and the large bowl too. I will perform a sacred ceremony. Go for them." These objects were at the house of Paha'le-gaqli, beyond the person addressed.

After the singing Paha'le-gaqli lighted and smoked the war pipe, and then handed it to all the others. After smoking they slept there. When the sky was getting light, before sunrise, the men took clay which they rubbed over their faces. All rose to their feet within the lodge and cried. They ceased crying when the sky became white. They went out, put the saddles on the horses, mounted them and departed. Paha'le-gaqli kept far behind the others. All cried. By and by they reached the other side of the Arkansas river; then they reined in their horses and dismounted. Paha'le-gaqli took the clam shell and gave it to one of the four directors to carry on his back. Subsequently they killed five prairie chickens. Thus was life taken, and the mourners were satisfied. They went on till they reached a small stream, beside which they encamped. A fire was kindled and the two kettle-carriers who had made the small lodge at the first, went for water; they gave water to all the warriors, who washed off the clay from their faces. They ate the prairie chickens and then started homeward. All returned to the house of Paha'le-gaqli, where his wife put a kettle on the fire and gave them a meal. All partook of it and then separated, going to their respective homes.

According to Nixḡdje-yiṅge, two qlets'age were chosen for each side of the tribe. They carried on their backs thread or sinew for mending their moccasins, and corn and squashes in bags. The war captain had a tobacco pouch of skunk skin. When he smoked he was ever praying, "O Wakanda! I wish a Pani Loup to die."

The war captain made one of the qlets'age carry the sacred bag before the ceremony of 'wāqpele gāxe' was performed. On this occasion there were six kettle-carriers instead of four. When the qlets'age carried the sacred bag two of the kettle-carriers carried a bundle of sticks, apiece, which they laid down on the road, one end of each bundle pointing towards the land of the enemy. Four of the kettle carriers remained still. The next morning all the warriors went to the spot; they drew a circle around the bundles and set up one stick within, which they attacked as if it were a Pani. This might cause, in their opinion, the death of real foes. Members of the Lu, or Thunder gens, could not take part in this ceremony, but were obliged to keep in the rear. The following prayers were said during the wapqele gaxe, according to Nixḡdje-yiṅge: "I wish to pass along the road to the foe! O Wakanda! I promise you a blanket if I succeed!" This was said facing the east. Turning to the west the following prayer was made: "O Wakanda! I promise you a feast if I succeed!"

On the return from war, during the scalp dance which followed, the wife of the war captain held the scalp and the war pipe as she danced.

U'ce-gu²ya, an aged man of the Black bear gens, told the following: In former days when a man lost a child he cried for it, and became a war captain. Two persons built him a small lodge and filled a small kettle with corn. When the corn was boiled, which was about dark, the captain gave a little of it away, but he ate none. He fasted because he wished to kill an Indian. The warriors departed the next day. The kettle-carriers took corn, meat, moccasins, small kettles and spoons. During the 'waqpele gaxe' the following petitions were made. "I wish to kill a Pani! I wish to bring back horses! I wish to pull down a foe! I promise you a calico shirt! I promise you a robe! I will also give you a blanket, O Wakanda, if you let me come home after killing a Pani!"

When an enemy was killed, in olden days, the party returned, placed it on the outside of the war bundle, to make up for the loss of the deceased. The leader then went to the chief mourner's lodge and gave him a horse, obligating him to feast the victorious war party. Then victory and scalp dances were held and the mourning ceased.¹

COUPS AND WAR HONORS.

On the return of the war party the leader comes in ahead, singing and announcing the names of those who had achieved brave deeds. The accredited exploits were principally: killing, or killing and scalping a foe. For this a man had the right to wear the deer's hair roach, and for the first time assumed it during the scalp or victory dance held on the return of the war party.

Killing two foemen in the same fight: for this a double feather was worn in the hair.

Killing a foe at dawn when the sky was red: a red feather.

Stealing horses was also looked upon as a creditable and valorous deed, but counting coup was of no importance, although it was looked upon as a brave act.

PRIVILEGES OF WARRIORS.

During a surround, while the akida were holding back the people in order that all might charge in line, an akida who had a very swift horse might break away and race to the herd in order to kill the choicest beasts. He was pursued, and if caught before he reached the herd, he was whipped by his comrades; if he got there first, it was his privilege to hunt unmolested.

At feasts no commoner might sit on a stuffed hide pillow. Only an akida could do so, and he had to count his coups before he could be seated.

Akida were appointed to take charge of certain dances and see that everyone participated, but they were not supposed to perform police duty.

¹ Dorsey, (d), pp. 670-673.

in the village on ordinary occasions. However, it appears that they were sent for to regulate marital troubles at least, as will appear elsewhere in this paper.

When a warrior had succeeded in killing seven foemen, and capturing or stealing six horses, he was entitled to the greatest honor that could befall a Kansa, that of being tattooed on the breast. This was the summit of a warrior's ambition, and, though he might do many brave deeds thereafter, they could only add to his general reputation, and no more honors could be shown him. He might even retire on his laurels if he desired. The privileges and honors enjoyed by the tattooed warriors were numerous and important. Among them were: — the right to act as a go-between in marriage contracts; the right of ear piercing; the right of presiding at naming ceremonies. When a tattooed man died, it was customary to raise another to fill his place, provided he had killed at least five or six foes, otherwise only the regular count was accepted.

Warriors who performed brave deeds would approach the leader of the war party on their return, and offer him presents for the privilege of having their names changed. The leader would appoint four assistants (*hlätsagê*), presumably the same four whom he appointed at the outset and consult with them about the new names. These would be bestowed on the spot, and when the war party entered the village, these were the names which he announced when he recited the exploits of his followers. The people at large then adopted these titles, by which the warriors were known until they again performed some act of valor. Thus one brave might have several names during his life.

When asked what he considered a very brave deed, Roy Monroe gave the following instance: A Kansa was once fighting face to face with a Cheyenne. Both men were armed only with bows and arrows, and both were far from their own party, between the lines. The Cheyenne sent an arrow against the side of the Kansa, but it hit his butcher knife and was deflected. The Cheyenne, thinking he had mortally wounded his opponent, drew his scalping knife and dashed up. The two clinched, but the Kansa, though badly hurt, succeeded in getting his own knife clear and killed the Cheyenne. He was accorded great honor.

Tattooing. The rite of tattooing braves was vested in certain men who owned tattooing bundles. These were sacred bundles, connected with the war bundles, and were probably also clan bundles. There are said to be none now in the possession of the tribe. Presumably they were acquired by fasting and visions like other sacred bundles.

When a warrior had fulfilled the requirements for tattooing, he went to a bundle owner who did the work, and received no payment, as "he was

glad to be able to perform the rite since so few persons ever attained the honor." All these customs are doubtless similar to Osage rites. There are no living tattooed Kansa.

When a man had been very successful in war it was his privilege to have his wife tattooed. He would gather many presents, including a full suit of Indian clothes and give them to the owner of a tattooing bundle. The tattooing was done on the woman's chest, her arms as far as the wrist, and her calves. A round spot was also made on her forehead between the eyes. A prominent man's wife might have the septum of her nose pierced so that she could wear a nose ring.

Ear Piercing. A man who wished to have his child's ears pierced went to a tattooed man, or to one who, during combat, had had his body more thoroughly drenched in the blood of his enemy than anyone else (presumably there was a sympathetic connection here with the flow of blood from the child's ears during the rite of piercing) and gave him presents of calicoes, strouds, and robes, asking the brave to conduct the ceremony. The warrior accepted, and the father sold a horse to obtain the material for a feast. Then the public was invited, the warrior counted his coups and pierced the child's ears in several places. Everyone liked to be able to afford to do this for his children because of the special prestige it afforded. The wounds in the candidate's ear were plugged with lead to keep them open until they healed, and some time later the child's father gave a second feast to show that his son was ready to wear earrings, and would do so, henceforth.

DANCES AND CEREMONIES.

E*GIKO WATCI.

When a person died this dance was given by his relatives if he had been a man of importance. Six akida were selected from among the invited guests, and blankets were spread for them to sit on. Each was given a tin pan upon which he beat time while their leader danced with his tomahawk in his hand and counted his coups. When he had finished, he handed his weapon to another who took up the dance while the former received a present from the mourners. When this ceremony was over the mourning ceased, which would otherwise have lasted four days.

HELUCKA WATCI.

This dance is still performed, but has no longer any ceremonial meaning, being only a social function. Many of the characteristic regalia and other paraphernalia are still found, but they have apparently lost their significance.

The dance is performed by both men and women, and is held in a round frame building with a conical roof. The "crow," the well-known eagle feather bustle, is worn, and sword-like clubs of wood, presumably the flat "rabbit hind leg" form are borne by some of the men; short feather-covered wands are the property of some of the women. It could not be learned that there was specified any number of club, wand, or crow owners, or that these people had now any special rank, rotation, or privileges. There is no dog feast.

This dance was not originally a Kansa ceremony, according to my informants. It is supposed to have come from the Ponca, who previously got it from the Sioux. It is said to have been called formerly, "Caⁿhelucka Watci" or Sioux dance. The society is composed of:—

2 chiefs	2 whip carriers (wan'ûci)
1 drum owner	5 singers (h'oka)
6 leaders (dudan ^a)	4 speakers (nij'êtênûhé)
2 ushers (wawe'la)	6 women singers (oyazê)
2 "tails" (sinje)	2 waiters (o ⁿ hu ^x ê) ¹
1 water carrier (ni ^a i)	x members

¹ These latter may be chosen from among the members just before the feast. The office is not permanent.

When it has been decided to get up a *helúcka* society, before a drum is made all the prospective members get together and appoint the two chiefs. These two decide who shall be caretaker, or owner of the drum. That is, who shall keep the drum in his house, and provide a place and food for the dancers, and people who go to his lodge to dance. Nowadays, however, there is a round, conical-roofed dance house of wood in which the ceremony is held.

When they have selected a proper person to own the drum, the chiefs fill and light a pipe and give it to the appointee. If he takes and smokes it, he has accepted. He then tells them to select the six *dudan*^a or leaders. When this has been done the two *wawe'la*, or ushers, are chosen. They place visitors at the ceremony and settle any disputes, arguments, or quarrels that may arise in the society at a ceremony.

The next step is the selection of two boys called *sinjê*, or tails. Their duty is to dance alone after each song is sung to the music of a special little verse.

After this a boy is selected as *ni^ai*, or water carrier, during performances, and then two *wan'úci* (whip carriers) whose task it is to keep order and to tell people when the dances are called and invite them to be present. They rise first at the dance and make the others follow. Their function is like that of the ancient *akida*.

Following this the five *hoka* or singers are elected, and then four old men are chosen to be chiefs or *mi'jêtnúhê*. It is their portion to make speeches and preach between the dances during the ceremonies. If anyone loses anything while on the floor he calls on one of these old men to pick it up for him. The elder goes out, recites one of his coups, takes up the object and returns it to its owner, who is obliged to give him a present in return. This has its parallel among the Menomini.

Now the six *dudan*^a or leaders choose six women singers (*ôyazê*) to sit behind the five male singers. The men sit in a circle about the drum and the women form an outer circle. Just before the dance commences, the drum owner strikes the drum and gives away a horse. After this the ceremony opens.

In former times only the leaders might own and wear the "crow," or eagle feather bustle and only braves, the deer hair roach, but now anyone may assume them, and they have lost their significance.

There is no dog feast, or counting coups before eating an animal head, nor is there any throwing away of gifts at a confessional dance, nor divorce proceedings. These latter are found among the Menomini, Potawatomi, Sauk, Fox, and perhaps Ojibway. Unlike the Menomini and Ojibway, the Kansa lack the sex taboo, a prohibition of sexual intercourse for some

time prior to the ceremony. There is no special pipe or pipe owner, but the drum owner keeps a pipe and tobacco for the pleasure of the members, not for any ceremonial use.

J. O. Dorsey says¹ that the "Ilucka watci" was danced by men alone after returning from war.

WAR DANCES.

Dorsey² refers to two dances not mentioned by my informants. He says: —

There are two dances before going to war, the *Maka'watci'* and the *Wacábe watci'*. The former may be danced at any season. It is designed to increase the warlike spirit of the men. . . .

The *Wacábe watci'* is danced four days before going on the war path, in warm weather. There are about forty followers besides the leaders. They divide into two parties of equal numbers and dance out of doors, around the village, half going in one direction and half in the other. Each of the four *qlets'age* carries a standard or *waqléle skā*, made of swan skin (*mi'xa-ha*). Two of these men are in each party. The *he wáqléle* or *wacábe*, from which the dance takes its name, is borne by the *wadjípa'yi'* or village crier, a member of the Deer gens. When they start on the war path the *qlet s'age* go horseback, carrying their standards.

SCALP OR VICTORY DANCE.

On the return of the war party, the successful warriors delivered their scalps to the women who placed them on the ends of sticks and danced with them. The warriors also danced, dressed in their best clothes, and young men, who had just performed their first exploits, were privileged to wear the deer hair roach headdress for the initial time. Dorsey refers to this dance as the *watce watci'*, and says it was danced only by women. The following account of the scalp dance is given by the Rev. Joab Spencer: —

In the autumn of 1867 the Kaw Indians went off on their annual hunt into the buffalo country. . . . Some time after their return I learned there was to be a scalp dance at night at a village not far from the agency, and, with others decided to witness the performance. When I reached the village the dance was in progress. The scalps recently secured were hung on a pole erected in the midst of the village. Only men dance among the Indians. The dancers arranged themselves in a straight line, or in a circle, one just behind the other, assuming a stooping position, with the knees bent forward enough to balance the body. The dance consisted of a kind of shuffling motion and a spring up of a few inches from the ground. . . .

¹ J. O. Dorsey, (d), 679.

² (d), 678 et seq.

The dancers had a grave and serious look, and seemed to give close attention to their work. If a dancer tired he would step out of line. If another wished to join, he stepped into line at any time. . . . They danced to music, or rather with music. The musician's instrument was a drum made by stretching wet rawhide over the open end of a keg; when the skin dried the drum was ready for use. This he struck with a stick, like a bass-drummer, and kept very good time. These drums could be heard for quite a distance. The performer accompanied the drum with an improvised song, in which he recited the brave feats of the warriors in the battle in which the scalps had been taken.

PEYOTE.

The peyote cult while very strong here, having apparently superseded all of the old Kansa beliefs, has been in vogue, it is said, only seven or eight years. It probably came from the Ponca. None of the teachings of the cult, as practised by the Kansa, have any biblical foundation. The ceremonies are held in a large conical tipi, and the usual rattles made of small gourds and eagle feather fans and other paraphernalia occur. The effect of peyote eating on the Kansa has been to abolish drunkenness among its followers.

WOMAN'S DANCE.

This dance (*paia'tê watci*) is said to be the same as the *helucka* with the same officers except that there are no whip carriers. Little could be learned of it, and it is perhaps extinct.

WANÁCE'S DANCE.

An Oto named Wanáce introduced a dance called after him, *Wanace watci*, but it died out soon after its introduction. It is said to have resembled the Potawatomi dream dance. There were two officers who bore pipes and preceded the line of dancers about the hall.

DALI WATCI.

This dance is regarded as being principally a woman's dance, although the warriors take a prominent part. The women dance close together, while the braves, mounted, parade around them and re-enact their coups. Many of the men carry wands with bunches of shavings rolled back at

intervals, one for each of his coups.¹ Wands are cut by braves and taken to noted warriors who prepare the shavings, one for each coup struck by the carrier, and return them.

The male dancers were stripped to clout and moccasins, and their bodies and legs were smeared with white clay. Sometimes an old warrior who had stolen a horse gave the right to some young man who requested the privilege of wearing a rope, bandolier-wise, over one shoulder. This doubtless had some connection with the horse's halter. If anyone asked why this was worn, the bearer replied, "As an argument." Some carried a corncob instead, with the same meaning. Other youths carried a pack strap. This privilege is given by old men who have killed an enemy and taken away all his possessions.

During a dance a man might dismount and ask another to strike him with his wand. The latter first recited one of his coups and then obeyed. Two akida were appointed to look around and bring in all youths and make them dance. If a young man refused, the akida counted their coups and beat him, after which he was set free.

The dancers were led by war bundle owners bearing the calumet stem, but the use of this regalia was only secondary in this society.

At one point in the dance a certain song was struck up and at this signal all the men raced to another lodge where a feast had been prepared. The one who got there first received the lion's share of the food.

Sometimes the proceedings were interrupted by the appearance of a man leading a child. The man had a butcher knife in his hand with which he stabbed the drum and ended the dance. This was a demand for more dancing and meant the preparation of a new drum. Next day the stabber gave a horse to provide a feast, and when it had been sold or traded and the feast prepared and eaten, the dancing started in again. The women began alone, the men meanwhile dressing. Finally, they were called and joined the ceremony. The dancers then went two by two, two women and two men dancing in a circle.

CALUMET DANCE.

Those who own the feathered pipe wand have the right of taking it to another tribe, or as I understand it, another individual of their own tribe, where, if accepted, the following ceremony, called mo^ocu watci, or calumet dance, is given.

The recipient tells his friends what has happened and invites them to

¹ Cf. Menomini funeral customs, this series, Vol. XIII, 63-72.

take part. He then chooses one of his children to receive the calumet, and four assistants or advisors who council him about the final ceremony of acceptance. He orders his assistants to prepare a feast, and when the guests arrive the four announce to them the reason for the ceremony.

The pipestem wand is a perforated stick an inch or two in circumference and about a yard long, beautifully ornamented with feathers, horsehair and other objects. The perforation symbolizes the sun, which is said by the Kansa to look as though it had a hole in it, if it be gazed at steadily. One end of the wand has a duck's head fastened over it. This represents good weather, for ducks fly quacking when the weather is to be fine. The bunch of owl feathers attached to the stick represents rain, for this is what the owl's cry foretells. The woodpecker bills symbolize fair weather, as they are heard then, and the tuft of red dyed horsehair at the end opposite the duck head is a prayer for more horses. On the wand is a fan-like appendage formed from the plumes of two varieties of black eagles (?), and mottled black and white. A forked stick, representing a crotched tree of the type in which eagles nest, is also included. This is painted red to represent the green grass, and is stuck in the ground and the feathered wand is rested in it, with the duck's bill end on the ground. Four grains of corn also accompany the wand and these are planted later to symbolize the desire of the people for fruitful crops. The signification of the wand and all its accessories is long life. Two wands are used: one with white eagle feathers is the male, the other with black, the female.

The child's face is painted green with an outer circle of red, and it is lead from the lodge and placed before a drum. Then two men dance with the feathered wands and while they perform, the donor of the ceremony receives rich gifts of horses, blankets, and other goods.

When the dance is over a single grain of corn is cut into four parts and dropped into a little bowl of water. Then a horse's tail is dipped in it and drawn once in a circle about the child's face, symbolizing washing away the paint. Then it is dried by taking a wildcat skin and going through the same motions with it.

Next four bundles of grass are taken and placed one to the east, south, west, and north, and the child's feet are placed on each. This represents four generations of his own that the child shall live to see, and it is called, "giving four houses." This is the main object of the ceremony, to bring long life, and "all belongs to the child." The child is told by the donor: "Some day, when you have grown up and have a family, if you get in hard straits, remember me. Then give this ceremony to someone as I gave it to you, for this rite is performed partly for the benefit of the donor, who is usually very poor."

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

As might be expected, the Kansa have lost much of their social organization, yet a good knowledge of the old gentile groups remains. According to Dorsey, the Kansa had four types of social divisions, namely: moieties, phratries, gentes, and subgentes. Of these the writer was only able to obtain information on the gentes, and the gentile individual names belonging to them. These names seem to have escaped Dorsey's attention.

We obtained a list of fifteen Kansa gentes most of which seem to bear identification with Dorsey's list of sixteen, although our translations of the names of the gentes do not always agree.

Dorsey gives a *Mi'k'i'a* (Carries-the-sun-on-his-back) gens, which the writer took for *Mika*, or raccoon, but Dorsey lists the raccoon people as a subgens of the *Ibatc'ě*, or Holds-the-firebrand-to-sacred-pipes, a group which I did not obtain from my informants. One other discrepancy of a like sort occurs. I did not obtain the *Qüya*, or White Eagle gens of Dorsey's list, but did get a *Khryanika*, or Real Eagle division. This seems to correspond with Dorsey's *Qüyunikaci'ga*, or White-eagle-people subgens of the gens of that name, which after all amounts to practically the same thing.

My list does not agree very well with that of Fletcher and La Flesche¹ who record in all twelve gentes, including the following not found by me. *Wazhazhe* or *Osage*, Kansa, *Waxhi'ga* or bird, *Te* or buffalo. The bird and buffalo gentes occur neither in my list nor in Dorsey's, but Dorsey clears up the other cases, however, by giving *Osage* as an alternative name for the *Deer* gens, Kansa as an alternative for *Tcihaci'a*. In addition Dorsey also gives the following alternative names for other gentes: *Ma'nyiñka gaxe* or *Earth Lodge Makers* for the *Earth* gens; *Hañga utandji*, *Hanga-apart-from-the-rest*, and *Ta sindje qaga* or *Stiff-deer-tail* for *Hanga tinga*; *Si tanga* or *Big feet*, for the *Buffalo bull* gens; *Leda'unikacinga*, or *gray hawk* for the *Thunder* people. Dorsey gives *Sindjale* (tail wearers, or anything with a tail) as a subgens of the *black bear* group. We collected it as an alternative name for the *black bear* people.

The matter of the subgentes also needs attention. The list of names which Dorsey gives as subgentes sounds like the personal gentile names which we collected. As the Kansa whom we questioned were all of the opinion that the gentes were never subdivided, perhaps Dorsey mistook these terms for the names of subgentes.

¹ Fletcher and La Flesche, 67.

BANDS.

According to Wam'o'ike¹ the Kansa tribe was originally divided into three bands, known as:—

(a) Gah'oli, or Creek band under Chief Nopauwoi, in recollection of my informant.

(b) Mo'h'azuli, or Yellow-cutbank band, under Chief Aligaw'ahu.

(c) Bgiu (Picayune?), Nickle band, so called because this division was first to obtain five cent pieces, under Chief W&'cungê.

While the chiefs named are those known to my informant, and the name of one of the bands at least is of recent origin, it is still possible that this treble division is very old, and the names only are modern.

GENTES.

Regardless of the bands, however, there still remain a number of exogamous gentes, with descent in the male line. Wam'o'ike added that several more gentes were extinct, and gave the names of all that he could remember. The first five are the most important and go in rotation. The order of the others does not matter. The tribal civil chieftaincies are five in number, and the office is hereditary. My informant believes that the original five were chosen for wisdom and valor, but that the reasons for choosing them, together with their names, etc., are long since lost. They also were important according to the rotation of their gens. The gentes are:

- (1) Moi'ka nîkûcinga, earth people.
- (2) Mika nîkûcinga, raccoon people.
- (3) Hungatinga nîkûcinga, black eagle people.
- (4) O'pa nîkûcinga, moose (?) or elk (?) people.
- (5) Pta nîkûcinga, deer people.
- (6) Lunikucana nîkûcinga, thunder people. (Dorsey Lu, Thunder, or Leda'unikicinga, grey hawk people.)
- (7) Ha nîkûcinga, night people.
- (8) Khryanika nîkûcinga, real eagle people.
- (9) Tcedoga nîkûcinga, buffalo bull people.
- (10) Wanagre nîkûcinga, ghost people.
- (11) Kê'ta'ga nîkûcinga, big turtle people.

¹ Person-who-steals, in the sense of a brave deed, as one who steals horses from the enemy.

(12) Tcihaci nkûcinga, not translatable, derived from wind, perhaps means blowing. (Dorsey gives this as Last Lodge.)

(13) Wasabe nkûcinga, (extinct) bear people.¹

(14) Wacta'ge nkûcinga, (extinct), never do wrong people. (Dorsey gives this as Tci ju Wactage, Tci ju, peace maker.)

(15) Ponka nkûcinga, Ponca People.

Gens Rites. Each of these gentes originally had certain positive or negative rites, that is, privileges or taboos. Many of these are forgotten, but the following are remembered:

(1) The Earth-people announced the moving of camp, after counseling with buffalo and deer-people. They also pitched their tents first upon the ground and the others followed. The earth-people might never eat "roasting ears" of maize until all the other gentes had had their fill.

(2) Raccoon-people, rites forgotten.

(3) Black-eagle-people. Members can skin eagles if they kill them, or give permission to others to do so. Other gens members may not do so, but must bring any eagle that they may slay to an eagle man, who will either skin it for them, or give them oral permission to do so. They had the right to strew eagle down on the graves of the dead.

(4) Elk-people, rites forgotten.

(5) Deer-people. Originally the members of the deer gens were not supposed to touch venison but this custom has long been ignored. Latterly, when on a deer hunt, if a member of the party fell sick, it was taboo to eat the flesh of a deer of the opposite sex from that of the patient.

(6) Thunder-people. When there was a drought these people burned the prairie to cause rain. During violent storms, they threw cedar leaves on the fire and besought the thunder to moderate or go away.

(7) Night-people, rites forgotten.

(8) Real-eagle-people, rites same as black eagle people.

(9) Buffalo-people might not eat buffalo meat when on hunt until all other gentes had finished.

(10) Ghost-people. When a person died, the relatives gave a horse to the ghost gens to pay for a feast at which the ghost people ate first.

(11) Big Turtle-people, rites forgotten.

(12) Blowing-people (?), rites forgotten.

(13) Bear-people. When on the warpath if a member touched the body of a foe with his right hand on his return he had the privilege of touching his son's mouth with the same hand. If the child vomited, he was a bastard.

(14) Never-do-wrong-people, rites forgotten.

(15) Ponca-people, rites forgotten.

¹ Sinjale, "anything with a tail" was a nickname sometimes applied to the Wasabe.

There were no special clan paintings nor hair cuts. There were no sub-gentes, nor was there a dual division. Each gens formerly had its own type of sacred bundle.

Wam'o'ike says that he knows only the origin myth of his own gens, that of the deer, but that he believes the other gentes had similar origin myths, now forgotten. The deer gens myth runs as follows: Long ago two Indians, relatives, killed a deer. They ran up and looked at it. The elder said, "Well, this is a nice little animal we have killed. We can name our children and ourselves after it." So they took the name of deer, and their descendants have always been known by that title.

Individual Gens Names. Each gens had its own male and female gentile names, which could be used by every family in the group. These titles were bestowed in order of birth, in the rotation given here. The names all had reference to the eponymous object of the gens and could be used by the owners throughout life if they chose, even when other names had been earned in war or otherwise acquired.

Many of these names cannot now be translated, for the terms are archaic. Each set given had to be gathered from a member of the gens in question, as it was not customary for any person to pay attention to those occurring outside their own gens. So far as could be learned, all these names are still vigorously kept up.

A. The Ghost-people Gens

Male

- 1 Wa¹liji
- 2 Watc²esna
- 3 Yútculézê, ribs showing (as in a decomposed corpse)
- 4 Pa'hrêga, skull
- 5 Wanaghrê, ghost
- 6 Huj'êmaia, whistle (of ghost)¹

Female

- 1 No³duwabl, watching-it (child) grow
- 2 Míhowê, Hunting-trouble
- 3 Huyáli
- 4 Asihowê
- 5 Wáguwú

¹ The ghosts of people who have died horrible deaths are supposed to stay behind on earth, wandering and whistling. The name alludes to this phenomenon.

B. Deer-people Gens

Male

- 1 Gah'iginizê, Standing-chief
- 2 Mijtnoho^x, Breaking-bow
- 3 He^xhûta, Forked-horns
- 4 Tasiha^x, Deer-hoof
- 5 Nfabi, (Shot at and) Missed-deer
- 6 Tatûnga, Buck
- 7 Soⁿjoⁿ maihe, Walking-through-the-oaks

Female

- 1 Hambáidoka, Wet-moccasins
- 2 Wûcamit'caka, Wild-animal
- 3 He^xojami, Gray-hair (Reference: Deer in winter coat)
- 4 Sânsile, Deer-tracks
- 5 Moⁿjuwabi, Spying-at-deer
- 6 Hîⁿjujame, Red-in-spring (Reference to deer's spring and summer coat).

C. Night-people Gens

Male

- 1 Lado^xhojê, Gray-hawk
- 2 Hambaih'u^x, Coming-daylight
- 3 Hámbaska, Dawn
- 4 Haⁿcábe, Dark-night
- 5 Haⁿcihê, Dusk

Female

- 1 Bek'ûnjê, Bird
- 2 Kaⁿhamê, Glittering-stars
- 3 Wat'cestomi, Early-morning
- 4 Lúwatcé, Midnight
- 5 Háⁿjamê, Night

D. Real-eagle-people Gens¹

Male

- 1 Ka^omai^a, Soaring-eagle
- 2 Waha^ahaⁿ, White-spots-showing (in a soaring eagle)
- 3 Húntasabe, ?
- 4 Waiⁱgída', ?
- 5 Wa^hhito', ?

Female

- 1 Xuaiádwabi, ?
- 2 Waguwa, ?
- 3 Bazémi, Yellow-head
- 4 Mizhúhawaka, ?
- 5 Wazhónhai, ?

E. Ponca-people Gens²

Male

- 1 Wacista, ?
- 2 Wa^oingali, Pretty-bird
- 3 Hizhaⁿ, ?
- 4 Gaska, ?
- 5 Watcigahé, ?
- 6 Yújiwaci, ?

Female

- 1 Hombáidoka (This name was given to the Ponca gens by the Deer gens, hence the duplication.)
- 2 Mihêtcunga, ?
- 3 Maⁿsaki'da, ?
- 4 Skawahoⁿtci, ?
- 5 Tamoⁿzhi, ?
- 6 Wakansalé, ?

KINSHIP TERMS.³

Be-ché-go (Mítégu), all males of my grandparent's generation and beyond, lineal or collateral.

¹ Tapení, a woman, informant.

² Jeff Macaulay, informant.

³ The terms in parentheses are those collected by the writer. The others are listed by Morgan. M. S. and F. S., stand for "male speaking" and "female speaking," respectively.

E-kó (Iko'), all females of my grandparents generation and beyond, lineal or collateral, except my mother's mother's sister and my father's father's sister's daughter.

E-kó-be-ta, my mother's mother's sister; my father's father's father's sister's daughter.¹

E-dä'-je (Idai*), my father; my father's brother; my stepfather; my mother's brother's daughter's husband (either sex speaking); my father's father's brother's son.

E'-naw (Inu), my mother; my mother's sister; my stepmother; my father's brother's wife; my mother's brother's daughter (either older or younger, either sex speaking); my mother's brother's son's daughter (either sex speaking).

Be-ché-ga (Wicingi), my son; my brother's son (M.S.); my sister's son (F.S.); my father's brother's son's son (M.S.); my father's brother's daughter's son (F.S.); my father's sister's son (older or younger than self, male or female speaking); my mother's sister's daughter's son (older or younger male or female speaking); my father's father's brother's son's son (M.S.); my stepson.

She-mé-she-ga, my daughter; my stepdaughter; my father's brother's son's daughter (M.S.).

Be-chose-pa, my grandchild, either sex, and all succeeding generations, lineal or collateral.

Be-zhé-yeh (Mizhi*), my elder brother (M.S.); my father's brother's son older than self (M.S.); my mother's brother's daughter's son (M.S.); my mother's sister's son older than self (M.S.); my father's father's brother's son older than self (M.S.); my stepbrother older than self (M. and F. S.); my wife's sister's husband, older than self.

Be-ché-do (Wit'cido), my elder brother; my father's brother's son older than self; my mother's brother's daughter's son; my mother's sister's son older than self (F.S.).

Be-tún-ga (Wita"ge), my elder sister; my father's brother's daughter older than self; my mother's brother's daughter's daughter; my mother's sister's daughter older than self; my husband's brother's wife younger than self (?); my elder stepsister (M.S.).

Be-shó-wa (Wi"obe), my elder sister; my father's brother's daughter older than self; my mother's brother's daughter's daughter; my mother's sister's daughter older than self; my husband's brother's wife older than self; my elder stepsister (F.S.).

¹ I suspect that this term means something like "my remote grandmother" and is not a term in general use.

Be-sun'-ga (Wica^aga), my younger brother; my father's brother's son; younger than self; my mother's sister's son younger than self; my father's father's brother's son younger than self; my wife's sister's husband younger than self; my younger stepbrother (M. and F.S.).

Be-tun'-gä-zhin'-gä, my younger sister (M.S.); my father's brother's daughter, younger than self (M.S.); my mother's sister's daughter, younger than self (M.S.); my younger stepsister (F.S.).

Ah-sé-zhe-gä, my younger sister (F.S.); my father's brother's daughter, younger than self (F.S.); my mother's sister's daughter, younger than self (F.S.); my younger stepsister (F.S.).

Un-go'-ke-wä-kom, my brothers (M. and F. S.); my sisters (M.S.).

Be-jé-na, my daughter-in-law (M.S. and F.S.); my brother's son's wife (M. and F. S.); my sister's son's wife (M. and F. S.); my father's sister's son's wife (M. and F. S.).

She-mé-she-gä (Wi hu^a gè), my brother's daughter (M.S.); my sister's daughter (F.S.); my father's brother's daughter's daughter (F.S.); my father's sister's daughter, older than self (F.S.); my mother's sister's son's daughter (M.S.); my mother's sister's daughter's daughter (F.S.).

Be-tö-ja, my son-in-law; my brother's or sister's daughter's husband; my father's sister's daughter's husband (M. and F.S.).

Be-chosé-ka (Witciku), my sister's son, younger or older than self (M.S.); my brother's son (F.S.); my father's brother's son's son (F.S.); my father's daughter's son or daughter (M.S.); my sister's son's daughter's son (M.S.).

Be-ché-zho (Mit'cihu), my sister's daughter (M.S.); my brother's daughter (F.S.); my father's brother's son's daughter (F.S.); my mother's sister's daughter's daughter; my father's sister's daughter, older or younger than self (M.S.).

Be-hä'-gä (Mihunga), my father's brother's son's wife (M.S.); my mother's sister's son's wife (M.S.); my wife's sister; my brother's wife (M.S.).

Be-shé-ka, my brother's wife; my husband's sister's husband; my husband's sister; my father's brother's son's wife or daughter's husband (F.S.); my mother's sister's son's wife or daughter's husband (F. S.); my husband's brother; my sister's husband.

Be-tä'-hä (Mitahan), my father's brother's daughter's husband (M. S.); my father's sister's husband; my mother's sister's daughter's husband (M.S.); my sister's husband (M. and F. S.).

Be-je-me, my father's sister; my mother's brother's wife; my mother's brother's son's wife (M. and F. S.); my father's father's sister's daughter.

Be-já-ga (Mijegi), my mother's brother; my mother's brother's son,

elder than self (M. and F.S.); my mother's brother's son, younger than self (M. and F. S.); my mother's brother's son's son (M. and F.S.); my mother's brother's great grandson's son; my mother's mother's brother's son.

Ne-ká, my husband.

Wä-kó, my wife.

Sáh'-ga (Tsalgê), my wife's father, my wife's grandfather.

Wä-kos'ah'-ga (Wakodna), my wife's mother, my wife's grandmother.

Be-tä'-ba, my wife's brother?

Mi-wí-huh-hä, my wife's brother's wife.

Mother-in-law Taboo. Forest Choteau says that no Kansa ever spoke to his mother-in-law if he could help it, but he might do so if absolutely necessary. All conversation with her was carried on through the medium of his wife. Girls, in like manner, durst not address their fathers-in-law.

Joking-Relationship. A man might joke with his brothers and sisters-in-law, or his nephews, but not his uncles.

DREAM FASTING.

Fasting was commenced by boys when they were about twelve or thirteen. The father painted his son's face with clay and sent him to some lonely spot to pray. The father would say to the boy: "I want you to obtain power so that when I am gone people will be able to say when you do some brave deed, "Oh, it is So-and-so's son who has done that!"

The youth would fast four days if necessary, and the things vouchsafed him were principally war powers. The dreams concerned the future and his coming exploits. The ghosts of those of his ancestors who were warriors would appear to him and prophesy his future. One would say, "Be brave! have courage! When you meet the foe I will give you power to ride right up and strike one." Before setting out on the warpath such a man would tell his dream to the people.

Besides having visions of their ancestors, the Kansa youths often dreamed of animals and supernatural beings such as the bear, the buffalo, and the thunder, who appeared in their own shapes and talked to them. No control was exercised over these dreams. They were accepted without any attempt to obtain some more favorable vision. The thing that appeared became the dreamer's guardian and he continued to dream of it from time to time during his life. If he dreamed of it while very ill he would recover, but when he ceased to see it in his dreams it was a sign that he would shortly die, for his guardian had deserted him. A man's dream would return to him when he was in a predicament.

So "j'oⁿ maihé knew of a man who was named Pâniwabeta (Owning-the-Pawnee) because he had slain so many of that tribe. On his last expedition against them he rode right into their village and was killed. As he lay there dead a large snake, his guardian, ran out of his body.

Another man, who had dreamed of a bear, painted his sides black to represent that animal. He would allow other Indians to shoot him and kill him, but after lying dead a little while he would get up whole, even though he had had a hole shot through him.

Another, who had the thunder for his guardian had deer killed for him by lightning, and brought them home without a mark on them. He was finally killed by lightning himself.

Girls also underwent the puberty fast, but their dreams were seldom important. They generally dreamed that their brothers would be successful on the warpath. They plastered their hair with mud when they went out.

MARRIAGE.

The parents of the youth visit or send for a tattooed warrior who is brought to their lodge, where he is asked to serve as intermediary, or *mezhipaha*¹. He learns who is the girl they have selected, and chooses three other men, all accredited braves, to accompany him to the lodge of the girl's parents, where he sets the proposition before them. If the girl's parents are willing, the *mezhipaha*¹ arises and recites his coups, followed by his assistants. They then return to the youth's parents, stopping at intervals to count their coups. If, however, their errand has been unsuccessful, they go back in silence, by which everyone is made aware of the failure of the negotiations.

When they reach the lodge whence they were sent, they announce their success. Next the groom goes to the bride elect's lodge with a number of horses. He used to ride his best buffalo horse,¹ and it was led by an old woman, bearing an American flag. The old woman was a sort of herald or crier. The horses are then formally presented to the bride elect's father and the wedding date agreed upon. When this is decided the girl is dressed in her best and sent back to the groom's lodge with many presents which she delivers to the groom's parents. They conduct her joyfully into their lodge where they take off her garments, and redress her in a splendid cos-

¹ Some horses that were strong and swift, were especially trained for the buffalo hunt, for which many horses were unfit. They were of prime value among all prairie tribes.

tume which they have provided for the occasion. The girl is now considered married, and takes up her abode with the groom, in his father's lodge, which is now his property.

From an older authority we learn that:—

The marriage ceremony is somewhat elaborate. The marriage contract is made between the relatives of the bride and groom, who are not consulted in the matter. It is simply a sale and purchase. The relatives of the man go to the relatives of the girl and agree upon the consideration. Often the girl is not more than five or six years of age. When the time for the conferring of the contract arrives, if the families live in villages the family of the groom moves his tent near the family of the girl. On the day fixed for the final ceremony the tent of the groom is vacated by the family. The presents of the groom's relatives are left in the tent, except the ponies, which are tied outside, and four women relatives of the groom remain in the tent. The bride is clothed in all the fine and costly things that her family are able to furnish. She is then placed upon the finest horse possessed by her family, it having been decorated with costly coverings. A gun is then discharged at her tent to notify the four women at the groom's tent that the bride has started for the groom's tent. The four women leave the tent to meet her. She is taken by them from the horse, wrapped in fine clothing and carried by the four women into the tent and seated upon the ground uncovered. The friends of the groom are then notified, and he is brought into the tent and seated near the bride, when they both partake of a wedding feast, seated back to back, 'sight unseen.' After the repast is ended the relatives and friends of both parties are admitted to the tent, a general feast is had, and the delivery of the presents. Thus the ceremony is ended. If the wife is not of mature age she becomes one of the family of the groom until she is old enough to take charge of her own house." ¹

DIVORCE.

If the young people fail to agree, the groom usually returns to his parents. In such a case the bride's parents employ the same old woman who led him over to their lodge during the wedding negotiations to go over to his lodge and try to persuade the husband and his parents to be reconciled. If a reconciliation can be effected the husband's parents send presents back to the wife's parents, who accept. The man then returns to his lodge where he is visited and lectured by his parents-in-law. If the man refuses to make up, it is simply a divorce, and the old woman returns and informs the girl's parents. Both parties are free to marry again.

If caught in the act of adultery, the woman might be whipped, or even killed by her spouse. In the latter case, her parents had no redress. Roy Monroe knew of one man who slashed off the fleshy portion of his wife's

¹ Spencer, 374.

nose, but all agree that nose-cutting was rare. The male delinquent might be killed by the irate husband.

The father of a divorced man might, on the occasion of a tribal buffalo hunt, take back the fine buffalo horse given the wife's parents at the wedding. In such a case the aggrieved father-in-law would appeal to the akida, who would proceed to the lodge of the groom's father and demand the horse. Two courses of procedure were then open to the defendant. He might give up the steed to them, or he might tell them that he needed the horse to hunt with in order that he might support his children. In which case the akida would demand: "Do you mean to keep that horse?" If answered in the affirmative, the reply was, "Well, keep it!" The man was then dragged out, stripped, and beaten. Each akida struck him once with his rod, after counting his coups. This was just the regular "soldier killing."

BURIAL AND MOURNING CUSTOMS.

When a man dies he is laid out and his best clothes are put on. His face is then painted by a member of his own gens, no one else being permitted to perform this rite. An old man then talks to the corpse and directs it how to reach the hereafter.

The body is placed in a grave not over three or four feet deep, at full length, head to the east. All the dead man's garments and most of the utensils and implements which were particularly associated with the deceased are also placed in the grave. The body itself is carefully wrapped in a buffalo robe. Then a covering of sticks is laid over the body and the earth thrown in. A pile of stones is finally heaped up over the grave which is generally, like those of the Osage, placed on the summit of a hill.

All the souls of the dead are said to be gathered in one place where the old ways are kept up, and where there is an abundance of buffalo. It is said by some that the souls of the dead return immediately to the locality where the owner was born and linger there for a year before finally departing.

The mourning period, for either sex, is four days, though a person losing husband or wife may mourn from one to six months, the period finally being terminated by a successful war party. Women mourn their husbands for a year. Every morning they rub dirt on their faces and wail. They also cut off the ends of their hair and slash themselves on the arms, legs, and face with knives. Men also cut off their scalplocks and slash themselves.

On the death of a person the mourners invited the people at large and

gave away a number of ponies, blankets, and other goods. Sometimes these presents were given in the form of prizes for races. Ponies especially were given for the first and sometimes second and third places, and often blankets or other prizes for the fourth and fifth. Another method was to toss a bell in the air and let the people scramble for it. Whosoever came out of the mêlée with the bell received a horse.

The following data were obtained from older writers:—

"When one dies the female relatives of the deceased take the entire charge of the dead, prepare the body for burial, dig the grave, take the body to the place of interment, and bury it without the presence of any men." — *Judge Huffaker.*

If the deceased was a brave or a hunter his gun, saddle, bridle, blankets and other articles, supposed to be necessary for his use in the spirit world, were placed in the grave with his body, and his best horse strangled to death over his grave and left lying on it. For three nights succeeding his burial a light was kept burning at the head of his grave to give light to the soul on its passage to the Indian land of plenty and happiness, the happy hunting-ground, and for the same length of time food was placed at the head of the grave, upon which he, in some mysterious way, was supposed to feed until he reached his new and eternal home.

When there was a death in the family the mourning was continued for a month or moon. During this period the females of the family and relatives of the deceased wore cakes of wet ashes on their heads, and the men blackened their faces with mud. These tokens of grief were worn constantly, except when partaking of food. If one offered them food they would remove the black mud or ashes before they began eating. If a man lost his wife he would give away or destroy all of her cooking utensils and other household goods as a mark of respect.

Those who were able hired a mourner who visited the grave regularly for about two weeks, going early in the morning, about the break of day, and wailing for about an hour. I have listened to their wailing and heard the words used on some occasions. They were simply praising the dead, referring to their good deeds in life, etc., as we who are enlightened speak in praise of loved ones when they have left us. This hired mourner leaves his home and lives in the woods alone, eating one meal a day during the period of mourning. He does not communicate with any one during the time. The relatives of those who do not employ a mourner visit the grave for the same period and go through the same ceremony." — *Judge Huffaker.*¹

GAMES.

Hand Game (cagelokû). A little bell is taken in one of the hands, which are clenched with the first and second fingers outstretched. Then, with many motions before and behind the body, the bell is shifted from right to left back and forth, while the opponents try to guess where it is. If the

¹ Spencer, 378.

guesser succeeds it is his turn to hide the bell. Several play at once. In this game, and all those following, stakes are laid.

Moccasin Game (man's game, hûmbêblaska; woman's hûmbulûkan, flat moccasins). This game is played with four moccasins, the object being for one side to guess in which one the other has hidden a little bell. In the woman's form of the game, the moccasins are concealed by a robe held over them by a little girl while the bell is being hidden. The hiding is accompanied by singing to the music of a drum. In the man's game the moccasins are doubled up on the ground between the players, and a bullet is used instead of a bell. Moreover, there is no drum accompaniment to the singing.

Bowl and Dice (ka^asikû). This is said not to be an ancient game with the Kansa, a statement which I doubt. A wooden bowl was used in which to shake the dice which were made of the heads of brass tacks ground down and painted. One was red and one blue, on one side; six others were uncolored. According to the way the two colored dice fell, the count was made.

Skinney (dâbêst). This game was played by either sex. The implements were a single ball of buckskin stuffed with deer hair, and, for each individual player, a stick about a yard long, curved at the end away from the hand. Sides were chosen, and at each end of the field two goal posts were set up. It was the object of the game to drive the ball between the goal posts of the opposing party.

Hoop and Javelin (patcagê). This game was played with a plain wooden hoop wrapped with buckskin and a wooden lance or javelin. The hoop was rolled over the ground and the players chased it and tried to throw their javelins through it and pin it down.

Tops (H'oea) were used, but the writer could find no trace of cat's cradle or the cup and pin game. Lacrosse was also absent.

SEASONS.

Be^ada^a, spring

Dogêda, summer

N'hionabê o^xpai, autumn (When leaves fall)

Niwatci, winter (cold)

MONTHS.

January, Miúkoji Miumba	— Alone moon
February, Miukoi ² gé Miumba	— Changeable moon
March, Hombusjeje Miumba	— Long day moon
April, Wabi Miumba	— Tilling moon
May, Wabékabi Miumba	— Cultivating moon
June, Jémanahabé Miumba	— Buffalo pawing moon
July, Júkiukomf Miumba	— Buffalo rutting moon
August, Tahabu ² hombf	— Deer antler casting moon ¹
September, Ompakiu ² habi Miumba	— Elk rutting moon
October, Ptakiu ² habi Miumba	— Deer rutting moon
November, O ² padjodabi Miumba	— Elk whistling moon
December, Wasabedjodabi Miumba	— Bear roasting moon

¹ Probably means the moon when deer scrape the velvet from their antlers.

PONCA SOCIETIES AND DANCES.

By ALANSON SKINNER.

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PREFACE.

The Ponca (or, as they call themselves, P'ûnka') are one of the five tribes of the Dhegiha group of the Siouan stock, and are closely related to the Omaha, Osage, Kansa, and Quapaw. The history of the Ponca traces their migration from the time of their traditional separation with the Omaha from the Osage and Kansa on the Missouri; whence they ascended a northern tributary to Minnesota, where they resided near the pipestone quarry until attacked by the Sioux and driven back southwest to Lake Andes, South Dakota. There the Omaha and Ponca traditions say they obtained their sacred pipes and their gentes originated. Eventually they settled on the Niobrara River and remained there until removed by the United States Government. In 1906 there were 225 Ponca in Nebraska and 600 in Oklahoma, near White Eagle and Ponca City, where the writer visited them in June and July, 1914. The following data are the result of two days' work with Charles Collins and Big-goose as informants. No claim for the completeness of these notes is suggested, and they are published at this time principally because there is so little known of Ponca culture and the material is needed for comparison.

In material culture the Ponca are of the Plains type with leanings toward the Central Algonkin whom they probably once resembled. Old photographs and daguerreotypes, supplemented by descriptions received from my informants, go to show that at one time the two-piece open skirt woman's garment of Central Algonkin type was used, together with soft-soled moccasins. For many years these have been worn only by women who have been tattooed. The ordinary females use the typical one-piece Plains garment.

The Ponca say that when they resided in Nebraska they lived in earth-lodges like those of the Omaha, but these were given up by that portion of the tribe now in Oklahoma soon after their arrival. One was made there as late as 1880. They declare that they never used the bark wigwam, but had buffalo hide tipis with the three-pole foundation. In all twelve to thirty poles were used in setting up such a lodge. There were sockets in the ear flaps of the lodge to receive the setting poles. Pottery vessels of native make were formerly in vogue.

Little is known of Ponca mythology. Icjtniki is the culture hero, and the widespread tale of adultery through a tent wall occurs.

The literature on the Ponca is meager, the following titles being the most important: *Siouan Sociology* (Fifteenth Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology); *A Study of Siouan Cults* (Eleventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology); *Omaha Sociology* (Third Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology) by J. O. Dorsey; *The Ponca Sun Dance* (Field Columbian Museum, Anthropological Series) by George A. Dorsey; *The Omaha Tribe* (Twenty-seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology), by Alice C. Fletcher and Francis La Flesche.

March, 1915.

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INTRODUCTION.

According to Big-goose, the hel'ôcka, e^xgahre, tokala, and sun dance are the oldest Ponca "dances." Membership in them was possible to anyone, while the medicine dance (wácicka) and buffalo dance societies were waxobi (powerful) and hard of admission. These latter he said were all built on the same pattern, had the same number of officers, and the like. A similar distinction was known to the Omaha, for J. O. Dorsey states:—

The dancing societies of the Omahas and Ponkas may be divided into the following classes: 1. Those which are "waqube," or sacred, including those connected with the practice of medicine. 2. Those that are "úwacúce-a³áicaⁿ," or connected with bravery and war. 3. Those that are "újawa-ááicaⁿ," or merely for social pleasure. They admit of another classification, i. e., 1, Those of native origin; and, 2, such as have been introduced or purchased from other tribes.¹

Dorsey further speaks of certain úkikunece or feasting societies of three kinds, one for men, one for young men, and one for youths in their 'teens. I gained no data on these from the Ponca from my informants, and among the Omaha they were extinct in Dorsey's time.

It was necessary for a person not an hereditary chief who was socially ambitious, and hoped for a chieftaincy, to join most if not all of the societies, preferably as a leader, and thus become known. He must feast them and lavish gifts on every one. He must next become a soldier, or brave (wá-núcé), then have his daughter tattooed, his children's ears pierced, and lastly, have received the pipe dance on several occasions from other tribes. After which he was looked upon as a chief, though apparently no one could ever become as high as an hereditary chief.

¹ Dorsey, (c), 342.

MEN'S SOCIETIES.

HEL'ÔCKA.

According to Charlie Collins, this society originated among the Ponca, and was founded by a woman who dreamed she went to another world where she saw Indians dancing. There was another form of the dance called can hel'ôcka which is said to have been borrowed from the Sioux. The Ponca claim that they took the society to the Kansa.

When the young people wish to get up a hel'ôcka lodge, four youths get together and choose a man to take care of the drum and the hel'ôcka round house in which the dancing is to be done and prepare the feasts. They take a pipe to him, and if he accepts, he is committed to the office. Besides the "drum owner," (nerhe^xgakogelithere) are the following officers:—

8 leaders (nodahûnga)

2 tails (sindê)

8 drummers (xoka)

4 women singers (holázê) to sit behind the men

2 judges (wawethihethûⁿ) who sell the horses and other gifts made by individuals to the society as a whole and act as treasurers of the proceeds.

1 date setter for the dance (ohaⁿithighthûⁿ) who also tells what food to cook for the feasts.

1 pipe lighter (ninithánê). No one can light a pipe for himself during this ceremony.

2 starters, or whip bearers (waⁿacis)

2 waiters (ohâncigre)

2 heralds, or announcers (wa'gra)

Braves only are allowed to wear the feather dance bustles and deer hair roaches during the ceremony. All wore their war honor feathers, etc., while dancing. None wore grass.

During one particular song, the bravest man present is called up to dance in a circle of other dancers who dance "in a stationary position" while he dances in a circle round and round. Suddenly, he falls over as though he were shot and all whoop. This is repeated four times. The dance is called e^x'giaⁿwatcigahre. The brave wears the feather bustle.

There is a certain song during which only a man who has been brave enough to give away a woman can dance. Sometimes during this ceremony a man would rise and say, "I give my wife away and whoever gets her shall

have a horse." Collins knew a woman who stabbed her husband to death during a *hel'ôcka* performance because he thus publicly disposed of her.

The *hel'ôcka* helps people mourn for their dead, and makes collections of gifts for bereaved people to help dry their tears. When other tribes come to visit these people, they entertain them, and also take up collections for outsiders who ask for help. No matter how poor a man is he is not helped unless he asks for it.

J. O. Dorsey (c, 330) gives somewhat similar data for the Omaha.

The Orphans. This is a modern society, dating back only thirty years and is really only a lodge of the *hel'ôcka*. It was originally called "*hel'ôcka sinje*," or *hel'ôcka* tails, because all the members were youths, but there was a certain man and his wife who frequently befriended them, and when the woman died the others called them "orphans." Other local lodges of the *hel'ôcka* had similar names.

Can Hel'ôcka. This dance is said to have been just like the ordinary *hel'ôcka*, save that the members shaved their foreheads and the sides of their heads. When they danced they let their hair hang loose. This is said to be the reason why it was called *can hel'ôcka* or *Sioux hel'ôcka*.

NOT-AFRAID-TO-DIE.

The *e'ga'hre* or not-afraid-to-die was the first society that Big-geese joined. He was made the bearer of a straight spear, with black and white spiral stripes, and wore a war-bonnet. There was another officer who carried a spear, crooked at one end, and wound with otter fur and bearing pendant white eagle feathers. There were four war-bonnet wearers whose headdresses were adorned with split buffalo horns, and two others who bore buffalo rawhide rattles, adorned with little horns. The society was composed of:—

- 2 straight spear bearers
- 2 crooked spear bearers
- 4 horn bonnet wearers
- 2 rattle bearers
- 4 drummers, each of whom had a little drum
- 4 female singers
- 2 food carriers or waiters
- 1 whip bearer
- 1 herald
- x members

In dancing all stood in a row and danced up and down, remaining "sta-

tionary." The rattle carriers stood at each end of the line. The whip carrier beat those who became tired to make them dance. If he hurt any one badly he would count one of his coups, telling how he had once hurt someone badly in battle.

The spear bearers were supposed never to flee. They struck their lances into the ground and fought beside them. During a fight with the Cheyenne one spearman was severely wounded, but stuck to his place until he was saved. When given the spears, the bearers were told that they were expected to die in defense of the tribe.

J. O. Dorsey (c, 352) records this society among the Omaha under the title of T'é gáxe wátci, the dance of those expecting to die.

ISKÁIYUHA.

Big-goose claimed that he "owned" the *iskáiyuha* society at nineteen. The society was then young, but it afterwards grew stronger, and he was given the drum to keep.

6 leaders (four of whom carried crooked spears and could not flee in war)	
8 drummers	2 waiters
1 drum owner	1 herald
4 female singers	x members
2 tails	

Outsiders made costumes for the members and received ponies for their trouble. The uniform was composed of a heavy cloth shirt covered with lots of little silver brooches, buckskin leggings, beaded moccasins, eagle feathers on the head, and a long leather strip bearing silver buckles of graduated sizes hanging from the scalplock until it touched the ground. Brass bracelets and rings were also worn. The four crooked spears were wrapped with otter fur and hung with eagle feathers.

The drum owner had to care for and feed visitors from other tribes. If there were too many of them he would call on his fellow members to help him out saying that the strangers came to visit all of them and not him alone. Then the society would give a dance and make donations toward the common cause. In fair weather the society would dance in front of rich men's lodges in the hope of receiving presents.

Thadjoke is another name for this society. Dorsey¹ gives *Gak'éxe* as still another synonym. The name *iskáiyuha* suggests that this dance came from the Teton-Dakota. He also refers to a distinct dance called the *cadúxe*, which may be my thadjoke.

¹ Dorsey, J. O., (c), 355.

TOKALA.

The officers of the tokala were:—

6 leaders	1 whip bearer
4 drummers, each with a small drum	1 herald
2 women singers	2 tails

The officers wore buckskin shirts fringed down the front and back, and leggings. The others went nearly naked or stripped to the clout. All painted with yellow, shaved the hair except for a roach; about the head they wore a strip of skunkskin to which the upper jaws of these animals were attached. From the forehead on either side strings of bone beads reaching nearly to the waist were attached to the hair. A crowskin was tied to the back of the head, and red feathers were worn in the hair. All bore rattles.

When dancing the "tails" were allowed to perform near the leaders, something which no other society permitted. They danced in a circle, and the whip bearer or "soldier," stripped to the clout and painted yellow, mounted and rode about the outside whipping those who did not dance. The t'ókala were rivals of the m'ówadani, and whenever possible stole their wives or held illicit intercourse with them, and vice versa.

J. O. Dorsey says "*The Tukála dance* was obtained from the Dakotas by the Ponkas who taught it to the Omahas."¹

MOWADANI.

The officers of the m'ówadani or Mandan dance were:—

6 leaders	2 tails
8 drummers	1 whip bearer
2 female singers	1 herald
2 waiters	

Instead of the four small drums of the tokala the m'ówadani had one large instrument made from a hollow log with heads of buffalo rawhide. It was supported by four crooked sticks, and was covered with red strouding from which a dozen eagle feathers were hung. The eight drummers were also provided with buffalo hoof rattles.

The leaders dressed in buckskin suits, used buffalo robes painted red inside. All members painted in red as opposed to the yellow of the t'ókala, and wore owl feathers on the head.

¹ Dorsey, J. O., (c), 354.

They might not pick up anything that they lost, but any bystander might take it. If thrown by a horse they might not touch it, though anyone else could step up and appropriate it. These or similar customs are found among the Iowa. Like the t'ókala, they danced about the camps to receive presents.

The m'ówadani delighted to steal the wives of the t'ókala, and, if they learned that their own women were intimate with their rivals, they would publicly give them away at the next dance.

J. O. Dorsey says of this dance¹ that the Ponca obtained it from the Dakota and taught it to the Omaha, who had not danced it since 1853.

WOMEN CATCHERS.

This was a club of young fellows who gathered to boast over their feminine conquests and adventures. They boasted of their elopements, and also of their success in touching women's genitalia. The Ponca, like the Dakota and Crow, had the custom of crawling up to lodges at night, locating the women's beds, thrusting their arms under the tent, and trying to touch them.

One custom of the society was for a member to catch a joking-relative, a brother-in-law or a nephew, as a rule, even if he was also a member of the society, strip him, and back the victim close to the fire while boasting of his conquests. For instance, the captor might say: "Last winter, I ran off with five women." He would shove his relative closer to the fire, and continue, at each boast further scorching his victim. If the captive or his friends could get no one to come up and boast of a similar or worse deed than any of his captors, the prisoner might be badly scorched. However, he might not take offence, and received a present from his tormentors afterwards.

A similar custom, connected with war exploits, was found among the Plains-Cree.² It is said that the Ponca women also got together and boasted of their lovers, but there seemed to be no definite society for so doing.

MEDICINE BUNDLE DANCE.

Nothing was learned of this dance (maka^awatciga²ri), save that it was a sacred function held in the spring in honor of the waxobi, or sacred bundles.

¹ J. O. Dorsey. (c), 354.

² See this volume, 520.

SUN DANCE.

No data were obtained on this, the most elaborate and important of Ponca ceremonies (*nedambiwatcigaxre*). J. O. Dorsey declares¹ that the Ponca obtained this ceremony from the Dakota. George A. Dorsey,² has given an extended illustrated account of this spectacular dance. The object of the dance, according to my Ponca informants, was to obtain rain for the crops. Although it had not been held for seven years it was decided to revive the dance during the dry summer of 1914, but for some reason this was not done, probably because of white opposition.

CALUMET DANCE.

No details were gathered as to the calumet dance (*wawaⁿ watci*), but from specimens seen and remarks made by the Ponca this is without doubt the regular sacred pipestem dance of the neighboring tribes. Two feathered wands, male and female, a rattle, and a wildcat skin are used. It is taken to wealthy individuals of the same or other tribes to obtain horses and to encourage friendly intercourse. J. O. Dorsey says: "The Ponkas are not fully acquainted with the calumet dance. They use but one pipe; but the Omahas always have two pipes."³ I think that the Ponca are now fully informed and use two pipes.

HEYOKA.

Under this name went certain men who, because of some dream which I could not ascertain, danced in companies in the spring. They used backward speech, and took food from boiling kettles. Some even poured boiling water over themselves. On account of the identity of the title of these clowns with the Dakota performers of similar antics, I suspect that the cult is of Teton origin.

THOSE-WHO-IMITATE-MAD-MEN.

These people (called *thanigratha*) are said to have been entirely distinct from the *heyoka* and the cult is perhaps not of foreign origin. They did ridiculous and foolhardy things, such as crawling up and trying to touch a woman's genitals in broad daylight; coming to a stream they would strip off one legging and moccasin and ford it by hopping on the clad leg and carefully protecting the bare one from moisture. They were looked upon as clowns and fun-makers and their antics are said not to have been significant.

¹ J. O. Dorsey, (c), 355.

² Dorsey, (c).

³ J. O. Dorsey, (c). 282.

WOMEN'S DANCES.

TATTOOED WOMEN'S DANCE.

The tattooed women of the tribe had a society of their own who performed a dance called *hanhe watci*. There were six leaders and drums, bells, and rattles were among their paraphernalia. The chiefs sang for the women, and they gave a feast along with their dance. The tattooed women were privileged to wear certain distinctive clothes, among them soft-soled moccasins with a short front flap on the Winnebago and Omaha style. The prevailing type of Ponca moccasins is the rawhide soled Plains style. J. O. Dorsey says of the Omaha *haⁿhe watci*, that the women danced during the day and the men sang for them.¹ At night the braves danced alone. He does not give it in his list of three Ponca women's societies.

NODAN.

This was a woman's society. The officers were:—

6 leaders	2 (some say 4) tails
8 singers	2 waiters
8 male singers	1 herald (male)
2 whip bearers (old widows)	x members

The society's name was taken from the "*nodaⁿ*," or warpath songs, composed by the braves, with which the women used to accompany their dances. The members dressed well and wore many silver brooches. It was a sort of helpful and religious society. They helped out the old and blind with gifts, clothes, etc. They also gave feasts to the whole tribe. My informants said it was like the *hel'ôcka*. J. O. Dorsey does not list this among his Ponca women's societies.

MEDAL DANCE

Little was learned of this woman's ceremony, which was called *mazi-skanapi*, except that it was like other women's dances, the only difference

¹ J. O. Dorsey, (c), 351.

being that the women all wore chiefs' medals about their necks. J. O. Dorsey gives the name of this dance, which he translates as "Those who wear silver necklaces," as a Ponca women's dancing society.¹ He adds the names of two others, pa-cátaⁿ and gat'ána, which I did not get, and which may or may not be synonymous with the titles of dances which I noted.

SCALP DANCE.

The pahatoni (or pahríge) was the scalp dance which was performed by women, the officers were the same as in the nodaⁿ, except that the singers were required to be braves. The women who danced bore the scalps tied to short sticks. The ceremony was held the day after the return of a war party. In this dance as in all other women's organizations, elderly women were taken by preference. According to J. O. Dorsey a similar dance occurred among the Omaha.

¹ J. O. Dorsey, (c), 355.

MYSTERY DANCES.

BEAR DANCE.

The matcogahri, or bear dance, was one of the so-called mystery dances, and had four leaders, two waiters, and a herald. Before performing, a cedar tree was pulled up by the roots and set up in the center of the lodge. During the dance one of the participators would go up and break off a branch and scrape off the bark. Then he would circle the lodge four times, show it to the members, and announce that he would run it down his throat. He would then thrust it in until the tip barely showed. After a moment he would pull it out, and the blood would gush forth. One shaman had the power of thrusting the cedar through his flesh into his abdomen. After he pulled it out he merely rubbed the wound and it was healed. Still another would swallow a pipe, cause it to pass through his body, and then bring it out and lick it.

Big-geese once saw a man, who was performing in the bear dance, take a muzzle-loading rifle and charge it in everyone's presence. Another man circled the tent singing, and on the fourth round he was shot by the Indian with the gun; everyone thought he was killed, but he soon sprang up unhurt. Another performer took a buffalo robe, had a third man re-load the magic gun, and fired it at the robe. There was no hole visible, but the bullet was found in the center of the robe.

J. O. Dorsey notes a bear dance among the Omaha.

BUFFALO DANCE.

For the buffalo dance, or pte!watci which was devoted to healing wounds, there were four leaders, two waiters, and a herald as officers. This society is now obsolete, as there is little call for the practice of surgery because there is no more war. If a man were wounded the buffalo doctors got together and squirted water on the wound. They would dance in imitation of the buffalo, wearing robes, buffalo horn caps, and tails. They painted only with clay which is the buffalo's pigment. They painted only the upper or lower halves of their faces. The buffalo dancers were very waxobi, or powerful. J. O. Dorsey and Fletcher and La Flesche record this dance among the Omaha.

THE MEDICINE DANCE.

This society, which resembled the pebble society of the Omaha, has long been obsolete. What little data could be gathered will be published later.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION.

WAR HONORS AND TITLES.

In order to become a wánúcê, or brave, a man had to perform at least one of the following brave acts, here given in the order of their importance.

1. Saving comrade (wáginúzhi). For this a warrior was entitled to carry a little boy behind him on his horse, when he rode in a sham battle or parade.
2. Counting coup, especially between the opposing lines (onbisaⁿ dêwiuothan). The right to wear a vertical eagle feather was granted for this; for second coup (we^xnumba), a slanting feather was worn; for third (we^x-thabthi), two feathers, cut short off; for fourth (we^xdoba), a split feather was the badge.
3. Wounded severely (kiú). Gives the right to paint the wound red, signifying blood, and to wear a red feather.
4. Horse stealing (cangê walizê). The right to wear a white shirt or blanket with horse tracks marked on it, or to carry a rope, unravelled at the end, or both.
5. Most on warpath (nodaⁿc'ta). The war-bonnet was one of the badges of such a man provided he had done many deeds. So were the roach and eagle feather bustle. All these insignia were worn principally at dances and the like.

It was considered brave to kill a foe, though this act did not rank with the five acts enumerated, especially the first four. It entitled the brave to carry a gun or bow while dancing. A man who took a scalp was allowed to carry it.

When a man had become a brave by reason of performing one of the above listed deeds he was entitled to appointment as one of the camp police chosen from his society.

Women often went to war and became braves. They were entitled to carry, but not to wear, warrior's insignia in such a case, when in dances. Mr. Collins knew a woman who had rescued her husband, and another who had helped to steal horses. The latter carried a whip when she danced.

THE BRAVES OR POLICE.

As police (wánúcê) for any occasion the chief would appoint the bravest warriors of some society, but not the whole organization. For another

occasion he would take men from another society. The police, or soldiers, on the buffalo hunt were called *pdelwánúcê*. They had their own lodge, placed near that of the chief and caretaker. In it they kept a bundle of sticks, painted red or yellow, one for each man in the camp. If they wanted anyone to furnish a feast, they sent him a stick, or they could have one of their two heralds call to him, from their tent, even though his lodge were far off, and order him to prepare a meal. Only the wealthy and generous were then summoned.

The soldiers kept order in camp and held back the line so that all charged at once, when on the buffalo hunt. Those who disobeyed were punished by a soldier-killing. The man was called out and each *wánúcê* would count a coup, saying: "I once hit a man as hard as this," etc., dealing a blow with whip or gun butt. The culprit's tent might be destroyed and his horses and dogs shot. He might even forfeit his life if he resisted. If he took it in good part, some time within the next four days he would be sent for, and led into the soldier's tent where each one would ask "Where did I hit you?" On being shown the soldier would make him a present.

Another thing that the soldiers saw to, was that no one preceded the main party or scouts when hunting for buffalo. A man might hunt to one side or the rear as much as he chose.

On the buffalo hunt, the chiefs appointed a trustworthy man as leader (*tce! oneithighthû*). As they traveled he gave orders when to camp and when to back up, sent out the scouts, etc. If a scout found buffalo he would make absolutely sure of it and return. He announced the discovery by making a pile of buffalo chips, before the leader's tent, then calling out the leader and kicking them over. This was equivalent to taking oath that he had found buffalo and rendered him liable to a soldier-killing if they were not there when the camp came up. The leader then ordered a herald to announce the discovery through the camp in low tones and all broke up to follow the herd.

THE BRAVES AND THE BUFFALO HUNT.

Every year when the squaw corn was about a foot high, the chiefs of the Ponca got together and counseled concerning the buffalo hunt. Two men were selected to be leaders, who took charge of everything. They picked the day that the village was to move, and they selected the camping ground. Strict discipline was maintained, and no matter how hungry the tribe was they stayed where they were camped until they received orders to move.

They usually moved for four days at a stretch, camping every night with

the mouth of the camp circle to the west. The soldiers' tent was erected on the east, opposite the opening. All were made to keep very quiet during the day. In order to secure discipline, the two chiefs took the bravest men as wánúcê. A waxobi pipe was kept in the tent, and when the soldiers and the chiefs were in council the head chief sat in the center of the circle and filled the pipe. The soldiers' herald took a split stick and extracted a coal of fire from the blaze with which he lighted it. The chief drew four puffs and then the pipe was passed, each brave in turn doing likewise. When it was smoked, the pipe was cleaned, and the ashes were piled up very carefully. The council selected about forty youths who were known as good runners, or who possessed swift horses. The herald went about the camp, calling each by name and telling him that he was wanted at the soldiers' tent.

The youths hurried to the spot, and stood in a circle outside the tipi. Their relatives, anxious to know what is up, form a ring about them. The chiefs then brought out the pipe and gave it to them to smoke, telling them that they had been selected as buffalo scouts. They were to go out and remain one or two nights if necessary in an effort to locate the buffalo. The youths would set forth in four bodies, in the directions in which they were facing. That is, those on the south side of the lodge would go north, and so on.

When the buffalo were located, the side or division that found them would return to camp on a run. The herald seeing them come, would go out to meet them. He would make a pile of dry buffalo chips (dung), thrust a spear in the earth behind it, and stand in a stooping posture behind that, grasping the weapon with both hands.

The youth who had found the buffalo would come up, and take oath as to the truth of what he was about to say by kicking over the pile of chips. Then he came forward and whispered in the herald's ear where the herd was located, and even what they were doing when he saw them, lying down, grazing, or moving. This was to show that he had been very close to them and had carefully watched their actions.

He was then conducted into the tent by the herald, and the announcement was made to the chiefs and soldiers. Meanwhile a great throng of men, women, and even naked children had gathered around the lodge, but they durst not touch it. The herald next went out, and in his monotonous singsong announced that buffalo had been found, and ordered that all observe strict silence and none leave the camp until the men were ready for the charge.

If anyone slipped out ahead he was reported to the chiefs who ordered the herald to call the soldiers to bring their weapons. They gathered, and

were sent to the culprit's tent, where they dragged him out and beat him until he fell down, when they desisted. They slew his horses and dogs, and destroyed his tent.

The next day the herald would call the victim to the soldier's tent, saying: "The braves want to tell you a story." The unfortunate might then hobble or be carried over and placed in the center of the lodge, and they all told him who had hit him and gave him presents to make up for his losses: kettles, arrows, robes, horses.

When the buffalo were sighted all the men approached the herd in a body, the police preceding them and keeping them back in line. When quite near the party divided in two, and both, working to windward, surrounded the herd, got them milling and killed all of them.

THE WAR PARTY.

The war leader, who carried a sacred waxobi, or war bundle, and went ahead of the party could neither turn back nor go aside. If the party saw the foe, or desired him to turn off, they pulled him back, or turned him in the direction they wanted to go. He slept by himself, and all his cooking was done for him. Buffalo meat was prepared, and an attendant offered it to him in his hands on a bunch of sagebrush. The leader might only take four bites.

Scouts were sent out to all four points of the compass and told to watch, or, at night, to listen for the enemy. They went wrapped in white or gray blankets and acted like wolves, stooping over and trotting and signaling by howling. If they saw anything they came in trotting together, then apart, then coming together. At night, when the leader wanted them to return, generally about midnight, the party would howl like wolves to call them in. The scouts went as far as they could, and the one who went in the direction the party was traveling, left an arrow where he had been to be picked up as the party went by.

If a foe were seen and the war bundle was "opened on him," he must be killed, even if a mistake had been made and he turned out to be another Ponca and a relative.

When an enemy was killed, the Ponca scalped him, then cut off his head and threw it away. The sign for Ponca in the sign language indicates this custom. They also severed a dead enemy's hands from the wrists and threw them away. They also slashed the slain foe's back in checker board style. This was called "making a drum of an enemy's back." All these deeds were considered brave and could be boasted about.

QUALIFICATIONS OF A CHIEF.

Tattooing. A man who was working up to the chieftainship and who had joined many different societies and had been a brave, next had his daughter tattooed. He prepared a large feast, got together 100 awls, 100 knives, 100 black silk scarfs, 20 or 30 blankets, 2 strands of sleigh bells, 100 plates, killed two buffalo and got their grease, prepared two large pipes and two extra ones and provided tobacco and kinnikinick, set up a large tipi, and ordered two women to cook the feast. They, of course, had to be dressed well and feasted at his expense. He next asked all the chiefs to feast and tattoo his daughter. The wives of the chiefs and other guests sat in a circle outside the lodge, and were also feasted. Each tattooer received a horse with saddle and bridle.

Sometimes several men joined and all had their daughters tattooed at once. Tattooed women (a small blue mark the size of a dime was made on the forehead, between the eyes) formed a sort of a society, and were privileged alone to wear soft-soled moccasins of a certain Central Algonkin type. They were the socially elect of the tribe.

There was great rejoicing, drumming, singing, and dancing at these feasts. After it was over a herald announced that the giver was half a chief.

Ear Piercing. The next step towards the chieftaincy after having one's daughter tattooed, was to have her ears pierced. The chiefs were again called in, and those who did the piercing each received a horse. A feast was given and many blankets distributed.

After this, the social aspirant was generally so well known that outsiders would come "to pipe dance him." After this had happened several times he was generally acknowledged to be a chief.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

GENTES AND THEIR TABOOS.

The Ponca claim seven exogamous patrilineal gentes.¹ Marriage with a member of the mother's gens was also forbidden. Each gens had its peculiar taboo. The gentes are:—

Gentes	Taboo
1 Thixida (Do not touch blood)	Do not touch blood, if they do, they become old, prematurely
2 Wacazhe (Osage)	Cannot touch snakes
3 Múkan (Medicine)	?
4 Nokré (Ice)	Cannot touch head of buffalo bull
5 Nikúp'úzna (?)	Do not eat blackbirds
6 Hisa'da (Straight Legs)	Cannot touch deer. Cannot wear deerskin moccasins. May not touch deer's grease.
7 Wacabe (Black Bear)	Cannot touch head of buffalo bull. Same as ice gens.

There were hereditary chiefs in each gens. I could learn of no subgentes.

GENTILE PERSONAL NAMES.

The following names are supposed to be gentile personal names, although the writer was not entirely satisfied that they are not merely the names of gens members now living.

1 Never Touch Blood Gens. Male: Coon, Little-coon, Buck-rabbit, Black-buffalo-bull, Horse-chief, Mixed-cry. Female: First-moon, New-moon, Gray-hawk, Gambles.

2 Osage. Male: Little-snake, Big-snake, Rattle-tail, Fox. Female: Mihunga, Aⁿanzhégití', Naⁿseiti, Two-women.

3 Medicine. Male: Maⁿka'ta, Wat'cigazinga, Ptehanga, Manácudê (Dust-maker). Female: Ménupabê, Mebédimi, Asé'ting^a, Gredawihanga.

¹ These data are fragmentary and are merely given for what they are worth. Fletcher and La Flesche in the opening chapters of their monograph on the Omaha tribe give an exhaustive treatise on Ponca social organization which should be consulted.

4 Ice (nearly extinct). Male: Sedniha', Na^hegazhi, Banazhi, Wa^x-pazinga (Little-poor). Female: Me^ssamaⁱ, others not remembered.

5 Nikûp'ûzna. Male: Antcodahri, Hitcangaska (White-rat), Cangeⁱ-tsabe (Black-horse?), Tcatciska. Female: Tcenaiä'u, Maⁿzewázhi.

6 Straight Legs. Male: Gahige (the chief), He^sagêmazhi, Gahige Wadahinga, Walijasi. Female: Mijahotcan, Nekaihotcan, Hotcan, Cabê-kéwali.

7 Black Bear. Male: Otha'wudje, Vaniwa'hu, Cangehlaha, Petham-behi. Female: Mêghitaⁿwi, Pánka'wi.

ELDEST SONS' NAMES.

The following names are said to be some of the stereotyped titles for the eldest sons of families in some of the gentes. This suggests a Kansa custom.

Never Touch Blood: Wakandipahambi (Known-by-God), eldest son. Ma^stcinoga, name for second (?) son.

Medicine: Naⁿdewa'hi, eldest son. Gahige thabi', second son.

Black Bear: Thê'nogadahi, eldest son. Ma'piyazi (Yellow-cloud), second son. D'ênogadahi, third son.

ORDINAL NAMES.

Of ordinal names, only two are now known for each sex, and it is doubtful if any others ever existed.

Male	Female
Eldest son, Ingra'o	Wina'o
Youngest son, Sige ⁱ	Wihe ⁱ

JOKING-RELATIONSHIP.

This relationship existed between a man or woman and their brothers and sisters-in-law, nephews and uncles. The mother-in-law taboo was in force.

PUNISHMENT OF ADULTERY.

A Ponca might kill, scalp, or cut the hair off a man whom he caught holding clandestine intercourse with his wife. A wife could kill another

woman with whom her husband eloped. A husband could cut off the nose and ears of an unfaithful wife. Blood vengeance could not be exacted for these crimes.

MOURNING AND BURIAL CUSTOMS.

In mourning the Ponca formerly cut off their hair, slashed the fleshy parts of their bodies, tore out their earring holes, and even hacked off their fingers. They also did the latter at the sun dance. Now the Ponca bury their dead in the ground altogether, but formerly they used scaffolds and trees.

DANCES AND SOCIETIES OF THE PLAINS SHOSHONE.

BY ROBERT H. LOWIE.

PREFACE.

From the beginning it had been intended to include those Shoshonean tribes who had been more or less affected by the culture of the Plains in the present survey of the military societies of that area. Accordingly, I devoted a portion of the summer of 1912 to seeking relevant data from the Comanche, Southern Ute, and Wind River Shoshone. The Comanche were visited in the vicinity of Lawton, Oklahoma; the Southern Ute at Navaho Springs and Ignacio, Colorado; the Shoshone at Wind River, Wyoming. In 1914, a brief visit was paid to the Ute of Whiterocks, Uintah Reservation, Utah.

While the information is meager for all of the tribes concerned, I feel reasonably sure that this is largely due to the relative simplicity of Shoshonean culture and that the essential features of the Ute and Wind River dances are correctly represented. I am much less confident as regards the Comanche, who proved poor, and in part very unwilling, informants.

For the pictures of the Bear dance, as well as for innumerable courtesies during my brief stay at Navaho Springs, I feel under deep obligations to Mr. and Mrs. Charles D. Wagner.

March, 1915.

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COMANCHE DANCES.

The dances of the Comanche seem to have been, at least to some extent, associated with their bands. These were purely local divisions that had nothing to do with the regulation of marriage. Of the fairly large number listed by Mr. Mooney,¹ my informants recollected only the following four bands:—

Yápairē'ka, Yampa-eaters, north of the other Comanche;

Kwā'are, Antelopes, in part of Oklahoma and Colorado, and the panhandle section of Texas;

Nókōni, or Nóyeka, Travelers, in the mountainous regions of Oklahoma;

Pē'natē'ka, Honey, or Wasp-eaters, living toward the Rio Grande.

Of these bands, the Yápairē'ka is correlated with the Crow dance (tōwī nō'ō'kà); the Kwā'are, with the Colt (tírewō'ku-nō'ō'ka) and the Horse dance; the Nókōni and the Pē'natē'ka, with the swift-fox (wō'tsi² nō³'ka) dance. The Buffalo dance (ā'anō'kār) was the common property of all the bands, but each band performed it by itself.

The only earlier account of Comanche dances known to me is by Clark. After listing the Swift Fox, Gourd, Raven, Buffalo Bull, and Afraid-of-Nothing societies, he states:—

"The Comanche have five bands, and claimed that the difference is in the dances prior to getting up a war-party." In another place he writes: "The Comanches have the Raven, Buffalo Bull, Swift Fox,— all war-dances,— and Dance of Fear, with shields and lances, when they expect an attack; Turkey-Dance, imitating motions of turkeys. The Deer-Dance might be called the juggler's-dance, as the dancers pretend to swallow red beans and then draw them out through the breast."³

On the whole, I certainly received the impression that dances were, at least preferentially, associated with definite bands. One informant, however, denied any such correlation. According to him, the Comanche, in war times, were organized in different companies, which he compared with subdivisions of a regiment of soldiers. He enumerated the Crow, Fox, Drum, Big Horse, and Little Horse companies. If nothing unusual happened, a man would remain true to the division he had first chosen, but there was no special bond of friendship between members of the same company.

¹ *Handbook of North American Indians*, article "Comanche."

² Another informant said this was a swift bird.

³ Clark, 355, 141.

If I correctly interpret the somewhat confused accounts of several informants, the dances mentioned were performed mainly, or perhaps even exclusively, in connection with a festival, of possibly several weeks' duration, called *nā'wapinā'r*. This term was interpreted to indicate a challenge to the enemy and a calling of volunteers. At all events, the ceremony originated through the invitation of a man who had lost a son through some hostile tribe or had suffered some other injury at the hands of the enemy that called for revenge. Such a man would select a site for a general assemblage, summon his tribesmen to take part in a *nā'wapinā'r*, and pass a pipe from one guest to another by way of bespeaking their aid. In general he assumed the part of master of ceremonies.

There was a procession in which the war chiefs, rarely numbering more than six, took part. Some were on horseback. The most renowned warrior came last in the line. Musicians who drummed and sang accompanied the marchers. The renowned captain called a halt, and three times pretended to fix his lance into the ground before actually doing so. When he finally stuck it in, the musicians at once beat their drums. Then the drummers made remarks, and the captain told of the injury experienced by the tribe. The march was then resumed, and after a while the man ranking next to the famous warrior repeated the performance described.

During the entire period of the *nā'wapinā'r* it seems that the several dances alternated.

The Buffalo (or horn) dance, which could be performed by any of the bands, was declared by one informant to have been the greatest of all the dances. During its performance anyone having a horned bonnet would wear it. The dancers were lined up in a row and would advance a considerable distance in the dance step. Ahead of them was a line of mounted men, while behind them came a row of musicians, and behind these the group of spectators, including women, ranged in the arc of a circle.

The Crow dance was generally regarded by my informants as the exclusive property of the *Yápairēka* band. The performers marched through the entire camp, two abreast, with an officer on either side, armed with a heavy war club with a wrist loop of swift-fox skin, decorated with tassels. The officers deputized certain men to act as guards during the procession. The best dancers took the lead. After having proceeded some distance, they halted to form the arc of a circle. Then the dance began. At first possibly only one couple would advance, then others followed. The dancers imitated the motions of a crow. The managers would stop the dance after a while and tell about the war that was to follow the *nā'wapinā'r* or make some other announcement of general interest, at the same time going through some motions while the drummers were beating

their drums. There was a strict rule, that no dog must run ahead of the performers lest it be shot; so women would bid their children take care of any dogs they prized. Sometimes, however, a man who specially liked his dog might be asked to sacrifice it on this occasion. This taboo may have been common to several groups of dancers, but dogs were certainly especially offensive to those of the Crow division.

During any of the dances the managers would threaten to strike laggards with clubs.

About the other dances I was only able to learn that the Horses and Little Horses wore buffalo-skin sashes that lacked the slit found elsewhere, and used rawhide rattles, decorated with yellow-hammer feathers; the Horses also had spears, trimmed with eagle feathers.

When the master of the *nā'wapinār* had decided that the time for action had arrived, he caused the dancing to cease and had the Comanche prepare for the warpath. On the night before setting out the tribesmen assembled, coming in pairs toward the front and in single file behind. Then occurred the ceremony called *nótsāit'*. The women brought a buffalo hide and sticks. Some men held up one side of the hide, while the women held the opposite side, and all belabored it with the sticks, a special song being intoned by the master alone and taken up by the rest.¹

On the next day the Comanche started against the enemy, led by the master. They appointed scouts to determine the hostile tribe's position. On their return buffalo chips were piled up, and the leader went in front of the heap to sing a war song. The pile of chips represented a sort of oath to the effect that the enemy's camp was really situated in the place specified, and also marked a spot for the Comanche to return to. After a successful raid public thanks were rendered to those who had avenged the injury. Scalps were set on a pole and carried aloft by the main chief as he rode ahead on the return trip. His body was stripped to the waist and painted black. War songs were chanted and guns were discharged as the party came back. Those who had remained in camp saw the scalp and knew that the injury had been avenged.

A number of questions were asked to determine traces of typical elements of military societies as found among the Plains tribes. In reply to one of these queries I was told that some warriors had hooked sticks with a long spear point at the bottom, the bent part being decorated with two pairs of eagle feathers. I could not ascertain that these regalia were correlated with a special tribal division or dance. Again, I learned that there were

¹ This ceremony has been noted among the Nez Percé, Lemhi Shoshone, and Crow. The last-mentioned tribe borrowed it from the (Wind River) Shoshone.

formerly certain "dauntless men," called *pía rē'kap ē'kapit* (Large Red Buffalo Meat), but these, too, were not associated with a special group. They were expected to act very quietly and practise uncommunicativeness (*našimeàpalet*). One of them, who was killed by the Navajo, had a blue or some other cross painted on his quiver, and carried a singular tomahawk with long blade and eagle feather tied to the handle. There was nothing distinctive about the dress worn by these dauntless men.

In connection with the buffalo hunt there does not seem to have been any police body, and though the tribesmen were warned not to advance ahead of their fellows, the only punishment meted out to offenders was to reprove them. On the other hand, the Big Horse company does seem to have regulated traveling. They had no other political function except to act as guides when the Comanche were on the march and to make peace with other tribes. Wakiní said that the Big Horses numbered about twenty and were always mature men. They had a distinctive song, but never danced by themselves. They painted their bodies red, down to the waist, and tied hawk and sparrowhawk feathers to the back of the head, so that these would flutter as their wearers moved. They carried dewclaw rattles and wore a sash made from a part of the skin of a buffalo taken from its neck.

DANCES AND SOCIETIES OF THE WIND RIVER SHOSHONE.

THE YELLOW NOSES AND THE LOGS.

The Wind River Shoshone had at least one institution that clearly corresponds to a typical feature of the Plains Indian societies. Whenever the tribe was on the march or engaged in a communal hunt, two bodies of men directed the movements of the people and were invested with special political functions. On such occasions the rank and file of the Shoshone were preceded by a group of about twenty or thirty men, called *óho mū'pe*, literally "Yellow Noses or Mouths," but commonly interpreted to mean "Yellow Foreheads." Approximately equal in number, but forming the rear of the procession came the *wō'bine*, "Logs." Some of my informants referred to these divisions by different names. The Logs were several times spoken of as "Big Horses," while for the term "Yellow Noses" some informants substituted *hafhe*, an untranslated word. Others explained that the *hafhe* were simply scouts chosen by both the Yellow Noses and the Logs.

The Yellow Noses cut their hair short, with a square bang, which they plastered with yellow clay. The Logs parted their hair in the middle, and wore a braid on each side, wrapped with weasel (or some other) skin.

Entrance into these companies was not dependent on purchase and there was no age qualification. *Bi'vo* said that membership was hereditary in the male line, and that he himself had belonged to the Yellow Noses like his father before him. However, this is contrary to statements of other witnesses, and indeed contradicts his own report of a novice's admission. So far as I can see, any one who so chose might become a member of either body, though the Yellow Noses were expected to be especially brave. If a man had an elder brother or friends in one of the two companies, he was likely to follow their example. Sometimes the societies asked a man to join. When the Yellow Noses gave a dance, their two headmen might say, "So-and-so is looking on, he is brave and shall join us if he is willing." Then they would ask him, and if he meant to give an affirmative answer, he would say, "No," and *vice versa*, for it was a peculiarity of the Yellow Noses to use "inverted speech." If he had signified his willingness in the manner explained, they cut his hair and thus made him a member. A prospective Log did not use "inverted speech" when asked to join. In the case of a new Yellow Nose, one of the headmen merely cut his hair roughly after the fashion of the society, which was called "branding" a new member.

Afterward when at home, the novice had his hair arranged more elaborately. This form of hairdress was always adhered to, not merely in dancing. In one case mentioned by Bì'vo a novice refused to have his hair cut square, so one of the headmen got another man to recite his deeds, and thus the candidate was absolved from the haircut. The headmen were usually older than the rest and had attained distinction as warriors, but the tribal chief belonged to neither organization. Mō'wo said that the headmen of the Yellow Noses wore buffalo robes fringed at the bottom.

It was possible for a man to leave one society and join the other. If a man could not get along with some fellow-member and desired to resign from the society, he was expected to inform its herald, who would make public announcement of the fact. Bì'vo said that in such a case the resigning member would have to pay the chief a blanket or horse, or some other property; but this is denied by other informants. If a man did not feel sufficiently brave to remain with the Yellow Noses, he would tell the other members and withdraw; a long time after he might perhaps join the Logs.

There was no rivalry between the two societies. It is clear that the Yellow Noses enjoyed a higher social position on account of their bravery, and in a sense the Logs were even definitely subordinated to them. For example, the Yellow Noses would sometimes give a dance at night and say, "Tonight we shall detail two or three of the Logs as scouts to locate the buffalo." Then the scouts would set out to sight buffalo and report back to the camp, where all the people got ready under the directions of the Yellow Noses. On the march the order was that already described. Both companies might restrain anyone trying to rush at the buffalo prematurely, but owing to their position in front this seems to have been the special duty of the Yellow Noses, who were accordingly called *tírakō'ne*, herders.¹ Hā'wi said that if a man started for the buffalo before the proper time, one of the Big Horse (Log) headmen would bring him back, whipping his horse over the head. He knew of no case where the offender offered resistance; should he have done so, he thinks the police would have disfigured his horse, e. g., by lopping off the ears. If a stampeder succeeded in killing some of the game, the police destroyed his buffalo hides, so that he reaped no benefit from his precipitate haste. Naturally the Yellow Noses were also the ones expected in the first place to repel an enemy's attack from the front. On the other hand, it was the special function of the Logs to protect the women, to show them where to put up their lodges, to keep order in the rear, and to look out lest any one be left behind; they would also fix lodge poles for the people if some of them were broken in dragging them along.

¹ At Lemhi, Idaho, I learned that during dances and hunts a chief was assisted by *díra-kō'ne*, policemen, armed with quilts. Lowie, (d), 208.

There was a feeling that when a Yellow Nose had once started he should not stop for anything. Accordingly, a member would never pick up anything he had dropped; any one else might seize the object and keep it. If a woman dropped something on the march and tried to pick it up, the Logs might say to her, "You belong to the Yellow Noses, you are not supposed to pick up anything you drop."

Another distinctive trait of the Yellow Nose company has already been noted,—backward speech (*nā'nōma pō'nait*). When the first white men came to the Shoshone and asked the Yellow Noses whether they wished to be friends, the answer was, "No," but this meant, "Yes." The members of the society would speak backward even in their own family, viz., "Don't give me a cup of water." If a young woman wished to marry a Yellow Nose, he would refuse her offer when he meant to accept and *vice versa*. When the Shoshone were fighting the enemy and the chief desired the Yellow Noses to charge, he would say, "Don't charge the enemy." The headman of the society would answer, "No, we shall not charge," but at the same time they would do so. If, on the other hand, the chief bade them charge, they would not go at all.

The Yellow Noses and Logs performed exactly the same dance, the *šlepūngo nōqá*, Big Horse dance, but according to most of my authorities they generally performed it separately, joining only by some special agreement when they wanted to discuss the camp movements together. On such occasions they put up a very large tipi for the dance. Otherwise, when the Yellow Noses danced, the Logs merely looked on, and *vice versa*. A man was not obliged to join his fellow-members in the performance; if he preferred he might remain a spectator. The dance had no particular object; the Indians simply thought they should feel better by performing it. It might be danced at any season of the year, but was especially appropriate before setting out on the buffalo hunt.

Ordinarily the performance took place in the daytime, beginning in the morning or about noon and terminating before sundown. A big buffalo-hide tipi was set up for the occasion, and one or two of the headmen went round to announce the dance. The bottom of the lodge cover was raised, so that the people could look on. The women were seated in a circle all round the circumference of the lodge and helped in the singing. In the rear of the lodge, but in front of the women stationed there, sat several musicians, the best singers from the dancing company, equipped with hand-drums. In front of the musicians were the dancers. There was no difference between the songs of the two societies; there was no meaning to the words sung. Several informants said that the step was nearly or quite like that of the *tásayūge* (see p. 822). This statement seems at first irreconcilable with the

general description of the older performance as a mere jumping up and down without change of position. However, at Lemhi I was told that the old form of *tásayûge* also involved a mere dancing up and down.¹ When a Big Horse song had been intoned, the headmen went round with a quirt, to make the members present get up and dance. At the close of a song the dancers sat down, to rise again at the next one. There was no special costume. Some men wore beaded leggings and buckskin shirts, others merely a breechclout; there were also individual differences in painting. A dancer might carry a tomahawk or stick an eagle feather into his hair. Yellow Noses sometimes wore a small stick with beadwork on one side of the head, and a longer stick of the same type on the other. The headmen had no distinctive badge. After the dance there would be a recital of war deeds. Finally came the feast, for which a great deal of wild-carrot stew had been prepared. With the distribution and eating of the food the performance came to a close.

FOOLISH ONE.

There was a man associated neither with the Logs nor with the Yellow Noses. He rode a horse with docked tail and went through camp singing, without any one annoying him. In his hand he would hold a spherical rattle. When the enemy were in sight the Foolish One (*wi' + ag·ait*) advanced regardless of danger, even if a man should aim a gun at him. If the enemy missed him, the Foolish One would rush upon him and strike him with his only weapons, a quirt and the rattle. After such an exploit he might cease to act as a Foolish One and would be acclaimed as a war chief for his bravery. Sometimes a man would touch two or three of the enemy before retreating. Any one might become a Foolish One if he considered himself sufficiently brave not to turn back before striking an enemy in the manner described. In this undertaking many Shoshone were slain, but others would take their place.

It is clear that the Foolish One corresponds closely to the Crazy Dogs of the Crow and Blackfoot; and a specific similarity also exists with a Flathead institution described by Clark.²

HAI NOQAI.

During the sun dance buffalo tongues were strung together, hung from a pole, the ends of which rested on two men's shoulders, and carried inside a

¹ Lowie, (d), p. 222.

² Clark, p. 355 f.

lodge. Then the hafhe (see p. 813) came and imitated the noise and actions of magpies. They would rush in, seize the tongues and try to get away with them, while the other Indians beat them off with sticks. This practice was called haf nōqai.

NAROYA.

This is regarded as an old dance; the meaning of the name is obscure. According to one informant, it is identical with the ā'pō nōqā and the nū'akin; another Shoshone identified it with the dzō'a nōqā and the nadzai nōqā of Idaho.¹ The first-mentioned authority gave the following origin account:—

After the Father (ā'pō) had created the world, there was a man with his wife and two children. Coyote came along and said, "I am your father and made all these hills and trees. Now I will give you this ā'pōnōqā." So he taught them the nā'rōya dance. Coyote was merely fooling the people.

The nā'rōya might be danced at any season of the year. The Shoshone believe it always keeps storming when the dance is performed; thus last winter (1911) it was snowing all the time because of several performances. Any man might give the dance if some member of his family was smitten with a cold or some more serious disease; to drive this away the performers would shake their blankets at the close of the ceremony. Hā'wi recalled several instances where sick people attended the dance and also shook their blankets when the headman bade the participants do so. Both men and women took part; the men first formed a circle, then each woman would step between two men, all interlocking fingers. Sometimes there were so many dancers that a larger concentric circle, or part of one, had to be formed. Within the (smaller) circle, though not in the center but rather near the circumference, there was a pine tree; this remained standing and was used for subsequent ceremonies. The dance might be performed either in the daytime or at night; in the latter case a big fire was built in the center of the circle, or sometimes on the outside. In the early days the ceremony lasted five consecutive nights, only the final performance took place in the daytime. Nowadays the Shoshone only dance for one or two days. The dancers move clockwise. There is no musical instrument; the performers move in accompaniment to their own singing. At the close of the ceremony all go to take a bath.

¹ Cf. Lowie, (d), 217-219.

WOHONOQIN.

This dance,¹ which was supposed to be started by a man born in the summer, was expected to bring warm weather. The Wind River Shoshone have not danced it since the disappearance of the buffalo; it is an old ceremony of theirs, though one witness declared he did not know whether it originated with the Shoshone or the Ute, to whose Bear dance it obviously corresponds. Indeed, there is another Shoshone name for it, *ā'gwai nōqá*, which means Bear dance.

The ceremony was celebrated about New Year's, in the open air, without any enclosure. It was danced for four days. A hole was dug in the ground and covered with a pan for a resonator. On top of this were placed the notched sticks (*wō'hōnōki*) serving as musical instruments, which were rasped by five or six musicians grouped round in a circle. The women were all on one side of the ground and would choose a man partner from the opposite side. Two girls selected one man to stand between and facing them. Then they would go forwards and backwards in sets of three. At first they held up their hands in imitation of a bear's paws and acted as if afraid of each other, but finally they clasped each other and danced together. The performance was limited to the daytime, but was danced on four consecutive days. On the last day only two performers participated, the giver of the dance being one of them, otherwise anyone who chose might take part. In one part of the ceremony a man would kick his partner's foot (or *vice versa*) causing her to fall. Then the headman, who was naked save for a clout, took the resonator and musical instrument near the prostrate form and made a noise there. The fallen one would then sit up, jump round, and move his hands in imitation of a bear; without this performance he would be liable to be killed by a bear some time.

According to one informant, the *wō'hōnōqin* was always performed at the initiative of the same individual, and when he died the Shoshone ceased to dance it.

BANDA NOQAI.

The meaning of *bānda nōqai* is unknown. The dance, though practised by the Shoshone long ago, is associated in their minds mainly with the Bannock, who according to my authorities still keep it up (1912). Only men took part. They wore breechclouts painted white and black and

¹ Cf. Lowie, (d), p. 219.

painted themselves all over with black dots. Each had a pair of very large artificial testicles fixed on, and carried a bow and blunt-headed arrows. The women or other non-participants split sticks, putting a bead or other small object within the cleft, and set them in front of the dancers. The performers danced up to the sticks, but pretended to retreat in fear until finally they snatched them up. Before so doing they would rush at some spectators and pretend to shoot them. Spectators were supposed to be outdoors while looking at the dance; if any one peeped through a hole in the tipi cover, the dancers would shoot him. When they had seized the sticks, some men who had water at hand threw it at the dancers as they started away, so that some would get wet. The performers proceeded a short distance, then danced again, and tapped bows and arrows together. Finally, they ran off as fast as possible to the place where they had put away their clothes. The entire performance was merely a pastime.

BEAD-GATHERING.

The men chose a site for the performers and began to sing and beat drums. The young women would get up and choose partners. A man had his arm and blanket round his partner, and they would slightly raise the feet above the ground with a quick jump. Then they would fall down together, whereupon onlookers threw one blanket after another on top of them. While in this position the man presented his companion with all sorts of trinkets. The blanket-owners recovered their blankets. The ceremony is called *nádzo móyuk*.

PITCEMONOQA.

The meaning of *pítcemō'nōqa* is unknown. The dance was performed at night inside of a lodge. It was danced only for a short time. The step was like that of the Wolf dance. Men and women both participated. One dancer held the skin of an animal in his hand.

AKWI NOQAI.

One or two headmen riding on horseback and dressed in their best clothes, would head a party of dancers (*ā'kwi nōqai*). They would go in front of a lodge and begin to dance round while a singer started a song, beating a drum.

This was done at each lodge in succession. The inmates of the lodge would join the ranks of the dancers, who thus gradually acquired a large following. After visiting all the lodges, the paraders ended their performance.

WAR DANCES.

Long ago, when a war party was about to set out they would get a blanket on the eve of departure and beat it, saying, "Tomorrow we shall go on the warpath." This custom is called *páraian* by the Wind River Shoshone.¹

When the scouts had discovered that the enemy was close and came to report their presence, the chief would say: "Today we will have the Afraid dance (*töya nō'qa roi*)." Then they got a lot of firewood for the evening, and built a big fire. The best singers acted as musicians, beating their hand-drums, accompanied by women, while the other men danced, merely raising each leg, alternately without change of position. War-bonnets were worn. The performance lasted only a very short time. According to one version, the men came in on horseback, dismounted, and danced pretending to dodge shots fired at them. The dance was meant to give a warning to the people as to the proximity of their enemies.

When an enemy had been killed and scalped, the *wutápí* ceremony was held. Here five or six men played the part of musicians, standing up with their hand-drums, while any women that chose might take an active part in the dance. The women all lined up in a row with the scalps at the end of their sticks, and danced toward the men. When close, they stopped, walked to their original places, and waited for the next song, when the same procedure was repeated. Usually they began about ten o'clock in the morning and ceased at three or four in the afternoon.

A ceremony called *ganí' wútap*, and possibly related to that just described, was also performed when an enemy had been killed. The performers got their best horses, tied up their tails, and mounted, a man and a woman riding double. Lining up abreast of one another, they rode round the camp. One of the men carried a scalp at the end of a stick, and all sang a war song during the procession. They rode up to a tipi, stopped there, struck it with willow branches, and then stopped.

The *wutápí* was followed by the *nā'wüya* (*rí*) in which every man stood between two women, each embracing his two partners. Thus a circle was formed, and all the dancers walked slowly in a clockwise direction. Drums were beaten with a slow measure, and the dancers themselves also sang.

¹ Cf. p. 811.

Finally came the *nā'rupinā'ru*. The performers were young people. All the men lined up in a row, facing another line of women. Some (one?) of the men beat drums. The women went backward, followed by the men, who continued to face them. The men might select any woman and put her on their own side, and the women had a corresponding privilege. Thus they walked for a long distance in one direction. Then the men began to walk backwards, followed by the women. This was done several times until some headman ordered them to stop, when all would go home.

The *nū'nūhan* was held when some enemies had been slain by a war party. Then some eight or ten old men and women marched through camp, went to the lodge of a warrior, who had been of the party, and sang there, beating little sticks. The warrior would come out with a fine buffalo blanket for the men and some meat for the old women. The procession then went on to the lodge of another warrior and went through the same performance, until all the members of the successful expedition had been visited.

PEQOWA NOQAN.

In this dance (*peqówa nōqán*) both sexes took part. The young people went into a lodge and the men painted the women. Then all went outside. The women lined up in one row, and the men in another row behind. They walked to the dance ground, where the women turned about to face the men, danced up to them, and then stepped back again, repeating the performance at subsequent songs.

Then the headman announced the *ā'nōqà*. The men stood still, beating drums, and the women went round, all abreast.

There followed the Knee dance (*tāñga nōqá'*). The women were in two rows, facing each other, and thus approached the men. When close, they split up into two sections and went back to their starting point.¹ Then all the women formed a circle, and the men got between them. Any onlooker might join.

WOMEN'S DANCE.

This is a modern dance (*waŋpe nōqá* or *waŋpe nō'kakin*) that came from the Crow, according to one informant, and from the south according to another. My interpreter thought it had been introduced not more than

¹ The statement possibly means that the women advanced in one row, which broke up into two as they approached the men.

eight or ten years ago (in 1912). It alternates with the *tásayùge* as among the Lemhi. There are four or five different singers with hand-drums. The women choose partners, and the men must pay for the privilege of dancing with them.¹

TASAYUGE.

Instead of using the Indian name, *tásayùge*, the Whites call this the Wolf dance, or sometimes the War dance.² The Indians do not connect it with the wolf; one informant thought the name might have been derived from the fact that the headman's quirt is decorated with a coyote tail.

As already hinted above, there may be an obsolete form of the dance in which the performers do not change their position. The dance as now practised is certainly identical with the Grass dance of other tribes, though the Shoshone did not eat dog meat. The performers wore war-bonnets with long streamers and feather bustles. One Indian told me that while sick a man from another tribe had a dream in which he was instructed to perform the *tásayùge* and promised to get well. He obeyed, and recovered. The dance passed from tribe to tribe and finally the Shoshone are said to have obtained it from the Crow.

¹ Cf. Lowie, (d), p. 221.

² Lowie, (d), 221-223.

UTE DANCES.

DOG COMPANY.

So far as I understand conditions among the Ute, the Dog company (sari' tsi + u) is the only institution comparable to the Plains societies. According to Charlie Buckskin, this company was not connected with the Dog dance (p. 833); it existed before my informant's time, in the days before the Ute had guns.

The Dog company consisted of a number of men and one woman. They dressed like other people, but wore a distinctive necklace made from a slit wolfskin. Like dogs, they were to give an alarm to the Ute whenever an enemy approached. Accordingly, they went scouting round the village in the daytime and at night, and if they saw anyone coming they ran back to camp to warn the tribe. Sometimes they stayed on a high hill, watching and singing songs. When the camp moved, the Dogs stayed in the rear; when the new site was occupied they approached. They were always afoot.

In every way the Dogs tried to imitate the animal from which they derived their name. They usually ate raw meat, and when they bled from a wound they tried to lick up the blood with the tongue dog-fashion.

After the old Dog company had disappeared, the sole survivor revived it for a while, inviting anyone who wished to join.

BEAR DANCE.

The Bear Dance (mamáqunikap')¹ is the most important of Ute ceremonies. It was known in the three divisions of the tribe visited and has been referred to by earlier writers. Thus, Clark writes:—

— Their annual dance, which is a religious ceremony, generally takes place some time during the month of February or March. With willow-boughs a large circular enclosure is formed, and the ground within is stamped smooth and hard. Places are set apart for fires, so that the "dance-hall" may be properly illuminated. At one end is the orchestra. I will endeavor to give a brief description of the musical instrument used. A hole is dug in the ground, and into it is fitted snugly a large

¹ Also recorded as mamáxuni'kal. The native name is said to contain no reference to the bear. I do not know whether this applies to another name, kwi+arat n'kal, given by Charlie Buckskin as a synonym of the usual one.

tin bucket, bottom upwards. Each musician takes a stick, about eighteen inches long, notched from one end to the other. One extremity of this stick is held in the left hand, and placed in contact with the edge of the tin bucket. In the right hand the performer holds a small piece of wood, square or rectangular in shape, and from three to four inches in thickness, and scraping this upwards and downwards on the notched stick, he produces the ravishing music which so delights the dusky dancers. The men and the squaws arrange themselves into two lines, so that the sexes stand opposite and facing each other. When the music commences two squaws clasp hands, advance to the male line, and choose their partners; then two more in the same manner make their selection, and so on until all are supplied. Now the males and the females from their respective lines advance towards each other with a trot and a swaying motion of their bodies, until the couples are almost face to face, and then with similar backward movements return to the places from which they started. This alternate advance and retreat is all there is to the dance, but the participants apparently enjoy the exercise immensely, and often continue the dance until they are completely exhausted. What are termed "Bear-Dances" are frequently indulged in merely for sport, they have no religious significance.¹

The fullest account of the Bear dance known to me is that by Mr. Verner Z. Reed,² who witnessed a performance in March, 1893, in the valley of the Rio de los Pinos. His evidence will be drawn upon in the consideration of special points.

Of the origin of the dance Severo (Ignacio) gave the following account:—

Long ago the Bear was a person. He went about alone and found a cottonwood stump. He thought he would dance toward the tree by himself, unseen by any one. So he danced back and forth, originating the Bear dance.³ When he got back to the village he announced the new dance and began to perform it, but though everybody liked it the young men were bashful and the women merely sang in chorus. The Bear did not like this, so he appointed two leaders who should make the men and women rise without tarrying too long. He said: "I want you to have this dance while I am still inside my house in the winter time. I won't allow it in the summer. If you perform it then, I shall be angry. Some people may have it in the winter, but it will also be well to have it at the beginning of spring. I shall be very glad to hear the songs from within my house. It does not matter how far away I shall be when they perform the dance, I'll hear and rejoice. You must keep this up all the time. I'll come out, and be glad, and look for a female bear for a consort. If they keep up the dance, the leaders may announce the celebration to other villages that are far off, and all may join. Do not confine the dance to one village, I like a big crowd. We will dance four days, then you may have a big feast within the corral, and after the feast go away." This is why the Bear dance is kept up.

Jim Duncan (Whiterocks) gave a different version:—

Long ago the Bear sang a song for a Ute, showed him the dance, and said: "You shall dance this way. If you teach the Indians how to do this, they will be

¹ Clark, 388-389.

² "The Ute Bear Dance," *American Anthropologist*, 1896, pp. 237-244.

³ Cf. Mason, p. 383.

kind to one another and to their wives. The women shall also join in the dance." In showing the dance to this man, the Bear had no corral but he told the Ute how the performance should be conducted. "You shall dance back and forth with your woman partner, while the others sit in the rear and sing songs." The man went to teach his fellow-tribesmen, and the Bear watched him. The Indian had a wife, and during the performance she danced with a young man. When the dance was over, the husband took a club and knocked her down. The Bear came and said to the man, "I did not tell you to hurt your wife, I told you to be good and to tell the other Indians not to hurt their wives." He pulled the man outside his lodge and struck him with his paws. The man howled and promised not to hurt his wife thereafter, then the Bear let him go. Long after this the same man again announced a Bear dance, and after this second performance he was kind to his wife. This is how the Bear dance began.

Still another version by Buckskin Charlie, chief of the Ignacio Ute, merits recording because it connects the ceremony with Sünā'waw¹ (Wolf), the mythical culture hero:—

Sünā'waw¹ told the Indians to have a Bear dance in the spring, but not in the summer when the Bear was out on the mountains since then he might fight anyone he met. The time to dance is while the Bear is still asleep. In the spring the Fly enters his dwelling and begins to buzz about. Then the Bear awakes and asks, "It is spring already, is it not?" "Yes, why do you sleep so long? It is spring, you had better go out. It is time for you to scratch a person's face and make him look bad. Do that, as you always do." "Why, that's nothing. I only make him brave, I don't hurt him. Now, you, when it is hot, you always spoil meat." "Oh, no, I do that to put salt on it, so people can eat it."

When the first thunder is heard, the Bear stretches himself. Later, when there is good sunshine, he comes out again. Sünā'waw¹ said: "If you celebrate the ceremony every spring, the Bear will know it and will not bother you when you are hunting in the mountains. If you do not, he may hurt you. You must always keep up the dance. If any one won't dance with the woman who chooses him for a partner, the Bear will bite him and is liable to kill him."

This is why the Bear ceremony is kept up.

Beyond the desire to conciliate the bear, I was unable to detect any supposed object for the performance. Tony Buckskin, my interpreter at Ignacio, said that the Navajo and Apache performed the Bear dance for the purpose of curing the sick, but that the Ute did not.

According to Reed, "one of the purposes of the dance is to assist the bears to recover from hibernation to find food, to choose mates, and to cast the film of blindness from their eyes. Some of the other motives of the ceremonies are to charm the dancers from danger of death from bears, to enable the Indians to send messages to their dead friends who dwell in the land of immortality, and one or two minor ceremonies are performed usually for the purpose of healing certain forms of sickness."¹

¹ Reed, p. 238

As indicated in the origin accounts and in the quotation from Clark, the Bear dance was properly celebrated very early in the spring. A man urging another to start the dance would say, "I want to shoot your back with arrows." Tony Buckskin told me that in former times the death of a tribesman shortly before the prospective performance would cause its omission, but that now such a mishap was no longer considered as a preventive. Panayū's said that the proper time for the dance was when the first thunder was heard in the spring; if the Ute delayed its performance, they greatly feared that people would be killed by bears while out in the mountains. There were sometimes several performances of the ceremony in the spring; in 1912 the Ute of Navaho Springs had two dances on account of the unfavorable weather during the first.



Fig. 1. Ute Bear Dance Enclosure at Navaho Springs, Colorado.

The Bear dance is held in a very nearly circular, roofless enclosure. Reed says it is sacred during the performance and must be kept free from horses or dogs. The enclosure I saw at Navaho Springs (Fig. 1) had a diameter, according to rough measurements, of from seventy-one to seventy-nine feet. At distances of several feet from one another forked cedar trees had been set in the ground to form the circumference, and the spaces between these posts were filled with crossbeams and brush, except on the east side, where a space about $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in width was left for an entrance.¹ In the rear I found a round pit of irregular shape, about two feet deep and three feet wide. This marks the place of the musicians, of whom Reed says not less than twenty had been drilled for the occasion, and from eight to fourteen were constantly employed during the dance. In the pit I found a considerable number of notched instruments (*wū'nürügū`nap*, *wū'nörō`Enop*), as

¹ According to Reed, the entrance was to the south or southeast.

well as several rasps. A few of the instruments were also seen scattered about the dance ground, but all except one in the immediate neighborhood of the pit. About two feet away there was an inverted washtub, and a little farther off a bottomless wooden case. Max Joy, my interpreter, explained that during the performance the tub was placed in the pit, the case over the tub, and a sheet of tin on the case. When the notched stick is rasped on this series of resonators, the noise produced is said to be tremendous. In former times a large basket took the place of the tub. What seemed to be four drumsticks were resting on a horizontal cedar log, just south of the pit; according to Max Joy, these had nothing to do with the Bear ceremony, but were used for the war dance. The brush enclosure seen at Whiterocks also faced east. It was somewhat larger, the diameter being about 90 feet,¹ the height was in part above six feet, but at other spots not more than five feet. In the rear, about three feet east of the enclosure, the place of the pit was taken by a trench about five feet long, two and a half feet wide, and one foot in depth. This was covered with a wooden box, and on this were tin sheets. The ground was strewn with several notched wooden sticks and rasps of cattle bone. All round the ground, some distance from the circumference, there were the traces of fires. These, my interpreter explained, had served to illuminate the place when the people danced in the night.

The instruments, of which several specimens actually used in the ceremony were secured, are illustrated in Fig. 2. At Whiterocks my interpreter said that one end ought to be carved into the head of a mule, horse, bear or rattlesnake and that the stick should be daubed all over with red or yellow paint. At Navaho Springs I was told that the origin of the notched instrument is ascribed to an old woman.

At Ignacio "Ute Jim" is considered the headman of the ceremony, having been appointed by a council some time ago.² He sets the date of the performance and directs the erection of the brush fence; he also appoints two men to act as deputies. These men carry sticks. Before the ceremony the picture of a bear is made on cloth and fastened flag-fashion to a tall staff, which is set in the rear of the dance ground (Fig. 3). Mrs. Molineux, who had been a teacher at both the Uintah Reservation and the Ignacio School, showed me a picture by one of her pupils, in which a tree was drawn in the center of the entrance to the dance site. Mrs. Molineux told me that a sprig is really planted there at one stage of the performance but does not remain there permanently.

¹ The one seen by Reed was still larger, from 100 to 150 ft. in diameter.

² Recently some of the young men wished to choose someone else as conductor of the Bear dance.

According to my Navaho Springs interpreter, the men first range themselves in a half-circle on the north side of the ground, while the women form a similar arc on the south side. Severo (Ignacio) described a different arrangement: according to him, there were two half-circles on the north and south side, respectively, but in each arc the men formed the western and the women the eastern half. The women invariably were the ones to choose partners, and the men selected by them are obliged to accept the invitation. If a man refuses, an officer lashes him with a willow. Sometimes

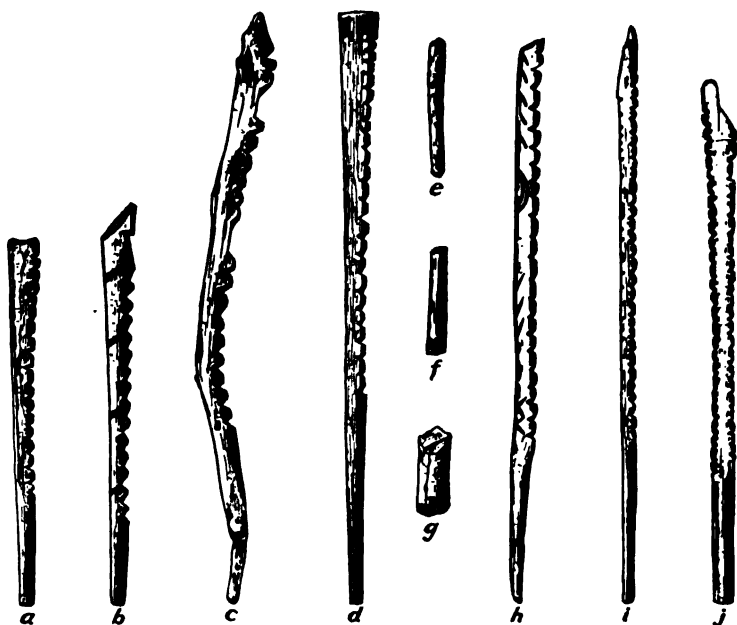


Fig. 2a (50.1-6971), b (50-1205a), c (50.1-7897a), d (50.1-6972), e (50.1-7897b), f (50-1205b), g (50.1-6976), h (50.1-7896), i (50.1-6981), j (50.1-6974). Notched Sticks and Rasps used as Musical Instruments in the Ute Bear Dance. e, f, g, Rasps.

a woman will choose one of the musicians, whose place must then be taken by some other man. Dancers receive no fee from their partners. In dancing the women and men face each other forming two straight lines, on the east and west side respectively (Fig. 4).

According to Panayū's, the proper old-style method is to start the first day's performance in the evening and continue it until about nine o'clock; to stop at about ten or eleven on the second night; about twelve or one on the third; and to dance throughout the fourth night until about one or two o'clock in the afternoon of the next day. On the Uintah Reservation all

the Ute come to camp near the enclosure on the last day of the ceremony. Towards the end of the ceremony a crow song is sung: *sanaqō ā'ri, sānaqō āri*. Then they dance in single pairs, partners holding each other, while on the previous days the two rows of dancers approached each other (Fig. 5). The step consists of three forward and two backward steps. The leaders warn the participants to take care lest they should fall. On this occasion friends relieve each other when tired out, but if a man is poor and has no friend he gets no chance to rest at all. Finally one dancer falls, or pretends to fall down, from exhaustion, and the dancing ceases, to be followed by a big feast. Jim Duncan (Whiterocks) said that if it was a man that succumbed first the women were said to win, and *vice versa*. Mrs. Molineux told me that according to her Uintah informants the Bear dance was formerly connected with an exchange of wives, but I obtained no corroborative evidence on this point.

There is an important rule relating to the falling down of a dancer; whether it applies only, or particularly, to the final part of the ceremony, I do not know. An individual finding himself in the plight described may not rise by his own efforts but must wait for one of the musicians. This musician comes with a notched instrument, places it on each foot, each knee, the shoulders, head and back of the person on the ground, rasps it over each part of the body mentioned, and pronounces words to this effect: "I want you to enjoy a good life without any pain, the Bear will blow it away and cure you. The Bear is great medicine and hears what I am saying." If a person got up without this rite, he might fall sick.

After the conclusion of the Bear dance the songs appropriate to it must not be sung, lest the Bear should maltreat the singers.

While the connection of the ceremony with the animal from which it takes its current name is clear enough from the foregoing, it is brought out even more forcibly in Reed's account. The enclosure itself, according to this witness, is meant to represent a bear's cave, and the entrance is toward the sunshine because bears were supposed to select caves with regard to their opening in that direction. An initial song by the musicians is meant to transport the noise made in the pit to the caves of the bears and transform it to thunder, which partly rouses the bears from their winter sleep and each day's performance symbolizes their gradual restoration from hibernation. Motions of the arms are made in imitation of the motion the bear makes with his forepaws. Women choose partners because the female bear chooses her mate. At the close of the ceremony the bears are supposed to have regained all their faculties, to have mated, and secured food. The spirit of the final feast, which follows an eighteen hours' fast, is supposed to be partly wafted away to the forests, where it is believed the bears feed on it.

While gambling is tabooed during the performance, Mr. Reed describes the ceremony as not lacking in social features. More particularly is it a period of courtship for the younger people.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.

Ute Bear Dance at Navaho Springs, Colorado. The musicians (Fig. 3) are seated in their round pit. *Photo by Charles D. Wagner.*

Certain rites not mentioned by any of my witnesses may best be described in Mr. Reed's words:—

Several times during the progress of the dance messages are sent to the Land Beyond. One of the managers waves his staff for silence, and then a chief arises and

announces the rite. The men stand in silence on one side of the inclosure, the women sit mutely on the other. Then a bunch of corn-husks for cigarettes, together with a bottle of tobacco, are handed to the leader of the musicians. He takes the husks and tobacco in his hand, reverently bows his head and repeats an incantation, and then rolls a cigarette, passing the husks and tobacco to another singer, who does the same. When each of the singers has rolled a cigarette, all heads are bowed again, there is a long moment of absolute silence, and then the words of an incantation are repeated in chorus by all the singers. It is believed that the words of the incantation are heard in the sky, and that the shades there know that messages are to be sent to them from some of their mortal brothers. After this incantation the cigarettes are lighted and a few puffs blown toward the sky, it being believed that the smoke ascends and provides a smoke of friendship with the shades. Then the particular messages are



Fig. 5. Ute Bear Dance at Navaho Springs, Colorado. Photo by Charles D. Wagner.

spoken, the speaker bowing his head as he talks, and all the others maintaining the most rigid silence and not moving in their places. The Indians believe that any one can, with the aid of the incantations and the sacred smoke, send messages to the sky, but that answers can be heard only by medicine men.

Two or three times during the continuance of the dance, but never until after the first day has passed, a handsomely beaded medicine pipe, filled with dried kinikinnik leaves, is brought into the inclosure, lighted, and passed from one man to another, each taking two or three puffs, rubbing his fingers over the stem of the pipe, as though it were a flute, and then handing it to the man next to him. This ceremony is to show affection for the shades by providing them with a similar smoke, and is an important medical ceremony as well, for it is believed that it protects the smokers from pneumonia and consumption. The women take no active part in either of the smoking ceremonies, but are rapt observers.

SQUAW DANCES.

I observed part of a squaw dance on the Uintah Reservation, said to be of recent and alien origin. The men do not stand between the women, but all the participants of either sex stand together, jointly forming a single circle. In dancing they moved clockwise, crossing the right foot over the left, then slowly dragging the left foot after. There was no musical instrument, the performers dancing in accompaniment to songs sung by themselves. At Ignacio I saw a squaw dance of the usual type.¹

Jim Duncan (Whiterocks) told me of another dance, of which he did not know the name, in which men and women joined hands. He said it was usually performed in the fall, but occasionally at other seasons. It may possibly be identical with the *tawáni'qai*, Daylight Dance, of which I heard in Ignacio. Men and women formed a ring in the daytime and danced without any music but their own singing.

Another dance in which men and women took part was the *tomū'gani'-kaya* (*tomū'gweni'kap'i*). It was held only in the night. The men all stamped their feet vigorously, and this feature is said to be expressed in the name of the performance. The men and women formed a ring to dance. They sang, but there was no drumming. When through, the performers all fell down on the ground, piling on top of one another for fun. The words of their song meant: "Now, that woman is very anxious to mate, but now we have pretty nearly done and she can have her wish."

Men and women also joined in a dance called *tcinúan'kaya*. Old persons started it. There were no drums, only gourd-rattles. The young people fastened rattling objects to their clothes. This, as well as the preceding dance, might be performed at any time of the year.

In the Deer-Hoof Rattle dance (*tasf tcuni'kap*) from two to four old men had sticks about eight feet long and covered with buckskin, to the top of which deer or antelope hoofs were attached for rattles. When the dance had been announced, the people gathered in the place mentioned. Then the musicians began to sing a distinctive song. A woman would begin to dance, then some man came and put his arm round her; if he put his arm round her neck, the crowd called out to him to encircle her waist. Sometimes two women began to dance together, then one man would act as partner to both of them. Only a few people danced at the same time, but anyone might dance who so wished. The performers merely moved up and down without change of position. If any of them failed to keep time, the

¹ See Lowie, (e), p. 206.

musicians prodded their ears with the rattle-sticks. This dance was not confined to any particular season of the year.

In the *kwinū'nikał* (*kwinū'ni'kara*) the musicians, who were all men, also used deer-hoof rattles, according to Panayū's, but the sticks were from one to six feet in length. In addition they had a drum, on each side of which the men lined up in a row. The women asked old men to sing for them, then they danced, jumping up and down, and taking turns at different songs. Only women took part, the old ones acting as leaders. This performance always took place after dinner, and might be followed by the Dog dance.

In the Dog dance (*sari'nikał*) the women chose men partners. If a man danced by himself, the women would come over and dance with him. The men sometimes covered their partners with blankets and, thus covered, kissed them. They merely danced up and down. At sunset the performance ceased.

WAR DANCES.

The *tō'n'kánam* was a preparation dance, performed by men about to set out on a war party. They took off all their clothes except for the gee-string, and carried weapons. The women watched to see who was going against the enemy and also sang. Drums were beaten for music.

After having slain an enemy and returned from war the braves would dance naked round a scalp attached to a high pole. Only the men took part. This performance was called *'ā'sin'kàp*. It was distinct from the Shield dance, *tápu ni'kàmi*, in which the women danced with the scalps, their leaders sometimes wearing war-bonnets and carrying shields or spears.

There was once a performance known as *niní + ewíeo*. After singing and drumming all night while out on the warpath, some Ute Indians would slowly approach a famous warrior and suddenly awake him by hallooing. One of their number was painted and dressed up as in war. When the sleeper had been roused, they thus addressed him: "We have heard that you are a brave man. You saved your life, however you were brave enough to attack and kill an enemy." Then they have some music and dance. The warrior gives a gun, horse, or some other property to the visitors, who proceed from one distinguished warrior to another, everywhere collecting gifts.

The modern social dance commonly called War dance (*tá + uxán'kai*) apparently does not differ from the Grass dance as found among the Plains Indians, except that it seems to lack all the more serious features. It alternates with the squaw dance.

PANATSUNIQAI.

Sometimes in the night people would get a hide, beat it, and proceed singing from one tipi to another. This was called panátsuni'qai (panátcuni'-kap). They advanced towards a headman's tipi, and one member of the party would go ahead, peep in, and might find old men seated there smoking. Then he would report: "They are smoking over there." Then the procession went to the spot, and stopped. The old men filled a pipe, made the singers sit down and gave them to smoke. When they had done, they performed a round dance, after which they went away to sleep.

The above account was obtained at Whiterocks. An Ignacio informant said that both men and women took part in this dance, which lasted at least until midnight. He seemed to connect with this performance another called "doubling up," nawā'tó'kwabíni'ká'. This was characterized by both men and women lining up in facing rows as in the Bear dance, but hand-drums were used. Both sides took a few steps forward, then each woman got between two men she liked.

What seems the same, or at least a related, performance was also described by one informant under the caption ganí'ya uwí + ev, Long Village. At night while men were assembled smoking in a chief's house, a party of young men and women would gather and proceed thither as quietly as possible. One of the men in the procession opened the door, and all gave the war whoop. Then they began a song and dance just outside the lodge. The chief and his guests were asked for a smoke. After three or four songs the headman of the dancers said to his followers while they were still dancing, "You know how hard the skin from the neck of animals is, that is how those men inside are." This meant that they did not readily yield a smoke. Finally, however, they would relent, the chief handing a pipe to the leader of the procession who smoked and passed it on to his companions. This performance was repeated at other lodges and finally a dance was held in a suitable place.

HORSE PARADE.

Just before sunrise a headman would announce: "Everyone shall mount a horse and take a drum to sing with on horseback!" Then all proceeded in this fashion round the camp. The headman then said, "Come to my house, let all gather there." When all had assembled, they decorated themselves with different kinds of paint and had a dance, possibly on the afternoon of the same day, the *Lame dance*, sañkíni'qap'. In this both men and

women limped around, one behind another. There were two parallel rows, but one would cross the other in the course of the dance. The sexes were not divided by these rows. After the dance all scattered to go home. Then someone might announce: "There will be another dance, the quní'n'-qawā'n'." In this dance the performers moved round with an up-and-down hop.

Possibly a different type of parade was described under the name of *kā'wirukqanām*. All the men lined up on horseback, and the women also mounted, forming a line behind. A man wearing a war-bonnet and sometimes carrying a shield or spear was leader and would go from one end of the procession to the other. He rode a horse that had been painted up and had its tail wrapped with red cloth. Sometimes there were as many as three of these leaders. The musicians had hand-drums and occupied the center of the men's line. The women all sang in chorus. Sometimes the men struck their guns with ramrods to beat time. In parading they would discharge their guns into the air. After a while, the leader or chief delivered a speech in a very loud voice then they paraded again. Finally the men arranged themselves in single file, headed by the chief, who galloped to camp, followed by the rest, the women bringing up the rear. Sometimes a ring was formed by the riders and a performance of the Dog dance took place within this space, though it was not necessarily connected with the parade.

SOCIETIES OF THE KIOWA.

By ROBERT H. LOWIE.

PREFACE.

Before summarizing the results of the investigation of Plains Indian societies undertaken by the Department of Anthropology for a number of years, it appeared desirable to secure data from the Kiowa respecting certain theoretical points that had developed from a study of other tribes. Though Mr. Mooney's printed Kiowa material seemed to decide these questions implicitly, it seemed best to take a view of the subject in the field from the particular vantage ground afforded by the systematic survey of the region presented in this volume. For this purpose I made a side trip to Anadarko, Oklahoma, in June, 1915. There I had the good fortune of enlisting the services of Mr. Andres Martinez, a Mexican who had been captured by the Apache while a boy, sold¹ to the Kiowa two years later, and who had lived a large portion of his life as a Kiowa among Kiowa, marrying native women, entering some of the men's societies, and so forth. Mr. Martinez became my main informant and acted as my interpreter in questioning two full-blood Indians on doubtful points. He also corrected several errors in his published biography,¹ which he explained were due to his inadequate knowledge of English at the time of its composition.

It is obvious that several days' work, however intensive, cannot exhaust such a topic as the military and related organizations of a Plains tribe: all I attempted was to shed some light on the problems treated in this series of papers.

February, 1916.

¹ See Methvin.

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INTRODUCTION.

From Battey we learn that in the seventies of the last century the Kiowa had a police organization designed to prevent the young men from going on raids that might bring trouble upon the tribe.

... a strong guard of their soldiers were continually watching, day and night, while in camp, to prevent any such enterprise from being undertaken. In moving from place to place, these soldiers marched on each side of the main body, while a front guard went before, and a rear guard behind, thus preventing any from straggling away.

A corresponding body regulated the buffalo hunt.

The soldiers, going out first, surrounded a tract of country in which were a large herd of buffalo; and no one might chase a buffalo past this ring guard on pain of having his horse shot by the soldiers.¹

Clark merely lists the names of five men's societies.²

In Rev. Methvin's biography of my chief informant there is a brief chapter on military societies,³ but as these data were revised and amplified in connection with my own inquiries, they need not be summarized as there presented.

Our principal sources on this subject, however, are Mr. Mooney's statements.⁴ These largely corroborate my own notes and will be presented with them so far as they do not coincide.

The older literature cited above does not in any way contradict the general results I obtained independently, which may be summarized as follows.

In recent times the Kiowa had six men's societies and two women's societies. There once existed in the time of one informant's greatgrandfather an additional men's society, the *qo' + itēm*, "Kiowa's Bone" (?). The members of this organization represented each a buffalo bull, except for the leader, who (though also a man) represented a buffalo cow. In a fight, if this leader stopped to stand his ground, all the others were obliged to do the same, even at the risk of death. Thus all of them were killed, and the people were afraid so that they no longer kept up the organization.

¹ Battey, 185-186.

² Indian Sign Language, 355.

³ Methvin, 165-168.

⁴ Especially Mooney, (b), and in *Handbook*, article "Military Societies."

The six men's societies of recent times were: the Rabbits (fulā'nyu); Shepherds (altō'yuhe); Rulers (?) of Horses (tsë'tā'nmâ); Berries¹ (tā'ipëko); Black Feet (tuñk'uñqōt'); ? Horses (q'ō'i'tsë'ñko). Of these the first-mentioned comprised all the little boys² in the tribe, while the last society in the list is superior to the others in social prestige, being composed exclusively of eminent warriors. The rest are of the same rank. Mr. Mooney at one time believed that the Rabbits "were afterward promoted, according to merit or the necessities of war, in regular progression to higher ranks."³ In a more recent statement, however, he corroborates my own information that "the next four societies . . . were all of about equal rank, varying only according to the merit or reputation of the officers at any particular time."⁴ The societies thus did not form a graded series in any sense. As a boy grew up any one of the four coördinate societies might make him join. Some men never advanced from the status of a Rabbit, for if a boy was not considered the right sort he was not asked to join the adult men's organizations. There were only a few individuals who were barred in this way, however; every Indian man of any social standing became a member of some society. Later some other society might induce him to change his membership. If he was especially brave, he might be taken into the q'ō'i'tsë'ñko. Except for the Rabbits, age had nothing to do with membership, nor was membership purchased; further the societies did not offer gifts to the individual sought as a member, thus differing from the Crow societies.

The societies met only during the period between a sun dance announcement and the sun dance itself, but this interval differed greatly in length, the announcement being sometimes made very soon after the consummation of the preceding ceremony while at other times it was only made immediately before the performance announced. During the period defined the societies met very frequently, one member inviting the others one day for a feast, and the rest following suit on other days. The q'ō'i'tsë'ñko met less frequently than the rest. A man could only belong to one society at a time (except in the case of the adult leaders of the Rabbits). Since the Rabbits included all the young boys in the tribe, they were very numerous. On the other hand, the q'ō'i'tsë'ñko, owing to the special qualifications for membership, were very few,—only ten according to Mr. Mooney and from fifteen to twenty according to Martinez, while two Indians set the number at thirty. The last-mentioned informants set the average member-

¹ Of red color when ripe and salty taste.

² Methvin includes the girls also (p. 165), but according to Martinez this is a mistake.

³ Mooney, (b), 229-230.

⁴ id., *Handbook*, I, p. 862.

ship of the other organizations at forty or fifty, while Martinez's estimate is from thirty to forty.

There was no such rivalry between any two societies in times of war as has been described for the Crow Indians (this volume, p. 174). Sometimes at the time of the sun dance any two societies might engage in a kicking-fight, the object of which was to teach the young Indians not to run away from the enemy but to stand their ground and fight. This is doubtless the performance referred to by Battey as coming after the erection of the sun dance lodge:—

The soldiers of the tribe then had a frolic in and about it, running and jumping, striking and kicking, throwing one another down, stripping and tearing the clothes off each other.¹

Martinez knew of no instance of a man voluntarily leaving his society. A father might give presents to poor Indians in honor of a boy who becomes a Rabbit, but he would not take the initiative to get his son into his own organization.

The mutual-benefit feature that characterizes the Crow clubs does not seem to have been prominent among the Kiowa. For example, when a man bought the medicine privileges described by Methvin under the caption "quo-dle-quoit,"² he was assisted by his relatives, but his society had nothing to do with the procedure.

At the time of the sun dance the medicineman appointed one of the societies to get the sacred tree. Similarly, he would choose one of them to act as police during the buffalo hunt. Their function in this connection is called q'ī'at'ā'tu, which seems to mean "they can stop any one." The offender who hunted individually instead of taking his place with the rest lost the meat so secured, and if he resented this punishment the police might shoot his horse or whip him.

If a member absented himself from an evening session of his society during the sun dance period, his associates would sing a song the next day, hallooing and making a big noise at the end of the song. Then one man would call aloud the delinquent's name, coupling it with that of his mother-in-law and crying, "That is your wife!" Since the mother-in-law taboo held sway among the Kiowa,³ the object of the performance was evidently to make the offender ashamed.

¹ Battey, 169.

² Methvin, 70 et seq.

³ Methvin, 163.

MEN'S SOCIETIES.

RABBITS.¹

According to Mr. Mooney the Rabbit society embraced boys of the age of about ten or twelve. Martinez was about ten years old when he joined, but said that any boy belonged to the Rabbits when old enough to walk freely. In his case the event occurred later because he only came to live among the Kiowa at nine. There were two leaders, who were grown-up men and stayed with the Rabbits as long as they lived. These also belonged to some other organization, but their first duty was to the Rabbits if a meeting of both organizations should be called at the same time. Kō'tar and Ayáte were the leaders in Martinez's time.

The Rabbits, generally, but not always, wore at the back of the head a strip of elk hide with the hair and a feather standing erect. They wore buckskin clothes and painted the face with different colors. All sang while dancing. The leaders beat drums but also took part in the dance sometimes. During one song three or four boys, or sometimes as many as ten, got up to dance. After the dance the leaders told the Rabbits all about their war deeds. If one leader died, the other nominated a successor, and if the boys agreed all went to this man's place, seized him and led him to their tipi.

The day before a feast one of the leaders would ride about, announcing that such-and-such a boy had invited the Rabbits for a dance and feast the next day.

In accordance with Mr. Mooney's statement that the boys of the society "were drilled in their future duties as warriors by certain old men," Martinez compares the Rabbit organization to a school. The leaders would rise and say: "When I was young like you, I was a little Rabbit, when I got older I went and stole horses, took scalps, etc."

Martinez says that every once in a while nowadays he hears the father of some sick child say, "If he recovers, I'll call the Rabbits together." Then, if the child gets well, the father will entertain the boys with a feast, and the Indians believe that the promise was the cause of the recovery. In the old days the Indians used to do the same thing in corresponding cases.

¹ Mr. Mooney, (b), pp. 230, 418, gives two synonymous native terms for Rabbits, "polk'nyup" and "tsāñyui," of which the former obviously corresponds to my "fulñ'nyu."

The Rabbits jumped up and down without change of position, held up their hands to the level of their ears, moving the hands, and at the same time imitated the sound of rabbits: ts'ā, t's'ā!

Martinez remained a Rabbit until he was about fifteen years old.

SHEPHERDS.¹

When about fifteen years old, Martinez was sleeping in his tipi one night when three young men entered. He gave them something to smoke, they smoked and then told him they were there on business. "What is your business?" My informant had already guessed what it was, for all his visitors were members of the Shepherd society. Each of the Rabbits had a special friend with whom he would dance. Martinez's comrade had already been taken in by the Shepherds and wanted him to join likewise. There was no reason for refusing, but even had he done so it would have been of no avail since they were accustomed to take the boys by force. They took Martinez at once to the Shepherds' meeting-place where the members began to halloo and beat drums. He was at once joined by his comrade, and the two danced together.

The Shepherds danced differently from the Rabbits, moving slightly or jumping up, and also moving both arms out at the level of the waist. No sound was made while dancing. Big-bow and Ayáte (the Rabbit leader), both famous warriors, were the leaders of the Shepherds for life. The Shepherds had no badge, but wore feathers on the head. The two leaders had as badges two flat sticks about the length of a man's arms, carved with figures, with a pendant tsé'ita u'ta (= ?) skin, and a wrist-loop. These emblems were shared by the leaders of all the coördinate societies. If one of the leaders rose and put the loop of his stick round his wrist, all the members had to get up likewise and dance. At the end of a song all the Shepherds sat down except one of the leaders, who would tell of his exploits. For each deed recited the drummers beat the drum once. Sometimes only one leader recited the deeds, sometimes one after the other. Sometimes some other member would follow with a recital of his own deeds. In the Shepherds, as in the other coördinate societies, all ages from twelve up were represented. If Martinez had so desired, he might have stayed with the Shepherds all his life, but usually some other organization would take a desirable member. After being adopted, my informant no longer joined

¹ For his two synonymous native designations "Īdaltōyui" (corresponding to my "altō'yuhe") and "tēābeyu'i," Mr. Mooney gives the translation, "Young Mountain Sheep."

the Rabbit feasts but went to those of the Shepherds. All he had to do there was to learn the songs and dances and obey his leaders.

The following story is told. The Kiowa were once being pursued by the enemy toward a mountain called Altō'yuhe. There one Kiowa, a Shepherd, said: "I will not run any farther, I'll make a stand and defend my people, even if I get killed." He acted accordingly, sang his song, and was killed. The mountain was then called after the Shepherds, and the society adopted his death song as a special song of theirs. The words were about the following: "Now I am gone. I am going to leave you. (i. e. "I will not run any more.")"

Tsĕ'tā'nmâ.¹

Martinez was about twenty when this society took him in. His comrade was still a Shepherd, so Martinez sent for him and made him join also. There were two leaders, one of whom marched in front, the other behind. This seems to apply to all the societies. It did not matter which leader took either of the two positions defined. Here, as in all the coördinate societies, the leaders had two sticks of the type described for the Shepherds, and called either after the skin pendant or qo'kū'qa'. There were rattles and drums. Two or three members would dance to the music, but if the leaders rose with their badges, all were obliged to rise and dance. The leaders told about their deeds, then other members followed suit. Martinez was satisfied with the Shepherds, but the tsĕ'tā'nmâ were eager to get him, and had he refused to join they would have come for him again and again. When getting an individual they went to his own, not to his society's, tipi. The society that lost a member in the manner described would not resent this in any way and might do likewise with members of other societies. If the tsĕ'tā'nmâ got together now, Martinez would have the right to join in their meeting.

BLACK FEET.²

These had drums but no rattles. The name did not refer to the Indian tribe. There were two leaders.

Charlie Fa'to'ni was captured and taken away while young and not returned to his people till very much later, so he was still a Rabbit when he

¹ Mr. Mooney translates "Horse Caps" (Headdresses); Martinez was unable to give an accurate rendering, but gave me the idea of "Rulers of Horses."

² Mr. Mooney translates "Black Legs."

came back at about forty-three years of age. Then the Black Feet took him in. One member called on him and told him he was sent to take him to that society. He went in. He was made to get up and dance four times with some other members, after which one leader told of his deeds. After that Fa^ato'ni got up to dance whenever he felt like it. A year ago this spring the Black Feet got together for a feast and dance. Women were allowed to be there, but not members of other societies. The Black Feet had a hooked stick called pobū'n, belonging to one officer. It was wrapped with beaverskin, painted with different colors, and tied with pairs of eagle feathers along the shaft and at the tip of the crooked part. When a man had had the stick for a very long time, he might feel like giving it to a young member of the organization. Then the young man gave the owner good clothes and horses in return. The people knew that a man accepting the pobū'n had to be a brave man. When in battle, he would plant his stick in the ground and thereafter would not flee unless it was taken out by someone else.

BERRIES.¹

Every member had a rattle, originally of rawhide and of either spherical or square shape, but later baking-powder cans were used. There were two leaders with sticks. People of other societies might attend while they recited their deeds. At the last part of their song the Berries, as well as the tsētā'nmā, would raise their rattles aloft and shake them.

The Berries had one arrow (zē'bo) as long as a spear. In recent times Hā'nguL made one because his grandfather had had one. Since he had it, it came to belong to the Berry society. Only one man had it; if he died, some other member would get a similar badge, the original being buried with the owner. In battle the owner stuck it into the ground and then was pledged to stand there unless released by some one else. The arrow was decorated with reddened eagle feathers and the entire shaft was painted red.

Q'Ō'I'TSĔ'ŊKO. .

The exact meaning of this native term could not be ascertained. In his lists Mr. Mooney renders it "Chief Dogs" and "Real or Principal Dogs"².

¹ Mr. Mooney translates "Skunkberries," and gives another native name rendered "Crazy Horses."

² *Handbook*, I, 862; Mooney, (b), 230.

(?). In his Kiowa glossary, however, he explains that:—

the name seems to mean "Kiowa horses" from *Gá-i* or *Ká-i* and *tseñ*. Identical with the "horse" and "big horse," military orders of the Kiowa and Kiowa Apache, respectively, as given by Clark.¹

Martinez, like Clark's informant, translated the word as "Horses" with some additional honorific epithet, possibly connected with the office of scout. A corresponding difficulty as to the meaning of society designations has been noted among the Mandan (this volume, pp. 302, 306, 317). Comparison of the Kiowa society with the (Big) Dog societies of other Plains tribes certainly seems to show that it is historically connected with them. In further justification of Mr. Mooney's rendering may be cited the origin myth obtained by him. According to this, the founder experienced a vision of warriors equipped in the manner since adopted by the society and accompanied by a dog, which told the visionary that he, also being a dog, should make a noise like one and sing a dog song.

As already stated, members of this organization were expected to be especially brave; accordingly, they enjoyed greater prestige than other societies. In age they ranged from about 25 upward. Mr. Mooney's positive statement that the membership was definitely limited to ten is entitled to take precedence of my data since he doubtless had an opportunity of securing a general consensus of opinion while I was only able to interview three informants. Novices were not allowed to enter in the uncereemonious manner characteristic of the other societies; one of the two leaders would approach the individual chosen with a pipe and thus force him to join. If a member felt too old to go to war, he would similarly put his pipe into the hand of a younger man, who was thus obliged to become his successor in the organization. Mr. Mooney tells us that in such a case the new member presented his predecessor with blankets or other property.

The distinctive badge of membership was a sash (*q'ó'i'tsë'ota*), about six inches wide and long enough to drag along the ground; it was made of rawhide, buckskin, or red cloth. When these emblems became old, there was a meeting for the purpose of making new ones, which took four or five days. For his sash and other regalia each member had a medicine bag from which they were only taken in war or when their dance was performed. In a war it was a member's duty to sing the song of his society, fasten his sash to the earth with a spear and thereafter to stand his ground regardless of consequences; anyone who fled lost his prestige and membership unless he had been released by some other man. Mr. Mooney distinguishes three

¹ *ibid.*, 409.

types of sash,— the leader's¹ emblem, which was of elkskin colored black; three emblems of red cloth; and six of elkskin dyed red.² He states further that a member might lend his sash to another man, more particularly to a younger comrade, either in camp or even on less important war expeditions, but on the more important raids he was obliged to wear it himself lest he be regarded as a coward.

The ceremonial paint of this organization was red, which was used all over the face and clothes, including the moccasins, and also on their feathers. The leaders, unlike those of other societies, did not carry flat sticks, but had reddened dewclaw rattles, the dewclaws being attached to the handle of the rawhide sphere. Martinez declares that the rawhide was obligatory, no modern equivalent being permitted.³ In addition to these instruments drums were used at a dance, and the performers also blew eagle bone whistles, painted red. The dance step was slow.

In battle and during a dance the members used backward speech. For example, they would say, "I am going to run away." "We do not want a feast yet," when they meant the contrary. During a buffalo hunt they might act as police like the other organizations.

WOMEN'S SOCIETIES.

There was an Old Women society (*tsaLietsu'nyū'p*) and a Bear society (*o'nā'atema*). The latter had very few members, only about ten or eleven. Some members were old, some were young. A few women, including Charlie *Fa'to'ni's* grandmother, belonged to both.

The Old Women were not all old, though none was young. There were about thirty-five or forty of them. They selected their daughters or other close kinswomen for successors; this also applies to the Bears. A woman made a feast four times before becoming a member. The Old Women danced round in a circle, and had a drum. In marching, one leader was in front, another in the rear. The Bears merely imitated the motions of bears with their hands. They did not allow any outsider to come in when they had a dance.

If a man started out for war he prayed to the Old Women, saying that

¹ According to Mr. Mooney there was only one leader.

² Mooney, (b), 285.

³ I was told that similar rattles were also used by the medicinemen at a sun dance.

It is said that warriors, in return, give them a feast. In fulfilling his promise, he filled the women in a pipe, presented it to them, and each woman, in turn, then prayed for the warrior's honor and long life. Then the warrior brought water for the women, who drank it and prayed again. Then the feast was brought, the war leader recited his deeds, and then one of the leaders of the society cut a little piece of meat, buried it in the ground and prayed, treating in the same way a pinch or slice of every kind of food. Then they ate.

This body is clearly described by Battey, who saw its members perform for an hour or two in the afternoon during the preparatory arrangements for a sun dance:—

The *moen* consisted of singing and drumming, done by several old women, who were squatted on the ground in a circle. The dancers — old, gray-headed women, from sixty to eighty years of age — performed in a circle around them for some time, finally striking off upon a waddling run, one behind another; they formed a circle, came back, and, doubling so as to bring two together, threw their arms around each other's necks, and trudged around for some time longer; then sat down, while a youngish man circulated the pipe from which each in turn took two or three whiffs, and this ceremony ended.¹

OTHER DANCES.

The sun dance, of which several accounts are available,² falls outside the scope of this volume.

The grass dance was said to have been obtained from the Dakota about fifteen years ago, but as Sitting-bull's name was mentioned in this connection my informant seems to have erred by a decade and to have had in mind the ghost dance, which the Kiowa first performed in 1890.³ Mr. Mooney mentions a dance resembling the Omaha dance, in which only two men actually participate and adopt a child of another tribe during a tribal visit.⁴

In the buffalo dance (*poⁿ'qùen*) any of the societies might join. It was a sort of war dance and they performed it only before setting out on an expedition. War-bonnets were worn, and the participants carried shields, spears, and arrows. They would recite their martial exploits.

Of greater comparative interest is the *gwudaⁿ'ke*, War Singing. The

¹ Battey, 168.

² Battey, *op. cit.*, 166-184; Mooney, (b), 240-244; Scott, 345-379.

³ Mooney, (b), 360.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 368.

night before starting on a war expedition the whole company of warriors assembled and any woman might join, but men only if they intended to go along. They got a big buffalo rawhide, then all participants took hold of it, and beat it with sticks, at the same time singing a war song and marching through the entire camp. After they had passed through camp, they halted to smoke, then continued the parade, possibly until daylight. My informant stated that this performance was shared by the Comanche. As a matter of fact I recorded it among this people,¹ as well as in other tribes. Battey observed an apparently related performance in connection with the sun dance, after the lodge had been erected:—

In the afternoon, a party of a dozen or more warriors and braves proceeded to the medicine house, followed by a large proportion of the people of the encampment. They were highly painted, and wore shirts only, with head-dresses of feathers which extended down the backs to the ground, and were kept in their proper places by means of an ornamented strap clasping the waist. Some of them had long horns attached to their head-dresses. They were armed with lances and revolvers, and carrying a couple of long poles mounted from end to end with feathers, the one white and the other black. They also bore shields highly ornamented with paint, feathers, and hair.

They took their station upon the side opposite the entrance, the musicians standing behind them.

Many old women occupied a position to the right and near the entrance, who set up a tremulous shrieking; the drums began to beat, and the dance began, the party above described only participating in it.

They at first slowly advanced towards the central post, followed by the musicians several of whom carried a side of raw hide (dried), which was beaten upon with sticks, making about as much music as to beat upon the sole of an old shoe, while the drums, the voices of the women, and the rattling of pebbles in instruments of raw hide filled out the choir.

After slowly advancing nearly to the central post, they retired backward, again advanced, a little farther than before; this was repeated several times, each time advancing a little farther, until they crowded upon the spectators, drew their revolvers, and discharged them into the air.

Soon after, the women rushed forward with a shrieking yell, threw their blankets violently upon the ground, at the feet of the retiring dancers, snatched them up with the same tremulous shriek that had been before produced, and retired; which closed this part of the entertainment. The ornamented shields used on this occasion were afterwards hung up with the medicine.²

When a war party returned with a scalp, there was rejoicing and the women came to take part in the scalp dance. Both sexes might either go round in a circle for this performance or face each other in rows. A scalp was divided into four parts, each of which was put on a stick and carried by one of the women. The dance was danced every day for about a month, then the scalps were stowed away in medicine bags.

¹ This volume, 811, 820, 834.

² Battey, 170-172.

**GENERAL DISCUSSION OF SHAMANISTIC AND DANCING
SOCIETIES.**

BY CLARK WISSLER.

PREFACE.

In the preceding divisions of this volume have been presented such concrete data as came to hand on akicita societies, dancing associations, etc. The primary object in every case was to secure first hand information on organizations of the akicita type, but except where the cultures were very complex the inquiry was extended to all organizations and associations. In the main, the latter are of two kinds, general dancing associations and shamanistic performances.

Now, as we turn to a comparative résumé of these successive tribal studies, we may best begin with the minor organizations, leaving the akicita group to the last. We do not consider that this brief paper exhausts the subject, but offer it as a suggestion of the possibilities contained therein.

June, 1916.

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INTRODUCTION.

In the concluding sections of this volume we shall consider some of the intertribal problems suggested by a comparative view of the data at hand. Our chief task is the analysis and interpretation of the societies closely resembling the akicita and political organizations described in the first paper of this volume, but before proceeding with them it seems advisable to discuss certain other organizations to which we have given minor consideration.

If the reader glances over the tables of contents for the preceding papers, he will note the frequent segregation of two kinds of associations: those whose chief function is entertainment and those of a serious character in so far as they are shamanistic. It will be noted that these minor topics are very unsymmetrically treated in the several papers. This is due in part to practical considerations and in part to the varying interests of the contributors. Yet, it will be seen that in cases where they have been reported upon, these social and shamanistic associations make clear the function and significance of the akicita group. Hence, as preliminary to the final discussion, and for the sake of defining a problem still demanding field-study, we shall review the data on these two groups of organizations.

SHAMANISTIC ASSOCIATIONS.

The shamanistic organization of the Pawnee far surpasses that of any other tribe we have investigated (600). First, we have groups of organized shamans and then a general ceremony into which these are organized and which has a governing body controlling admission, etc. The dominant feature of these associations is shamanistic performances, an art in which the Pawnee take high rank.¹ While we have no positive data as to the former Mandan and Hidatsa shamanistic development, there are some indications that they once also ranked high. The late Joseph Kipp, a son by a Mandan woman of the Kipp who was in charge of Fort Clark when Maximilian spent the winter there, once gave the writer an account of the shamanistic feats he saw when a boy. If these are taken at their face value, it is fairly certain that the Mandan and Hidatsa also had a highly systematized shamanistic system, but since there are no other data, this can be no more than a conjecture.

While the Oglala (81) have no series of distinctly shamanistic associations, they do have in their dream cult system something strikingly like the Pawnee scheme. This is apparently less developed among the Eastern Dakota. Among the Crow and Assiniboiné it is wanting, but in the fragmentary notes for the Ponca, we have a strong suggestion of the Pawnee type (792). While the Iowa and Omaha have some of these same cult-like associations, they seem much more divergent than those of the Ponca and Oglala. When we turn to the Algonkin and Shoshonean tribes of the Plains such organization is conspicuously absent, shamanism being less intense and entirely individual.

It is suggestive that the Ponca are more like the Pawnee than are the Oglala, but that all three are decidedly different from the other tribes of the area in that their shamanistic activities are systematized. The geographical continuity of these three tribes and the decline in intensity as we pass from the Pawnee through the Ponca to the Oglala, may be more than accidental, or due to diffusion.

In this connection we may examine certain specific features of Pawnee shamanism. One fundamental conception is the renewing ceremony at the first thunder in the spring (600) which prevails in all Pawnee organizations and rituals. In their societies it takes the form of lance renewals. These are prominent features of the akicita societies of the Oglala, as also

¹ Grinnell, (b), 374-388.

of the Crow (160), while they occur in some Blackfoot societies. It should be noted, however, that some kind of a reorganization in the spring is the rule among all tribes having akicita societies; yet the significant point is, that so far, we find that it is only among the Pawnee that the renewal concept is fundamental. Among the Oglala it is a characteristic of lance-bearing societies. In the case of the Blackfoot (425) such renewal occurs in a few societies and again in the rituals of certain bundles. Thus as we leave the Pawnee, renewal activities rapidly dwindle away to the more general concept of a mere reorganization of the societies in the spring.

One specific shamanistic feat has a wide distribution, viz., the handling of fire and boiling liquids. The latter is most conspicuous in the heyoka cults of the Siouan tribes (85, 113, 789) but is also the prominent feature of a Pawnee shamanistic organization (608). Yet, one important difference appears in the conceptions underlying the two, for while the heyoka use of the trick is to exemplify the cult's anti-natural and absurd character, it is used by the Pawnee as symbolic. Thus, "the term *iruska* has a symbolic or double meaning. The idea is literally 'the fire is in me' and the symbolic meaning is that 'I can extinguish the life in the fire,' or can overcome the powers of other medicines" (608). Again among the Dakota the trick is definitely associated with the thunder, whereas this is not the case with the Pawnee. The fact that the trick is everywhere performed in the same way is a strong argument for a single origin and its distribution points clearly to either a Pawnee or Siouan tribe.

The other form the trick takes is fire-walking as seen in the Eastern Dakota ceremony (126) and also among the Arapaho, Gros Ventre, and Cheyenne. This again occurs without essential variation among the Oglala (29), the Hidatsa, and Mandan (252, 308). In the latter it occurs in association with the heyoka trick but in the two former is disassociated. Again, in the Pawnee *iruska* (609) the candidates were thrown on the fire as well as subjected to the heyoka test. Since the method of protecting the hands and feet is the same as in the heyoka test, it is fair to assume a common origin to all these tricks. This again raises the question as to the identity of the originators.

The Pawnee name for this shamanistic conception is *iruska*. The Omaha have *hethushka*, the Iowa *helocka* (Catlin spells it Eh-Ros-Ka), the Kansa, *helucka*, the Ponca, *helocka*, and the Dakota, *heyoka*. The similarity to the Pawnee term is obvious.

The study of the *iruska* will be no simple task for it is widely diffused and has passed through several transitions. Assuming that the Arikara were once a part of the Pawnee, we are not surprised to find their hot dance containing all the essential elements of the *iruska* (669). We also find good

evidence that the Hidatsa (252) got the same dance from the Arikara and the presumption is that the Mandan (308) did also. Thus the suggestion is for the Pawnee origin of the ceremony. So far as the data go the fire tricks were not a part of the Omaha, the Iowa (694), or the Kansa (755) ceremony of this name. Unfortunately, we lack good data for the older form of this ceremony among the Osage but it seems to have resembled the Omaha. Yet the Iowa had a separate dance in which the heyoka trick was performed (702), but this bears some resemblance to the helocka, from which it seems probable that this "fire dance" (702) is an old form corresponding to the iruska of the Pawnee. The Oglala have a form of the iruska which they claim came from the Pawnee through the Omaha not over fifty years ago (48). The heyoka trick is mentioned in the origin narrative (49), but does not seem to have figured in the ceremony. The Ponca claim to have taken the society from the Sioux (784), probably the Oglala, and passed it on to the Kansa (755). Now it should be noted that we have two forms of this iruska ceremony: the older represented by the Pawnee iruska, the Arikara, Hidatsa and Mandan hot dance, and the Iowa fire dance, in all of which the fire tricks occur; the more modern forms are generally known as grass dances which have practically all the other features of the older ceremony.

Our problem now narrows down to the question of historical connection between the heyoka and the iruska. In the first place we note a peculiar statement about the Arikara hot dance. They also danced an elk dance and "tried to mimic all the animals" (668).

Now the Oglala heyoka and elk cult usually appeared together (88) and in fact all the animal cults tended to dance together in one great fête (95) at which time they masqueraded according to their respective cult animals. Some supplementary unpublished data we have make this clear. The parallel is striking and at once suggests common origin. We have previously noted the similarity between the shamanistic organization of the Pawnee and the Dakota, but note that in the great shamanistic ceremony of the Skidi, "All medicinemen are supposed to derive their powers from living creatures and their booths are spoken of as animal lodges. In this procession each man costumes himself so as to represent his animal mentor, often in very realistic fashion" (603). Dr. Lowie has identified the Arikara hot dance with the Pawnee iruska (669). Then the Pawnee say that "Originally, the society consisted of leaders of various animal medicine societies" (608). Thus we have a very strong case for the diffusion of a specific shamanistic organization between the Dakota, Pawnee, and Arikara. Since this organization is very strong among the Pawnee and very weak among the Eastern Dakota (113) we must assume that the Pawnee were the originators.

Yet when we turn from the organization to the specific fire trick we find a somewhat different condition. In addition to the distribution previously noted, it is found among the shamanistic feats of some Central Algonkin tribes (505). Its geographical center thus rests with the Siouan tribes and particularly the Eastern Dakota.

At this point a digression may be made to express our conception of the method applicable to such problems of origin. It is well nigh hopeless to determine from whence the first suggestion as to the fire trick came. Suggestions rain in upon people everywhere, but only now and then do they find a footing in their culture complex. Under such conditions it is of little moment from where the suggestion came. What we are seeking in this case is to locate the group in which the fire trick was first used as the fundamental feature of a ceremonial complex. To this the Eastern Dakota can make a strong circumstantial claim.

For a better insight into this problem we must examine the data for the origin of the older form of Pawnee *iruska*. Two striking objective features of this ceremony are the well-known headdress of roached deer hair and the crow-belt. These come into the Omaha ceremony incidentally, because the headdress and the crow-belt were war honors and the participation of their owners would automatically bring them into the ceremony. A similar condition held for the Iowa (695) and presumably for the Osage. Among the Pawnee, on the other hand, these regalia distinctly belonged to the *iruska* ceremony. Further, among the Omaha the *hethuska* ceremony is decidedly like a war dance.¹ This war function is in keeping with the entrance of various warrior organizations with their insignia. These war associations occur in the Iowa, especially in Catlin's older account (696) and are also conspicuous in the Pawnee ceremony. One must therefore assume that the most probable thing is that the warlike features of the Pawnee *iruska* came from the Omaha, Iowa, or Osage. Again, it is clear that the fire trick is not a part of the Omaha ceremony and, except for the doubtful case of the older ceremony, not known to the Iowa. Our previous outline of the distribution of the *iruska* shows that the Pawnee stand out clearly as the group originally associating these warlike characters with the fire trick and animal guardians. Then the fact that these last conceptions are found strongly developed in the Dakota without the other associated concepts indicates that the Pawnee did not originate the fire trick.

¹ Miss Fletcher, (g), states that the Omaha *hethuska* is supposed to be a derivative of the old Chiefs' society, entrance into which was by graded war honors. It was in this Chiefs' society that a special song of praise was given to each distinguished member. Thus, it appears that the Omaha war dance complex consisted of honor qualifications, individual songs, crow belts, and roached headdresses, all of which enter into the typical *iruska* ritual.

The serving of dog flesh is an important point in this connection. It is chiefly among the Dakota that a high ceremonial value is attached to the flesh of the dog. It was used in heyoka performances but also in all other serious affairs. It appears in the Skidi iruska feast but is otherwise not a feature of Pawnee ceremonies. This is an additional point in support of the Dakota origin for the fire trick in the iruska.

THE GRASS DANCE.

At this point in our analysis we may profitably shift our attention to the modern forms of the iruska ceremony, generally known as the Omaha dance, or grass dance. A résumé of the preceding accounts will show it to be a ceremony of some complexity, possessing an organization justifying its classification as a society. At least it has a definite leadership, a variable number of special officers with particular duties and distinctive regalia, and a considerable number of lay members. Its function is everywhere chiefly social and its meetings are distinctly social gatherings. This should not be taken as denying the existence of serious ceremonial elements, but as asserting one of the striking characteristics of the grass dance, in contrast to the iruska.

The personnel of the organization is generally a leader and next in rank are the custodians of the crow-belts. Among other special officers are the pipe keepers, food servers, whip bearers, a whistle bearer, sword bearers, heralds, drummers, singers, and servants.

The most distinctive regalia are a crow-belt (feather bustle), a roached headdress of deer hair, a food stick or spoon, a large drum suspended horizontally, a whip, a sword, and a whistle. To this may be added a dancing house of definite form (200). The available data on the grass dance enable us to give the distribution and variants for the Sarsi, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Assiniboine, Crow, Teton (Dakota), Omaha, Iowa, Ponca, Kansa, Hidatsa, Pawnee, Arikara, Arapaho, Menomini, and Ojibway. There is fragmentary but unsatisfactory data for the Plains-Cree, Plains-Ojibway, Shoshone, Winnebago, Cheyenne, Flathead, Kiowa, Osage, and Oto. It is quite probable that some of the adjoining tribes can be added to this list, but this is sufficiently extensive for our purpose. Returning to the tribes for which we have full data, we find the crow-belt in all. The number of belts varies from two to eight but is fixed for each tribe and is relatively small when compared to the membership. These are everywhere the most important

parts of the regalia. Among the less known tribes we have vague but inferential suggestions of their use by the Kiowa, Oto, and Plains-Ojibway. These belts are worn in dancing, usually by particular individuals, but in some cases one or more of them are danced with by the members in rotation. Among the Sarsi and Blood (Blackfoot), and perhaps elsewhere, there is one crow-belt invested with special medicine attributes giving it a very sacred character. In fact, the tendency everywhere seems to have been toward investing these belts with medicine attributes. The vague data from the Plains-Ojibway suggest that in their grass dance, the belts were never used but merely hung up in the dancing house.

All members wore a peculiar roached headdress made of hair taken from the tails of deer. One or more standing eagle feathers was sometimes added. It was used by all except the Sarsi, Crow, Arapaho, Menomini, and Ojibway. Its distribution among the second group of less known tribes is not known.

A highly decorated pointed stick and a similarly conspicuous spoon, one or both, are the badges of the ceremonial food servers. The spoon is found among the Gros Ventre, Assiniboiné, Teton, and Arapaho; the stick, or "fork," among the Sarsi, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Crow, and Omaha.

One large drum is used by all in the first group, without exception. In the second group, (the one with less data) it is reported for the Shoshone. Formerly, a section from the trunk of a cottonwood tree was taken for the body of the drum, which was double-headed; now, this drum is usually made by heading up a factory-made wooden wash tub. In use the drum is suspended in a horizontal position from four ornamented stakes. Among the Menomini and Ojibway this drum is invested with medicine attributes and generally regarded as the most sacred object of all. Also the Santee and Hidatsa consider the drumkeeper the ranking officer of the dance.

One or more officials bear ornamental whips for driving the dancers, among the Sarsi, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Assiniboiné, Crow, Hidatsa, Arapaho, Kansa, Ponca, and Shoshone.

In recent years, at least, a United States Army sword or a saber is a part of the regalia, in some cases two of them are provided.¹ When the dancers are at rest, the swords are stuck into the ground in front of their bearers. They are used by the Teton, Sarsi, Gros Ventre, and Blackfoot.

A special whistle is found among the Sarsi, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Assiniboiné, Teton, and Arapaho.

Among other objects may be mentioned a special ax or tomahawk (Sarsi, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, and Teton); a shield (Sarsi and Gros Ventre); feather bonnets (Sarsi, Blackfoot, Crow, Omaha, and Plains-Cree), in some

¹ See p. 630.

cases worn by women only; a bird-headed stick (Crow and Shoshone); a large hoop (Plains-Cree and Plains-Ojibway); and special pipes (Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Assiniboiné, Omaha, Menomini, and Ojibway). A special dance house of a form resembling the framework of an earth-lodge was used by the Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Assiniboiné, Crow, Iowa, and Teton. The Arapaho, Osage, Kansa, Ponca, and the Oto used a special house but no descriptions are at hand.

Of the more fundamental concepts and procedures of the ceremony may be mentioned the serving of dog flesh. In this there are several distinct performances:—

1. The scouting of the food kettle after it has been carried into the dance house and the counting of coup upon it as if it were an enemy.
2. The serving of small bits of dog flesh to a few distinguished men by the bearers of the pointed stick (the dog fork) or of the ceremonial spoon.
3. Presenting the dog heads to the most distinguished men present and the counting of coups by them over the skulls at the end of the feast.
4. Gathering all the other bones and passing them around to be prayed over; finally secreting them in some secure place.

Dog flesh is served by the Sarsi, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Assiniboiné, Crow, Santee, Teton, Skidi, Hidatsa,¹ Menomini, and the Omaha. Scouting the kettle is found among the Sarsi, Assiniboiné, Crow, Teton, and Arapaho. It is not mentioned for the Blackfoot and Gros Ventre but is implied. The Ojibway do not serve dog but have the scouting feature.²

Small bits of food are served by the Sarsi, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Assiniboiné, Crow, Hidatsa, Teton, Omaha, and Pawnee. The counting of coups over the dog skull are reported for the Sarsi, Assiniboiné, Teton, Hidatsa, and Omaha and the special ceremonies for the bones among the Sarsi, Blackfoot, Teton, and Omaha.

Another important feature is a sex taboo, or a requirement of restraint for a varying period before the ceremony, reported for the Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Assiniboiné, Crow, Hidatsa, Teton, Arapaho, Pawnee, Menomini, and Plains-Ojibway.

Among the Omaha, Teton, and Sarsi each member may be assigned a special song. That the organization has distinct war functions is recog-

¹ In G. L. Wilson's unpublished field notes is a full account of the grass dance for the Hidatsa. It was introduced about 1871 by the Santee of Devil's Lake. It had all of the typical features. The members were mostly older men, but two years later a group of young men purchased the dance from the same source and so there were two rival organizations. The informant stated that this dance was a derivation of the older Hot dance, and that the two new dances were known as Day and Night Dances. Afterwards the Hidatsa passed both of these to the Crow (200).

² Miss Densmore reports that some divisions of the Ojibway have received the dog feast from the Dakota.

nized by the Omaha, Teton, Iowa, Kansa, and Ponca, and its mythical thunder origin by the Arapaho, Omaha, Osage, and Teton. The lavish giving away of presents is noted for the Sarsi, Blackfoot, Crow, Assiniboiné, Arapaho, Ponca, Iowa, Kansa, and Menomini. A special form of renouncing, or "throwing away" a wife is found among the Blackfoot, Crow, Assiniboiné, Potawatomi, Menomini, Sauk and Fox. Whipping up those declining to dance is noted among the Sarsi, Blackfoot, and Gros Ventre.

In such data on distribution it should be borne in mind that the mere failure to mention the existence of a feature in a ceremony is not of itself evidence of its non-existence, since it may have been overlooked by the observer. Hence, we cannot be so sure of our negative evidence.

Bearing this in mind, a tabulation of the preceding data suggests one older type of ceremony (*iruska*) and two modern ones, distributed as follows:

1. The Grass Dance, or Western type, Sarsi, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Assiniboiné, Crow, Hidatsa, Teton, and Arapaho. Perhaps the Cheyenne, Wind River Shoshone, Kiowa, and Comanche will fall into this group also.

2. The Dream Dance, or Northeastern type. Potawatomi, Menomini, Ojibway, Iowa, Winnebago, Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo, and possibly the Plains-Ojibway and Plains-Cree.

3. The *Iruska*, or old Southeastern type. Omaha, Ponca, Oto, Osage, Iowa, Kansa, and Pawnee.

The most striking aspect of this distribution is its general agreement with cultural and geographical distinctions. Our Western group comprises in the main the typical Plains tribes, our Southeastern group is a part of the intermediate Plains group, and our Northeastern, the typical Eastern Woodland group. The peculiarity of this correlation is that in each group we find a different form of the dance and that each form tends to completely cover its culture area. Of these types, the Western and Southeastern are much more alike than the Northeastern.

Thus the distinctive Central Algonkin culture seems to have modified the grass dance most. Hence, granting that the ceremony was distributed from a single center, we have what looks like pattern phenomena, for most surely the uniformity of type in each cultural group must be due to influences from within. We have, therefore, an analytic problem, to discover what specific influences were responsible for the differentiation of these types.

As previously noted, the historic status of the distribution for the grass dance can be established as beginning with the Dakota about 1860. Before this date the parent form seems to have been confined to the Omaha, Ponca, Osage, Iowa, and Pawnee. Among the Omaha, Iowa, and Pawnee, the only ones from which we have full data, this seems to be an old and serious affair.

The first member of the typical Plains group to take up the grass dance was the Teton division of the Dakota, though it may have been taken up by the Yankton division a little earlier. According to their own belief it was taught them by the Omaha about 1860. Among the Omaha only men with war records were admitted, or older men. Now the Teton had two groups of organizations for men, one largely made up of younger men and another composed in the main of older men. It is natural, therefore, to find the Teton classing this newly acquired organization with the older group. In the account of the first forms of the ceremony, the taking of dog flesh from the boiling kettle was performed preparatory to going to war, a feature not reported for the Omaha, but used by the Skidi.¹ If the Omaha did not perform this, it is easily accounted for among the Teton because it was already a regular feature of certain Dakota ceremonies: then since the Teton took over the Omaha idea of a thunder origin and this boiling kettle trick (*heyoka*) is among the Dakota also a thunder ceremony, we may have but another example of pattern phenomena, the thunder concept suggesting the procedure. Otherwise, there are no evidences of changes or additions by the Dakota, the ceremony having been taken over from the Omaha entire; except perhaps the addition of certain regalia as the whistle, ax, sword, and spoon. From the Omaha account we get no suggestion of these.

Because of geographical position the presumption is that the Dakota passed the ceremony on to most of the other typical Plains tribes. The Arapaho claim to have it from them direct, while the Blackfoot derived it in part from their relatives, the Crow and the Assiniboiné. Yet among the borrowing tribes we find certain additional features; for example, large ornamental whips and official whip bearers are found among the Sarsi, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Assiniboiné, Crow, Hidatsa, Kansa, Osage, Ponca and Shoshone. We failed to connect these with the Dakota grass dance, notwithstanding the fact that such whippers are found in almost every one of their organizations. Again the Teton seem not to have taken over the pipes of the Omaha but something like the Omaha feature appears among the Blackfoot and Assiniboiné. Finally, the Sarsi, Blackfoot, Crow, and Plains-Cree add a few feather headdresses with which men and sometimes women dance.

These are, however, but the minor exceptions and may represent errors

¹ It is interesting to note that our Pawnee informants state that the Omaha did not learn how to take meat from the kettle with the bare hand, but used a stick. We have called attention to the Omaha having all the other features of the dog kettle. Then we note that "It is a custom in the *Hae-thu-ska* Society to serve the food with two sticks; if these were not provided, then the naked hand must be thrust in the boiling pot to take out the meat." (Fletcher, (g), 140). Since it is clear that the sticks are always at hand and the other method is known, we have confirmation of the Pawnee statement.

of observation, the general import of the preceding data being that there is very little in the way of objective modification. So far as we have gone there are no very marked changes in form conformatory to prevailing tribal patterns. On the other hand, we have clear cases of adjustment in the fundamental conceptions underlying the ceremony. Thus we have noted that the Dakota put the grass dance among the societies for older men and thus automatically fixed the requirements of admission.¹ The Blackfoot formerly treated all the important regalia as medicine bundles and transferred them in the customary tribal mode.

When, however, we leave the Plains Area and turn to the Central Algonkin group, the ceremony appears in an almost unrecognizable form. Here it is known as the dreamer's dance, but is believed by Barrett to have come from the Dakota about 1880.² According to our data a Potawatomi formerly living at St. Mary's mission was the founder of the dreamer's dance. He was the father of Samuel Bausell. Something more than twenty years ago he began to introduce this dance and made a strong effort to plant it among all the Oklahoma tribes. Little progress was made, but the Oto, Ponca, and possibly the Shawnee took it up. Later, Billy Fawfaw (Oto) dreamed a new form of this dance, but it also failed to materialize (p. 758). However, the founders had better success in proselyting among the Central Algonkin tribes, where it is now very popular.

There is no great difficulty in identifying this with the grass dance and it is clear from whence its Potawatomi founder got his ideas. Among the Menomini, Ojibway, Kickapoo, Sauk, Fox, Potawatomi, and Iowa the drum and pipe are given the attributes of medicine bundles. Into the ceremony is introduced the highly developed Central Algonkin tribal procedure of offering tobacco and also the calumet ceremony with its conceptions. Most of the regalia have been dropped. The explanation of this may be that among all the tribes of the Plains Area we have a series of societies with which the grass dance has something in common; at least, there is a similarity in the generalities of regalia. The Central Algonkin, on the other hand, do not have such societies or regalia. Hence, when they took over the grass dance they were probably out of sympathy with many of its spectacular features. For example, in Barrett's account of the Menomini ceremony, a visiting member undertook to dance in the semi-nude and painted manner of the Plains, but was vigorously censured by the leaders.

If we take a general view of the preceding we see that notwithstanding the great uniformity in the grass dance we have a geographical grouping of

¹ Wilson's Hidatsa informants state that the grass dance was first purchased by the older men.

² This date is fixed by the Rev. Macauley. See Hoffman, 160.

minor differences and that when we look a little deeper, we find evidences of pattern phenomena in that some dominant ceremonial concepts of the respective localities have been incorporated in the grass dance and have inhibited the continuance of others. It is also suggested that very great differences in the culture of two groups of people will retard diffusion, or at least tend to modify and obscure the identity of borrowed traits. Finally, we may suspect that the preceding differences in the grass dance are due to cultural differences in the tribes concerned.

CONDITIONS FAVORING DIFFUSION.

About 1890 a fundamental conception was introduced into the Plains Area which developed a ceremonial procedure containing familiar spiritualistic phenomena, giving us the name ghost dance. Owing to the intensity of devotion among the converts and the sudden appearance of a dangerous militant phase in the heart of the Plains Area, this ceremony was extensively investigated. The leading part in this was taken by one of our distinguished anthropologists, from whose pen we have one of the most notable contributions of that decade.¹ However, as soon as the militant spirit of the Indians was crushed, the phenomenon was ignored.

Our data for the first time make it clear that the ghost dance was but one of a group of modern ceremonies which have since become conspicuous because of their diffusion. Among the best known of these are the peyote, the hand game ceremonies, and the grass dance we are now discussing. Dr. Kroeber seems to have been the first to offer specific evidence of ghost dance influence in the grass dance and hand game ceremonies of the Arapaho and Gros Ventre. Quite recently Dr. Barrett described the Central Algonkin form of the grass dance, the "dream dance," and sought to connect it with the ghost dance. It is however, due to the work of Mr. Murie (630), that we get sight of the common elements in all these ceremonies.

In the first place we have historical data that the grass dance, peyote, and hand game ceremonies took on their most modern forms during the decades preceding and following the ghost dance troubles. With these should be grouped various ghost dance rituals and the crow-water ceremonies of the Blackfoot. The ghost dance itself first appeared in Nevada and thence found its way to the Arapaho and Cheyenne. Once introduced into Oklahoma, knowledge of it spread rapidly, the unnatural proximity of the several tribes offering the most favorable conditions for diffusion. It is also here that the present ghost dance religion is the most virile.

¹ Mooney, (a).

Iowa² Potawatomi
(*Dream dance*)
(1880)

bx Kickapoo Oto² Menomini Ojibway
(?)
Iowa² Plains-Ojibway²
(1898)

At present our best concrete data are from the Pawnee who among their several divisions support a number of rituals for each of these modern ceremonies (630). Their origins are all similar; an individual begins to make revelations of visions respecting some one of these ceremonies and by accumulation forms a ritual with songs. The songs usually possess some individuality but the ceremonial procedures generally take forms already developed. At the opportune time the originator of this new ritual gathers in supporters and begins to demonstrate. Among other tribes whence we have data the conditions are similar. Recently the familiar stick game ceremonies reached the Blackfoot and here again the individual got his sanctions from dreams, but the objective procedure is of the usual form. In short, the intense suggestive character of the early ghost dance ceremonies seems to have stimulated dreams and visions from which came certain definite ceremonial forms.

It is important to note that a number of old ceremonies were revived in new forms and associations. As is well known, among the fundamental concepts in the ghost dance are the destruction of the present social status and the return of the old prehistoric régime with the resurrection of the dead. As a rule the prophets see Jesus in their visions and often receive commands from him. At the present time unmistakable biblical elements appear. As now practised by the Pawnee the ghost dance teaches Christian ideals and even uses the pictures of Jesus at the altar. The same is true of peyote, in one form of which water and food are passed in precisely the same manner as wine and bread in the sacrament. Dr. Radin has noted this presence of Christian elements in the Winnebago peyote and the writer observed them among the Dakota. In the grass dance ceremonies such concepts are less developed but traces of them do appear. The Blackfoot crow-water usually held its meetings on Sunday and at times offered prayers to God. It seems then that a good case is made out for the intrusion into Indian culture of certain religious ideas of European peoples.

Another important consideration is that this outburst of religious activity in 1890 came in a period of a great economic readjustment. The buffalo went out by 1880 and the Indians were closely confined, supported by rations and urged to become agriculturists. In many cases these unfortunate people set doggedly at their difficult task, presenting one of the most pathetic spectacles of modern times. With this new life their social ideals and machinery were decidedly out of joint. According to the testimony of one who came to manhood during this period, many young men were so overwhelmed by the vacuity of the new life that they took to suicide or other less direct ways of throwing their lives away. In our opinion this status afforded unusual conditions for the assimilation and diffusion of new traits, and the

somewhat abnormal character of the stimulus should be recognized in all theoretical discussions based upon this phenomenon.

Nevertheless, we do have bona fide examples of diffusion and, what is more, cases in which we can make direct application of the historical method. All that was introduced into Indian culture were the few conceptions of the ghost dance but that these concepts were the principal factors may be doubted. The economic and social conditions we have just enumerated seem the important factors, else why should there have been so many other new ceremonies springing into life? The important point for us is that there was a strong stimulus to the diffusion and modernization of ceremonies at the time the grass dance was in full swing and it was this that carried it along to its present development.

To return to our subject, it appears that one great impetus to the diffusion of the grass dance is to be found in the conditions forming the ghost dance and collateral movements. There is, however, an important accidental factor, generally acknowledged by the Indians themselves for to this modern revival of the grass dance the Dakota contributed some splendid songs and important social features. These songs make a strong appeal to Plains Indians and are said to have great individuality. They appeal particularly to young people and as we have noted, the great enthusiasm for new ceremonies came at the time when there were few outlets for the interests of young men.¹ It was these songs and social features that seem to have appealed to the Pawnee (624) and led to their borrowing from abroad a derivation of an older ceremony of their own. In like manner, the Iowa (720) later borrowed the dreamers' dance, as also did the Kansa (758). The Hidatsa and Mandan still held on to their old hot dance, but borrowed the grass dance from the Dakota. Thus, we have followed the devious path of diffusion back and forth over the Plains Area. We doubt if any ceremony presents so fine an opportunity for the discovery of the mechanism by which a ceremonial trait is produced and diffused. We have but touched upon a few points and, what is still more important, there is opportunity for more thorough investigation. Many field-workers are

¹ It should be noted that in this, as in many other Plains ceremonies, the songs are the all important parts. Hence, it should follow that the Dakota would be the chief teachers. Our field notes show that even where the ceremony was introduced by an intermediary the tendency was sooner or later to go to the nearest division of the Dakota for further song instruction. Often in response to an invitation a Dakota delegation would arrive to assist in conducting the singing and dancing. That even the Ojibway dream dance enthusiasts recognized the leadership of the Dakota is clear from Miss Densmore's notes (Vol. 2, p. 173) where we find the songs and detailed procedures of the Dakota ceremony, said to have come directly from that tribe. Unfortunately, no comparative studies of these songs have been made, but the suggestion is that here is one of the most important research leads we have so far developed.

prejudiced against these modern ceremonies to such an extent that they do not gather data on them at all, but we hope this discussion will show the folly of such an attitude.

We have also the suggestion that the ghost dance itself was but one incident in a diffusion flux of which the iruska complex is the best index, because the most extended. The historic prominence of the ghost dance is due to the Dakota, whose strong reaction has so occupied our attention as to obscure the whole setting of the phenomenon. This sudden lifting of the ghost dance cult into view about 1890 is but the culmination of a general flux of trait-complexes, but it is still the same group, the Dakota, that gives it the stamp of individuality. The chart for the iruska trait-complex shows the leading part this group played in the diffusion of the grass dance and here again we see the touch of their native genius. The indications are that they also projected the ancient heyoka into this whirlpool of diffusion and when it came around to them again were able to send it forth with a new impetus.

CONCLUSION.

Aside from exposing the mechanism of a concrete case of culture trait diffusion, we have sought evidence for an historical understanding of these ceremonies. For one thing we have found historical connections between certain shamanistic practices and certain modern ceremonies and have made very probable certain chronological relations. Thus we have as fundamental to the present phenomena an old shamanistic organization among the Caddoan and Siouan tribes. From our analysis it seems fair to assume that preceding this was a highly organized series of animal mentor shamans among the Pawnee and, on the other hand, a very spectacular shamanistic trick with fire and a boiling kettle among the Dakota. These two traits fused among the Skidi and Teton divisions. Contemporaneously among the Omaha, Iowa, or Osage it was customary to designate certain military ranks by the headdress of roached deer hair and the crow-belt, which by accidental association came to be considered a part of the regalia for the shamanistic organization. Thus it appears that the Omaha and Osage in particular contributed some of the spectacular features to the Pawnee-Dakota ceremony and in this new form gave it back to the Dakota as a new organization. In the meantime, the Arikara, as a part of the Caddoan group, carried the older form of the ceremony to the Mandan and Hidatsa whence the name, if not the substance, reached the Crow. By the composition of some remarkable songs the Teton-Dakota gave the Omaha variant a new impetus and passed it back again to the Pawnee,

Omaha, and other tribes. The Omaha in the first instance did not take over the kettle and fire tricks but a somewhat empty procedure with a kettle; thus they passed over to the Teton a form which differentiated the ceremony from the older form and which with certain Dakota modifications enabled the Omaha, Pawnee, Hidatsa, etc., to take it back later without confusing it with the parent organization. Next in time came the impetus that led to the ghost dance and various revivals of old ceremonies. Under this influence the grass dance spread rapidly and the distinct form of the Potawatomi dreamer's dance came as a Central Algonkin contribution to the complex. The process of diffusion and transition is still in full swing and deserves close observation.

A retrospect of the history of this trait-complex shows that some tribes received it three times in as many different forms and in several instances maintained two of them simultaneously. That many individuals were conscious of the historic connections between them is clear from the statements of various informants. For the sake of clearness we have reduced our historical data to diagrammatic form. (See p. 876.)

At the outset we found that irrespective of chronology the different forms of the ceremony correlated in a remarkable way with the culture grouping of the constituent tribes. Our subsequent analysis of its diffusion has in the main not obscured this correlation. First, we have the gross fact that in the main, the ceremony is confined to the Plains Area. Almost every tribe took it. It is true that it has found its way over the border into the fringes of two areas in very recent years, but its failure to go farther is not due to lack of time for the older form of the ceremony followed about the same path. Why, for example, did the fire trick complex stick to the Upper Missouri-Mississippi Basin? It is quite probable that its distribution was governed by the flora, since a plant preparation was necessary to the trick. On this point, nothing definite can be stated until the identity of the plant has been established. Yet, this could not apply to the modern form of the ceremony from which the fire trick is absent. It must be admitted, therefore, that whatever the cause, we have here the work of the same factors that produce the familiar culture area phenomenon. And, as we have previously noted, the most diverse variants of the modern ceremony are found in the west among the Shoshone and in the east among the Central Algonkin intermediate group. Again, how comes it that the Central Algonkin variant, originated by a Potawatomi, is so far removed as to be almost unrecognizable? If a mere coincidence, it is truly remarkable. It is far more likely that we have here a concrete example of what may be expected, if a trait wanders over into a culture where its pattern is a true misfit.

Students of the functions of the individual within a culture group will find here some suggestive data. The Potawatomi dream dance we know to be the creation of a single individual and the highly original Dakota songs in the grass dance must have been the work of a single composer. We may also infer that the *iruska* was likewise conceived by a single Pawnee shaman, as the origin myth asserts. Hence, this whole series of ceremonies from the ancient *heyoka* to the latest social dance is little more than the successive work of four or five highly original minds.

WAR PARTIES.

In addition to the preceding we have accumulated important data on the organization of war parties and their ceremonial accompaniments. We shall not attempt an exhaustive study of this trait-complex for the Plains Area but discuss such points as have a bearing upon our main problem. There is a large amount of literature upon Indian warfare but so far as we have examined, it is weak on the concrete data we need for an understanding of the relation between war customs and *akicita* activities. We are not now concerned so much with the manner of fighting an enemy as with the preliminaries to setting out on an expedition. In this and particularly in respect to the ceremonial procedures, the available literature is rather deficient.

As a beginning we may note that there is an almost universal association between a ceremonial wolf concept and a war party. It is not only that the wolf is simulated by scouts and wolf songs are sung by warriors, but there is back of it all a definite concept of a supernatural wolf, or wolf power that presides over the affairs of war. This is very prominent among the Pawnee (595), by whom a wolfskin was carried along and used in a wolf ritual. Also we find among the Oglala a dog (?) society with an unmistakable wolf ritual (52) and the definite use of the wolf in the general warpath ritual (58) while something of the kind is found among the Crow, Ponca, Sauk and Fox, Menomini, and Ojibway. In Volume 7, 267, we have discussed the wolf songs and for additional data see pp. 596 and 686.

Among the general features of the war trait-complex is the use of a war bundle. With the Central Algonkin¹ we have specific bundles for this, but as we have noted in this volume the Pawnee took particular objects from

¹ Skinner, (a), 91, 96, 129.

- bundles having general functions. It is not clear but the Iowa (686) may have done likewise, and the Ponca (797) Osage, Omaha, Oto, and Kansa (747) had war bundles. Among the Blackfoot there were certain bundles whose chief function was war. The use of individual war charms, or small bundles was highly developed among the Blackfoot (Vol. 7, 91 to 106, 268), the Gros Ventre, and the Plains-Ojibway (493).¹

The significance of these differences cannot be profitably discussed until we have more data upon the medicine bundles of the area as a whole. It is clear, however, that the wolf concept deserves exhaustive study similar to the preceding section of this chapter. As the case now stands the Pawnee are the probable center of its development since it is among them that we find a fundamental mythological basis for the association between the wolf and warfare; yet, more data are necessary to establish the probability of this assumption.

THE AKICITA OR POLICE.

We now pass to a subject directly bearing upon our main problem. Among the Central Algonkin (499) and many of the Plains tribes we find an institution having a similar name, *akicita*. Thus in the preceding papers we find the Dakota, *akicita*, Plains-Ojibway, *okitcita*, Plains-Cree, *okitcitan*, Iowa, *waiakida*, Kansa, *akida*, Crow, *aki''sat'e*.

While it is true that the Ponca and Pawnee have different names for this institution, the identity in name we find here among languages of two different stocks is truly remarkable. This is certain evidence of a single origin. As to which language the word belongs we leave to the linguists.

As a preliminary we refer the reader to the paper on the Plains-Ojibway (482-499), and the Plains-Cree (518-528). Here the name applies to a group of men as the "strong-hearted" (482) who acquire their title after the performance of certain specific deeds of valor. Among the Plains-Ojibway they constituted the governing body of the tribe and had the symptoms of a society in that they had a special tipi of their own (487), they also had special songs and dances as well as ceremonial procedures. One is somewhat at a loss to distinguish between these *okitcita* and any one of the leading societies of the Oglala or Pawnee. The great difference is that there are no duplicates among the Plains-Ojibway and Cree; were there such duplicates, we should probably class them as societies analagous to those of other tribes.

¹ In this connection see Vol. 4, 93-95, for reference to Keating.

When we look at the functions of these okitcita we find them to be police in all respects, but they had certain specialized duties, as managing the buffalo hunt and leading in battle. In either case they were the officers. These tribes followed two forms of hunting, a mass, or organized tribal hunt in summer by the surround method, and impounding in winter (See Vol. 5, 33-38). The important point here is that the akicita had charge of the summer hunt, but not of the winter one. In the latter a shaman, or pound maker, had charge and selected his own assistants. So it was only when the bands came together in the spring that the okitcita tipi was set up. This reminds one of the tiyotipi of the Dakota (135). In fact when we find a camp circle organization, we note an akicita tipi. Our akicita societies get their name from the fact that some one of them may be called upon to temporarily occupy this tipi and perform the functions connected therewith. If one but glances over the paragraphs on the akicita or police in this volume, it will become clear that the performing of police duties by a society is an accidental association and that such a factor can scarcely be considered as contributory to the formation of a tribal system of societies. It does not follow though, that the akicita of the Algonkin tribes could not have set the patterns for many of the societies in our lists.

The Plains-Ojibway okitcita are important factors in war. This naturally follows since their regalia qualifications are acquired in battle. We note that such as have attained a certain rank (487) carry feathered lances and eagle bone whistles.¹ Further, when going into battle they planted their lances in the earth and stood fast. All this is in keeping with their military functions as leaders, but we have here independent of a society system, two widely diffused concepts, the bearing of lances and the no-flight obligation.

From the footnote on page 488 it may be inferred that the system we have just outlined prevailed among the Ojibway and Cree. If we turn to the Dakota we find certain close similarities in the organization of a war party, but there is no definite body of men identical with the okitcita since their term akicita applies to an appointed police officer and only while he is serving in that capacity (67). Yet the bearing of lances is a prominent feature of akicita societies everywhere and is occasionally associated with the no-flight obligation. The significant point is that among the Oglala the lance-bearing societies exist alongside of a lance-bearing war party organization. When we turn to the Pawnee we find lances only as emblems of societies. They occur in pairs so as to give each division one. In battle,

¹ In the Dakota collection there is a staff with alternate peeled sections. It was owned by Blue-horse and each section represents one of his deeds. Such staffs were used to record the deeds of okitcita among the Plains-Ojibway (485).

they carry the no-flight obligation. They are not a feature of the Pawnee war party and were not carried on the warpath, but used when the whole body was in action. We have now located three points in a very suggestive geographical distribution of these traits. In the north we have a system of military ranking by which a class of "braves" is created automatically and among them accredited lance bearers; in the south a system of official societies each having as its chief interest a pair of similar lances; and half way between, a dual system in which there are lance societies and also distinct war party lances. Hence, our problem is to account for this mixed condition at the center. Since the full discussion of this will take us into an analytic study of the societies we shall pass it on to the next paper in the series. Our chief result is the demonstration of a widely distributed system of policing the summer buffalo hunt and the more or less close association between this function and the control of war parties. We also have the suggestion of relations between this police system and organized societies, especially in the lance-bearing concept.

**PLAINS INDIAN AGE-SOCIETIES: HISTORICAL AND
COMPARATIVE SUMMARY.**

BY ROBERT H. LOWIE.



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INTRODUCTION.

The age-societies of the Plains Indians suggest a number of theoretical considerations. As a striking cultural phenomenon within a definite area they prompt inquiries of a strictly historical nature into the mutual relations of the several tribal systems; and since the graded systems are obviously connected with societies of the same region not correlated with age, a complete historical survey must embrace the ungraded as well as the graded systems. But these immediate questions do not exhaust the scope of even the purely historical problem. As a result of recent discussions linked with the names of Graebner, Rivers, and Elliot Smith we have become familiar with hypotheses tracing the beginning of a cultural element (or of a combination of such elements) to remote portions of the globe. If no extraneous origin has yet been advanced for the Plains Indian age-societies, this must be considered a pure accident since analogous phenomena certainly occur elsewhere, notably in Africa and Oceania. A thorough-going discussion of principles would thus be obliged to take in the possibility of diffusion from an alien source. The actually existing theories, to be sure, revolve about the opposite pole of ethnological speculation. According to Schurtz and Webster, there are laws underlying the history of human societies, and at a definite stage in the series, age-societies are bound to appear independently of one another in distinct areas. Here, then, is another hypothesis to be reckoned with. Again, it may be that the Plains Indian societies and the comparable phenomena from elsewhere have sprung up from originally diverse conditions by a series of converging steps. Finally, the phenomena from distinct areas may not be homologous at all but prove to be essentially as distinct as their geographical centers.

In the following pages I will treat the subject-matter under the two headings of an historical and a comparative summary, arbitrarily limiting the former to a consideration of the Plains Area problems that naturally fall into this category. Beginning with those tribal systems of societies that are not graded by age but whose constituent elements approximate the age-societies of the same region, I shall deal with their interrelations among themselves and their relations to the graded series. I shall then consider, one by one, the graded systems, which form the central topic of this investigation, and seek to determine their historical unity or diversity, chronological sequence, and chronological relations to the ungraded systems. I shall next pass on to the comparative discussion. Since my object is not to

furnish a complete topical survey of the globe, I will limit consideration to two areas for which good descriptive data are available,— the Masai of East Africa and the Melanesians of Oceania. This comparison will, I hope, throw into relief the essential characteristics of Plains Indian age-societies, and to determine this is the purpose of the present paper.

December, 1916.

HISTORICAL SUMMARY.

UNGRADED SYSTEMS.

Although systems of societies graded by age are confined to five of the Plains tribes — the Hidatsa, Mandan, Arapahó, Gros Ventre, and Black-foot —, many other tribes of this area have societies so closely resembling the age-organizations in name, regalia, and functions that a hard-and-fast line cannot be drawn with the age-factor as the basis of classification. Accordingly, earlier writers have automatically assumed the historical or psychological unity of all the organizations under discussion and grouped all of them under such a generic term as "military (or warrior) societies." Thus, Schurtz was certainly warranted, on the basis of Maximilian's data, in assuming that the series of Crow societies corresponded to the Hidatsa system; and Kroeber's assumption that at bottom all these organizations represented the same type¹ is intelligible in the face of their many startling resemblances and in fact still largely holds.

Nevertheless, between a series in which every member has a more or less definite place and a series of coördinate units there is at least one important difference. The complexity with which we have to deal in almost any tribe is, of course, the result of accretion, in some cases demonstrably so. But where disparate units receive a relative rank, they become parts of the same *system*, regardless of their diversity as units, and the original differences may even be obscured by processes of "analogic leveling," — by the influence of the tribal pattern and the wholesale adoption of features from linked organizations. But where there is no grading, it is not necessary for a *system* to develop at all: there may be mere coexistence with only partial community between distinct units. This is eminently true of the Eastern Dakota, where a classification of societies must accordingly be largely arbitrary. In other tribes, for example among the Crow, there is general conformity to type and we are justified in speaking of an ungraded system, which term I shall extend, for convenience' sake, to the series of all the tribes in question; excluding, however, all organizations of a manifestly distinct order from that dealt with in this volume, — *e. g.*, those in which membership is based on a common supernatural revelation.

While the less systematic character of the ungraded series might have been deduced *a priori*, there is an empirical difference between the graded

¹ Kroeber, (c).

and ungraded systems that is quite independent of logic. In each and every one of the five graded systems, two conditions for entrance seem to coexist, age and purchase. On the other hand, in each of the ungraded systems, with two exceptions to be discussed presently, there is neither age-qualification nor entrance fee. Both the joint presence and the joint absence of these factors are unintelligible on abstract grounds. As Schurtz fully realized, an entrance fee militates against the notion of a pure age-grade. On the other hand, no reason can be advanced why purchase should not be as prominent in the ungraded as in the graded series. We find, as a matter of fact, that the very people to whom the idea is quite foreign of exacting payment for admission to the military societies have ungraded organizations of another type where entrance follows only on payment of fees. The Tobacco order of the Crow and the Horse dance of the Assiniboine may be cited in illustration. Why was not this familiar notion extended to their military organizations?

The two exceptions, instead of weakening, strengthen the case. They occur among the Sarsi and the Arikara. Now the Sarsi series is known to be a weak reflection of the Blackfoot societies, and it is not surprising that a principle of admission should have been borrowed with the dances themselves. The Arikara have not only been similarly exposed to the influence of tribes with a graded system, but some earlier writers have even definitely ascribed to them the same type of system as the Hidatsa and Mandan. Assuming these statements to be correct, we should merely have an additional instance of the adhesion of the purchase and age factors. On the other hand, if later data be accepted, the intimate relations of the three Village tribes seem to give a quite satisfactory explanation of the facts. Why is it precisely among two tribes in especially close contact with other tribes possessing a graded system that the correlation observed among the latter occurs?

To the implications of these facts we shall have to revert later. For the present we shall consider the several systems of ungraded societies for the purpose of tracing their historical connections.

SOUTHERN SIOUAN.

Regarding these tribes we have data, though relatively meager, on the military societies of the Iowa, Ponca, Omaha, and Kansa. When we compare the organizations of this type with others in the same tribes, or with corresponding organizations among the Northern Plains Indians, their relatively subordinate character becomes manifest. Thus, the Omaha have a series of societies in which membership is dependent on the character of one's supernatural communications, as well as other organizations of a

sacred nature, all of which obviously loom much larger in the tribal life than those in which the military feature appears. Indeed, with the exception of the Helocka (which appears with slight phonetic change of name among these tribes and the Pawnee), the military societies of the Southern Siouan are clearly of recent origin, and in the case of the two that are most prominent we can determine rather definitely the center of dispersion.

The Omaha have a Tukala and a Mawada^athi^a dance; the Ponca a Tokala and Mowadani; the Iowa a Tukala and Mawatani. This similarity of names at once suggests a relationship of these societies not only to one another but to the Tokala and the Miwatani of the Oglala and the Tokata (Tokā'na) and Mawatani of the Eastern Dakota, to the first of which also corresponds the Tokan of the Assiniboine. A comparison of each society with its almost namesakes establishes their genuinely homologous character. In addition we have a positive statement from J. O. Dorsey that the Omaha learned both these dances from the Ponca, who in turn got them from the Dakota; Miss Fletcher and Mr. La Flesche also trace the two societies to the same source.¹

There can be no doubt that the Iowa societies and the Omaha-Ponca equivalents had a common origin. In addition to the practical identity of name, we find the following distribution of characteristic traits:²—

TUKALA.

	Iowa	Ponca	Omaha
Haircut	×	×	
"Tails"	×	×	
Women singers	×	×	×
Obligatory bravery	×		×
2 leaders	×		×
2 hooked lances			×

MAWATANI.

	Iowa	Ponca	Omaha
Hoof-rattles	×	×	×
Owl-feather headdress	×	×	
"Tails"	×	×	
Log-drum	×	×	×
Picking-up taboo	×	×	
Women singers	×	×	
Performance at death			×

¹ J. O. Dorsey, (c), 354; Fletcher and La Flesche, 486.

² Dorsey, (c), 273, 332, 354; this volume, 691 f., 697-700, 707f.

The comparison would doubtless prove even more satisfactory if our data were more extensive. Indeed, so far as the Iowa and Ponca are concerned we have corroborative evidence in the identical *relations* of the two societies to each other: in both tribes the Tukala and Mawatani are rival associations, mutual theft of wives being the common method of exhibiting this antagonism. This feature does not occur among the Omaha, where the relations of the two organizations seem to be of a quite different character (see below). Thus, the connection between the Iowa and Ponca societies is much closer than that between either pair and the Omaha societies. The geographical position of the tribes concerned makes this fact confirmatory of J. O. Dorsey's data as to the borrowing of the Ponca societies from the Dakota. It remains to be seen whether the Dakota were merely borrowers themselves and acted as intermediaries between the Iowa and the Ponca, or transmitted the organizations to both.

Comparing the Tukala of the Iowa with the Tokala of the Oglala (whose habitat renders a consideration of other Dakota groups unnecessary) we find a fair agreement in point of the constitution of the membership (14, table, p. 907). Both have two leaders, four women singers, and two waiters; the character of the Iowa "tails" is not sufficiently clear to establish equivalent officers for the Dakota. Of the other specific Iowa traits the Oglala share the haircut and the bravery obligation. That the societies are homologous can thus hardly be doubted; the only question relates to the direction of the borrowing. In this context it is interesting to note that while the native designation of the society has a doubtful meaning (or none) among the Iowa (p. 697) and other Southern tribes, *tokala* in Dakota means "a small gray fox" (see Riggs's *Dictionary*). This presumptive, if slight, evidence in favor of a Dakota origin is strengthened when we discover the same society with the same or phonetically equivalent name and the same translation thereof among such widely divergent branches of the Dakota as the Assiniboine,¹ the Santee Sisseton (p. 105f), and the Oglala (p. 14). As regards complexity the Oglala organization is clearly more elaborate than that of the Iowa, and both the traits it shares with the latter and those lacking among the Iowa are common to the Oglala Tokala and the Kit-Fox society of tribes farther north, such as the Crow and Village tribes. Thus, everything indicates that the Iowa organization was borrowed from the Dakota.

The Miwatani of the Oglala clearly corresponds to the Mawatani of the Iowa (see table, p. 920). Of special significance, from a general comparative point of view, are the hoof rattles and owl-feather headdresses, which also,

¹ Lowie, (c), 70.

occur among the other Dakota, where likewise are found the four female singers of the Iowa (p. 111). As Mr. Skinner has pointed out (p. 692), the term *Mawatani* is Dakota for "Mandan" while in Iowa it seems to have no meaning. This presumptive evidence is again confirmed by independent data. As I hope to show later, the *Mawatani* is the equivalent of the Dog society of other Plains tribes north and west of the Iowa. In all of these, as well as among the Dakota, it is much more highly developed than among the Iowa. We may therefore confidently conclude that the Iowa derived the society from the Dakota.

Mr. Skinner notes with some surprise that the rivalry, coupled with wife-stealing, of the Iowa and Ponca societies turns up again among the Crow, while it is absent from the equivalent Dakota organizations (p. 692). The manifestations of this antagonism are, to be sure, so specific that we seem to have a miraculous action at a distance of the Crow upon the Iowa or *vice versa*; for in both tribes the rival organizations are pitted against each other in games, steal each other's wives, and strive to outdo each other in warlike deeds. It is true that this antagonism is not described as existing between the Dakota *Tokala* and *Mawatani* societies, but it was nevertheless in full swing among their societies generally in regard to all the points enumerated (p. 74). The Crow resemblance is really of the same type as that of the Dakota, for here, too, the rivalry is between the Foxes and the *Lumpwoods*, not the Foxes and the Dogs, who are equivalent to the *Mawatani*. It may be significant, however, that according to a statement cited from an early writer the Foxes and Dogs were the rival societies at one time (p. 182). It is interesting to note that these are societies that have the widest distribution in both graded and ungraded systems and therefore presumably are among the oldest of the military organizations.

Since the mutual relations of the *Tukala* and *Mawatani* of the Iowa are certainly paralleled among the Oglala, though not to our knowledge between the same societies, and since each of these societies was derived from the Oglala, I suggest that the pair was borrowed as a complex in imitation of a similar couple of Dakota societies. In other words, it seems probable to me that among the Dakota the spirit of rivalry once existed between the Fox and Mandan organizations. To be sure, the only definite statement as to particular societies as rivals relates to the *Mawatani* and Braves (p. 74) and the Foxes and No-flight dancers (p. 106). However, the Crow case cited, with another more recent instance from this tribe (p. 191), indicates that the rivalry might readily shift from one organization to another.

The relation between the *Tukala* and Mandan dancers of the Omaha, while widely different from that just described for the Iowa and Ponca, presents a distinctive feature of theoretical moment. The Mandan dancers

were exclusively "aged men and those in the prime of life," while the Tukala dance was "for boys what the Mandan dance is for the aged men and men in the prime of life." In the absence of fuller descriptive matter for the Southern Siouan tribes, a definitive interpretation of this phenomenon cannot be given. However, two alternative suggestions may be advanced. Since the Omaha borrowed their organizations from the Ponca, for whom no corresponding age factor is reported (which, indeed, would not be consistent with the intense rivalry recorded), we may recognize in the development of the Tukala and Mandan societies on the Omaha plan an independent tendency for age-groups to assert themselves. This phenomenon will receive further consideration in another section. On the other hand, J. O. Dorsey's data must be considered in connection with relevant Oglala information. It is true that in this tribe neither the Kit-Foxes nor the Miwatani were *definitely* correlated with youth and age. Nevertheless, a significant difference in point of age appears. The Kit-Foxes included boys of fifteen or even younger, as well as men in middle life (p. 18); the Miwatani, though not barring promising youths, were regarded as composed on the average of men older than those of the akicitas societies (p. 41f). It is easy to understand how, with this tendency given, its accentuation might lead to the Omaha condition; we need merely assume that the Ponca adopted the Dakota plan as found and that the stressing of the age division occurred among the Omaha.

The Helucka of the Southern Siouan (pp. 694, 755, 784)¹ or Iruska of the Pawnee (pp. 608, 624), is in several regards comparable with the military societies but its relations with the Grass dance seemed to warrant its consideration in the preceding paper of this series. Suffice it to repeat that its southern, presumably Pawnee, origin is assured (pp. 629, 860 f.), and that it constitutes perhaps the only complex related to our problem that can be definitely traced to this region of the Plains.

There are several other societies among the Southern Siouans that require consideration. The Pu-gtho^a of the Omaha² was a society of chiefs; they wore buffalo headdresses with the horns and carried shields and spears or other weapons used in striking the enemy. There can be no doubt that this is simply the Oglala Chiefs' society (p. 36), which in fact at one time bore a name identical with Dorsey's rendering of the Omaha name. As Dr. Wissler points out, this is simply the Bull organization of the Northern Plains. Since it occurs in nearly all the tribes of that area and has, to my knowledge, not been reported from the Southern Siouans generally, we may

¹ Also J. O. Dorsey, (c), 330; Fletcher and La Flesche, 459 et seq.

² J. O. Dorsey, (c), 352; Fletcher and La Flesche, 481.

safely regard it as another feature of Omaha culture that was borrowed from the Dakota.

The Ponca Iskaiyuha (p. 786) is possibly, as the name indicates, of Dakota origin, but unfortunately we lack full data for its Oglala namesake. The use of crooked spears is at all events a trait distinctive of the military societies.

The Not-afraid-to-die society (p. 785) obviously belongs to the same category. There are two hooked and two straight spears with the customary bravery obligation, four headdresses with buffalo horns, a whip bearer, and four female singers. It may well be that this organization corresponds to the T'e gaxe of the Omaha, "those expecting to die,"¹ as Mr. Skinner suggests, though the meager data at hand show only a partial coincidence, including, however, a female singer, and two straight lances. Several features of the Ponca society suggest affinity with the Oglala Crow-owners (p. 23): thus, both have four drummers with small drums, in both there are lances associated with bravery obligations, and the presence of two rattlers is a common element. The Acting Dead society of the Iowa (p. 701) must also be considered here. It shares with the Omaha organization the use of hide rattles by every member, which among the Ponca was restricted to two officers. Hooked spears were carried by two members.

The Brave society of the Iowa (p. 700) may correspond to its Oglala namesake, though again lack of adequate data for the Iowa makes a definite identification impossible. If Mr. Skinner's suggestion that a dance described by Catlin may refer to a performance by the Braves were demonstrable, the association of feasting and a celebration in honor of the dead, which is common to the two societies, would be reasonably good evidence of relationship.

The Make-no-flight society of the Omaha² is identified by Dorsey with the Napecni of the Dakota. It is characterized by the obligation of all members never to flee from the enemy. Among the Oglala the Napecni are in some way related to the Braves, who blacken their bodies, a trait that is also shared by the Omaha organization. The Napecni seems to be common to all branches of the Dakota (pp. 29, 196 ff.)³ and the Assiniboine.⁴ The much higher development of this type of society among the Dakota as compared with the Omaha certainly suggests once more that the Omaha were the borrowers.

The general conclusions I draw with respect to the military societies of

¹ J. O. Dorsey, (c), 352.

² J. O. Dorsey's "Make-no-flight" is obviously a misprint, (c), 352.

³ See also Keating, I, 418-421.

⁴ Lowie, (c), 70.

the Southern Siouan tribes are the following. With the exception of the Helucka these tribes have neither originated nor transmitted anything of consequence. So far as the organizations of the military type are concerned, the Southern Siouans have a merely marginal significance,— these organizations occur in a rudimentary or vestigial form and are of relatively slight importance in the tribal life. It seems certain that some of their societies were derived from the Dakota, and in other instances there is at least a strong presumption to this effect.

Before leaving this group, an interesting point must be emphasized. All of the tribes dealt with in this section had a police body prominently associated with the buffalo hunt and exercising the customary privileges in the course of this enterprise. The Osage also had a similar constabulary known as *ákita*.¹ But in none of these cases was the police power associated with a definite society or the military societies as a whole. The nearest approximation to such a thing is among the Ponca, where the chief is said to have chosen the bravest warriors of some society for one occasion and of some other society for the next; but even here the fact is emphasized that the duty did not devolve on the whole organization. In this respect the Southern Siouans differ from the Oglala but resemble the Eastern Dakota (p. 141).

The obvious similarity of some of the native terms for "police" to Dakota *akítçita* has been pointed out by Dr. Wissler (p. 874).

PAWNEE AND ARIKARA.

The Pawnee have the distinction of having developed the most elaborate system of societies outside the age-series. Apart from the shamanistic fraternities, which are of only subordinate moment for our problem, they have two distinct series of organizations: those deriving authority from the sacred bundles of the tribe, and those organized by private individuals obeying the call of a vision. Each of the three categories has its counterpart among the Dakota: to the Pawnee bundle societies correspond the Oglala *akítçita*; both tribes had what may be called private organizations; and the Oglala dream cults strongly suggest the Pawnee fraternities both in character and name. In examining the Pawnee system from a comparative point of view, special attention must thus be paid to the Oglala.

Of the shamanistic fraternities only the Iruska is connected with the military societies, and these have already been fully discussed in this volume by Dr. Wissler (pp. 859 *et seq.*), the rather intricate historical

¹ J. O. Dorsey, (b), 233-237.

interrelations being summarized (pp. 871-873, see also the chart facing p. 868).

Turning to the Pawnee organizations that are strictly comparable to the military societies, we are confronted with unusual difficulties as to identification. The public organizations, especially, have been so largely dominated by the tribal pattern (p. 642 f.) that their individuality is almost completely merged in it. Where so closely related a tribe as the Arikara has a society of similar name, we may with some show of reason assume historical identity, as I have done in the discussion of the Arikara. Elsewhere identification is a hazardous, if not impossible, procedure in the present state of our knowledge. In several Northern Plains tribes, for example, a hooked lance is rather definitely associated with the Kit-Foxes, but among the Pawnee this emblem is shared by a number of organizations (*c. g.*, pp. 568, 576, 578).

But while the emblems and activities of single societies give little or no clue as to their genetic affiliations, the Pawnee system as a whole has very clear relationships. The principle of selecting one of the societies alternately for police duty during the hunt (p. 557) differs from the Omaha usage and is strictly parallel to that of the Oglala (p. 13) and Crow (p. 149); according to Wissler (p. 370) this applies also to the Blackfoot, though other sources represent a particular society as exercising police functions there. The element of rivalry seems lacking; but another Dakota characteristic, the ready organization of new societies by a founder who obtains a following, as well as the contrary tendency towards the lapse of societies so formed (pp. 69, 140) is well marked (p. 579). The reorganization of societies in the spring (p. 559) allies the Pawnee with the Oglala (p. 63), Crow (pp. 158, 165, 176, 185, 187), and Blackfoot (p. 425). The same distribution is found for the duplication of officers (pp. 560, 643, 63, 158, 164, 176, 183, 189), except that among the Blackfoot it is much less developed, and the fact that it crops up most clearly among the Northern Blackfoot (p. 426) suggests that its appearance in this tribe at all is a matter of accident. Double leadership occurs among the Kiowa, but the concept of duality is not extended to other offices and cannot therefore be regarded as part of the pattern (p. 846f.). In the Pawnee system, as among the Oglala, the free association of both straight and hooked lances with societies is noteworthy; these emblems appear to be not so much distinctive of particular organizations as elements that may be combined with any one of them (p. 67f.).

In an enumeration of this kind it is of course possible to miss some significant traits. But taking the foregoing data jointly, we shall not go far wrong in concluding that the Pawnee system is most closely related to that of the Oglala. It is another question to what extent features common to

both are of Pawnee origin. The only point in regard to which a presumption exists in favor of the Pawnee is the duality of office. As Dr. Wissler suggests (p. 643), this is at once intelligible from the Pawnee notion of dividing participants of ceremonies into a northern and a southern group according to the geographical relations of their villages (pp. 551 ff., 560). This method of division, which also appears in games, strongly suggests the Arapaho grouping, by which in every ceremonial lodge the "stout men" are segregated on the north side as against the "short men" on the south side, with whom a race is run in the course of the performance.¹ A similar division occurs among the Gros Ventre.² It is thus possible that the Pawnee have influenced the Arapaho and Gros Ventre through one feature of their scheme, the dual grouping of members, and the Oglala (and indirectly the Crow) through another correlated feature of their scheme, the duality of office. Apart from minor features, the contribution of the Pawnee to the systems of other tribes may be limited to the dual scheme and the Iruska. The atypical character of the Pawnee system as a whole and the lack or only vestigial occurrence of societies highly developed elsewhere, indicate that, however interesting in itself, it has not played a large part in determining the evolution of military societies generally. I rather get the impression that specific suggestions, such as emblems and forms of activity, reached the Pawnee from the north and were absorbed in an older ceremonial scheme.

The historical connection of the Arikara with the Pawnee justifies their being treated under the same head. As I pointed out in the Arikara section of this volume, the resemblances are rather fewer than might be expected. Both the Pawnee and the Arikara lacked the element of grading and invited desirable individuals to join a society; among the latter there were at least traces of matrilineal descent of membership on the Pawnee plan (p. 655), but the Arikara differ fundamentally in having likewise the purchase factor. Since this tends to assume the exact form, though attenuated, that is current among the Village tribes, including the surrender of wives and the application of a kinship term to the negotiating individuals (pp. 654 f., 670), we may attribute this series of features to Mandan-Hidatsa influence. Of the bundle scheme we can discover no trace among the Arikara; since it is based on the geographical position of Skidi villages, this is intelligible in a mere offshoot of one local subdivision of that tribe. A considerable number of offices in the Arikara organizations are duplicate as among the Pawnee, and this may be a survival from the old parental system of the two tribes.

¹ Kroeber, (b), 163, 166.

² *Id.*, (a), 242.

The two women's organizations, as well as the Bull and Black Mouth societies, seem to have no equivalents among the Pawnee and may be referred to a Mandan-Hidatsa origin. In some other cases, the genetic relationship of similarly named organizations remains doubtful owing to lack of data or of individual traits; this applies notably to the Crow society and Maximilian's and Curtis's Foolish Dogs. In a different sense this is true of the two Fox organizations (pp. 582, 666). There can be little doubt of a general correspondence, but the direct connection of the Pawnee society, for all we know, might be with the Oglala system and of the Arikara society with that of the Mandan and Hidatsa. Thus, the Mandan and Arikara, unlike the Pawnee, both have female associate members (302, 667). As a matter of fact, I believe the closest resemblance obtains between the Arikara Foxes and the Cheyenne Coyotes (897).

This reduces the number of Arikara organizations directly related to the Pawnee system to four,—the Taróxpà, the Hot Dance society, the Sakhū'nu, and the Young Dogs. The first-named I have identified with the Pawnee *tirupahe*; indeed, Maximilian writes the Arikara word *Tiru'h-Pahi'*, which may suggest some dialectic variation among the Arikara. He translates it "the Soldiers," which well expresses the distinctively military character of both the Arikara and Pawnee organizations (576, 665). His identification with the Mandan police society is probably erroneous, since the *tirupahe* of the Pawnee was not associated with the hunt and because the Arikara had a Black Mouth society strictly comparable to the police body of their neighbors. The Hot dance has been sufficiently discussed in relation to the Pawnee Iruska, and the case for the Sakhū'nu seems equally convincing. As for the Young Dogs, the evidence at one time did not impress me (p. 660) but a wider comparative survey indicates that the regalia shared are sufficiently distinctive to prove community of origin, especially when taken together with the identity of name and the historical relations of the tribes concerned. An additional point may be made here. The Young Dog society is the only one named for this animal among the Pawnee, and in most of the Arikara lists (p. 683) only the Foolish Dogs are added. The oldest statement, on the other hand, speaks of a "band of dogs" embracing the bravest young men (p. 649). When we compare the regalia of the Young Dogs with those of the Big Dogs or Dogs of other tribes, the resemblances are clear. They are especially so for the Arikara, where we find sashes, owl-feather headdresses, dewclaw rattles, whistles, the log-drum, and the whipper. All this strongly suggests that the Young Dogs represent the missing or obsolete Dog society (see table, p. 920); this relationship will require further treatment in another section.

The part played by the Arikara in the evolution of the military societies

appears to be a modest one. They were the intermediaries between the Pawnee and Village tribes of the Upper Missouri in transmitting the Hot dance, and there is no reason for denying that organizations not known to occur elsewhere were developed by themselves. But so far as alien systems are concerned, the Arikara were borrowers rather than transmitters. The Cheyenne are probably the only tribe that was influenced by the Arikara to a considerable extent, and the nature of this influence will be discussed below.¹

CHEYENNE.

The Cheyenne system has a distinct individuality, which is in some measure reflected in the unusual designations of the societies. Since this tribe has not been treated in the present volume, it is necessary to summarize the essential facts rather fully.² Inasmuch as my object is comparative, I shall use names of societies bringing out their relationships to equivalent organizations elsewhere rather than their more popular synonyms among the Cheyenne of today.

G. A. Dorsey enumerates six organizations,—the Buffalo Bulls (Red-Shield), Kit-Fox (Hoof Rattle), Coyote (Headed Lance), Dog-Men, Inverted (Bowstring), and Wolf (Owl-Man's Bowstring) Warriors. To these Mooney and Curtis add as a seventh the Foolish (Crazy) Dogs, but according to both this is a recent acquisition confined to the Northern Cheyenne, so that we may disregard it for our present purposes. According to Mooney, it is so similar in ritual to the Bowstring society of the Northern Cheyenne that members of the two consider themselves ceremonially related and participate in the same dances. Unfortunately he identifies G. A. Dorsey's Wolf and Inverted (Bowstring) organizations without reference to the discrepancy. He makes it clear, however, that the Wolf society at all events is recent, its organizer, Owl-man, having died about forty-five years ago (in 1907). The natives themselves, according to Dorsey, regard the Inverted society as the most recent of the five introduced by the great tribal prophet. Assuming its distinctness from the Wolf organization, its relative recency as compared with the four others is probable because of its somewhat unusual character and on account of the ceremonial significance of the number Four in this area.

¹ Looking over Maximilian's data once more, I have come to the conclusion that his White Earth dance corresponds to my Chippewa society. A bow-lance formed part of the emblems in both, and the native designations, *Nahni' SkaAi's* and *na'nc chi's* correspond closely.

² G. A. Dorsey, (d), 3, 15-33; Mooney, (c), 412-415; Curtis, vi, 105-108.

Membership in the Cheyenne organizations depended neither on age nor on purchase. According to Curtis,

A man joined a society at the invitation of its members, some of whom conducted him from his lodge to that in which the company was then assembled, where, arrayed in their distinguishing regalia, he danced, sang and feasted with them and thus became a member. This, however, did not debar him from ever changing his affiliation; for after the election of chiefs any one had the privilege of providing a substitute and joining another society.

An important feature that allies the Cheyenne with the Oglala system (p. 65) is the expulsion of unworthy members; among the Cheyenne the slaying of a tribesman, even though accidental, would bar a man from belonging to any one of the organizations. Essentially the societies were coördinate, though the Dogs loomed as the most important, possibly on account of their numbers, which were increased, apparently in the early part of the last century, by the joint admission of all the men of one camp-circle division. It may be, of course, that this wholesale entrance was prompted by a recognition of the importance of the society. Whether police functions devolved on the Dogs exclusively or alternately on the several societies, is not clear from available accounts.

All the societies are preëminently military associations and are collectively known as "warriors." Nevertheless other traits were not lacking. Thus, we find elements of a fraternal comradeship, as well as distinctive songs and dances. In several ways a tribal pattern is manifested. Thus, each society has four distinctive sacred songs, four additional sacred songs sung to the Great Medicine, and four battle songs for individual warriors. Each derives its origin from the Prophet, each, is controlled by a chief and seven assistants, and usually there are additional officers. In the Buffalo, Coyote, and Kit-Fox societies there are four virgin associates regarded as the members' sisters.

The Buffalo Bulls clearly correspond to the similarly named society of the Northern Plains tribes (see table, p. 928). The mask, made from the head of a buffalo, is lacking, but we find the horned headdress of buffalo skin, the shields carried by all the members (Dorsey) or only the leaders (Mooney), spears, and the imitation of buffalo. Two specific features are worthy of note,—the presence of female associates and an emblem consisting of a red apron with rattles. Both occur among the Crow and Hidatsa (pp. 190, 291f.), women also appearing among the Mandan (p. 317) and a suggestion of the apron among the Assiniboine.¹ A distinctively Cheyenne

¹ Lowie, (c), 73.

feature is the emphasis on red, for the bodies of the dancers, their spears, shields, the horns of their headdresses, and their aprons are all red. In this connection we must note, however, that in Maximilian's day the Mandan Bulls carried shields decorated with red cloth, wore a piece of red cloth attached to the back and had a woman attendant whose face was painted with vermilion (p. 315) and that according to one of my informants red body paint was used to symbolize wounds received in battle. In determining the source of this Cheyenne organization it is worth while noting that of the tribes surrounding the southern range of their territory, the Kiowa, Pawnee, and Arapaho have no comparable organization. The Oglala must also be excluded because their equivalent Chiefs' society not only lacked the two specific traits mentioned but because it developed a quite distinct character by becoming preferably an elderly men's organization, of which there is no trace among the Cheyenne. Of the remaining tribes the Assiniboine and Crow trace their Bull dances back to the Hidatsa, and it is with the Mandan and Hidatsa that the Cheyenne society shows the closest affinity. Since both had a more highly elaborated Bull society than the Cheyenne, I conclude that the Cheyenne organization was borrowed from the Village tribes.

The Kit-Fox society of the Cheyenne is highly anomalous when compared with its namesake elsewhere. The most convincing indication of its identity beyond the name is the occurrence of two officers' emblems in the form of hooked lances wrapped with otterskin. A ceremonial club with pendent kit-fox skin carried by the leaders (Mooney) may be connected with a *Biitaha*^{wu} club of the Arapaho or the emblem of the Oglala whippers (p. 22). A drumkeeper and the presence of four female associates constitute an additional point of similarity with the Oglala (p. 14). But there is nothing to indicate any close relationship. The Cheyenne had no rawhide rattles, no kit-fox jaw headbands, nor employed the characteristic *tokala* haircut. On the other hand, they employed a dewclaw rattle more commonly associated with the Dog society and at all events lacking in the *tokala*; and they used a notched musical instrument of elk antler representing a snake and serving to charm buffalo or other game. The last-mentioned feature is evidently allied to a buffalo-calling ceremony of the Arikara, associated with the medicine (not military) societies, in which a notched bone is rasped with a stick (p. 675). Among the Hidatsa of Awaxā'wi village there was a boys' society characterized by the use of a notched wooden instrument with sacred associations; while not connected with buffalo it is said to have represented a snake (p. 238). I feel that with the data at hand it would be rash to theorize on the genetic relations of the Cheyenne Kit-Fox society with equivalent organizations of the area. All

I care to point out is that it appears to have combined a few Kit-Fox traits with a feature either belonging to the Dog society complex or to be regarded as a free element, and with a third feature found among the Upper Missouri Valley tribes.

The Coyote society seems to have no equivalent namesake among other tribes, the *kaiyōna* of the Wahpeton (p. 129) being clearly of an altogether different type. However, we are justified in inquiring whether there is no connection with societies named after such closely related animals as the wolf and fox. This seems especially desirable since the precise meaning of the native term is not always rendered by an interpreter. Thus, J. O. Dorsey speaks of a Coyote dance performed by the members of an Omaha war party, while Miss Fletcher and Mr. La Flesche (of whom the latter has a native's knowledge of the language) translates the same Omaha word as "wolf."¹ As a matter of fact, the Cheyenne organization under discussion has very pronounced relations with the Fox society of the Arikara (p. 666). In both we find unmarried female associates, two bowspear emblems, hair roaching, one rattler to direct the musical performance, and a crescent-shaped badge suspended from the neck. There is also relationship in an apparently different direction, however. One of the distinctive features of the Cheyenne society is a sacred coyote hide carried by the leader. Now in various Plains tribes a wolfskin plays an important part on a war party (p. 873). Among the Crow the scout always carried a wolf or coyote skin, apparently as part of the captain's war medicine.² The Oglala wrapped up the war leader's pipe in a fox or wolf pelt and had their war lances made by a man who had dreamt of a wolf (pp. 55-59). Miss Fletcher and Mr. La Flesche figure a wolfskin from a sacred war bundle of the Omaha; they state that the wolf was regarded as connected with war and was imitated by the warriors.³ With the Pawnee, the consciousness of the association is so strong that the members of a war party "constitute a kind of society of the wolves;" the god of war is a mythical wolf, a wolfskin is contained in the sacred war bundle, as among the Omaha, and the wolf is imitated by the braves (pp. 595-597). The use of white paint is another trait common to the Pawnee and Omaha (J. O. Dorsey). The Pawnee war party also presents one very striking resemblance to the Arikara Fox society: both employ no drum but substitute a rolled-up hide (pp. 596 f., 666). This feature is not recorded for the Cheyenne organization, while the sacred wolf or fox hide has not been reported for the Arikara. In short, both the Arikara and the Cheyenne societies closely agree with each other

¹ J. O. Dorsey, (c), 323; Fletcher and La Flesche, 416.

² Lowie, (a), 233.

³ Fletcher and La Flesche, 412-416.

in a series of distinctive traits; and in addition each shares at least one distinctive feature with the Pawnee war party. From this I conclude that they are homologous, and that both are related to the Pawnee war party. The concepts associated with the latter were undoubtedly borrowed by the Cheyenne since they are so highly elaborated not only among the Pawnee but a neighboring tribe as well, in a part of the Plains only reached by the Cheyenne in very recent times. Whether the Cheyenne borrowed the sacred-hide idea from the Arikara with the remainder of their Coyote society complex at a hypothetical period when the Arikara Fox society possessed this trait, or obtained it in recent times from some other tribe sharing the concept, and tacked it on to a pre-existing series of traits, must remain doubtful. So also we cannot be sure where the series of traits shared by the Arikara Foxes and the Cheyenne Coyotes arose, though their community of origin is demonstrated. In addition to this relationship, a point of interest lies in the proof of some connection between a military society and a war party. The possibility of such a relationship was pointed out in a previous paper¹ and supported by Dr. Wissler with Oglala data (p. 67). The Cheyenne-Arikara complex furnishes an additional illustration from other tribes.

The Dog-Men obviously correspond to the Dog society of most of the other tribes, sharing with them such characteristic traits as the sashes connected with bravery obligations, dewclaw rattles, bone whistles, and feather headdresses. It is not so easy to prove a special relationship with the equivalent organization of some particular tribe. From the foregoing we are tempted to begin our survey with the Arikara, but they had no Dog society in recent times and while a Young Dog organization takes its place, its resemblances with the Cheyenne Dog-Men are too generic. Turning to the other Village tribes of the Upper Missouri, we discover some indication of specific similarities with the Hidatsa. Thus, the Hidatsa have four sash-wearers (one of higher degree), their emblems being of two types and degrees (p. 286), their dancers carried bows and arrows (pp. 287-290), while a performance in which boiling meat is extracted from a kettle in Hot dance fashion (p. 288) *may* correspond to the custom of the Dog-Men taking meat from a pot in which it had been left for four days, each biting off, chewing, and swallowing a large piece. Another possible point of similarity is the shape of the dewclaw rattle. That of the Cheyenne differs from the more usual pattern in representing a snake and being composed of distinct head and tail pieces fitted into the customary straight stick. Although the association with the snake is not reported for the Hidatsa,

¹ Lowie, (c), 93ff.

Maximilian's picture (reproduced in this volume, p. 287) shows a curvature of the stick somewhat suggestive of the Cheyenne emblem. None of these resemblances, it must be admitted, is especially convincing, and we have nothing to prove a closer connection between the Cheyenne and Mandan. Turning to the tribes the Cheyenne encountered farther west or south, the Oglala may be disregarded: their Dog society appears under a different name (p. 41 ff.), and its positive traits, so far as they are not of general distribution, differ. The Dog society of the Crow has only one special feature of resemblance, the presence of two pairs of sash-wearers differing in the emblems worn (p. 179), but since these do not correspond closely to the Cheyenne sashes this rather suggests an indirect relationship. Finally, we come to the Arapaho, and here at last we get indubitable evidence of historical connection. Both the Cheyenne and the Arapaho had a four days' performance, and since this feature belonged to the Arapaho pattern while it is not reported for other Cheyenne societies we may regard the Cheyenne as the borrowers in this respect. Secondly, we find here not only the Crow and Cheyenne grouping of the sash-wearers into two pairs, but a specific resemblance between the sash emblems of one type.¹ Finally, we get a specific statement that the dewclaw rattle of the third degree of the Arapaho represents a snake like the badge of the Cheyenne rank and file. From this it appears that the Dog society of the Cheyenne is most closely related to that of the Arapaho. Whether either tribe borrowed from the other merely the specific resemblances enumerated, is doubtful so long as consideration is restricted to them. Each has a fair number of individual traits not found in the other, and both were in contact with a number of tribes from which the generic features of the organization might have been adopted. Arguments of a more general character (p. 945) lead me to assume that the society came from the Village people to the Arapaho and was transmitted by them to the Cheyenne.

The Inverted or Bow String Warriors of the Cheyenne are at first sight a somewhat puzzling phenomenon. They differ markedly from the societies hitherto considered, thus justifying the native view that they stand apart from the four organizations said to have been first organized by the Prophet. This difference lies in the absence of the customary mode of organization: there is neither chief nor assistant chief, and instead of the special standard-bearers found in three of the other societies there is complete absence of offices or degrees. All the members were unmarried, carried a bowspear, painted their bodies and clothes red, wore a stuffed owl over the forehead and a bone whistle suspended from the neck, practised "backward" speech,

¹ Dorsey, (d), plate IX, fig. 2; Kroeber, (b), plate XXXVI.

and were brave to the point of foolhardiness; no one was allowed to pass in front of them. In attempting to ascertain the relations of the Inverted Warriors, we shall do well to lay stress on the two characteristic activities,—backward speech and foolhardiness. Backward speech occurs in the Arapaho Crazy Lodge in conjunction with an owl-feather circlet, a bone whistle, and a bowspear. It seems improbable that this combination should occur in two neighboring tribes by chance. On the other hand, it is equally important to note that the correspondence is only partial. The dauntless bravery of the Cheyenne warriors is not reported for the Arapaho lodge; on the other hand, the Cheyenne did not practise the fire dance, or wear the capes typical of the Crazy dancers, and lacked most of the other features of the Arapaho society. Starting from the trait of foolhardiness, we find that the Kiowa Dogs were especially brave, used backward speech, wore bone whistles, and used red as their ceremonial paint (p. 848 f.). The Pawnee "Children of the Iruska" were reckless in battle, never married, wore the skin of a blackbird on the head, and acted and spoke by contraries (p. 580 f.): the equivalent Sakhū'nu of the Arikara were reckless, used backward speech, and blew whistles (p. 673 ff.). Foolhardiness in connection with a Dakota society was reported by Lewis and Clark, who regarded it as an imitation of a Crow Indian prototype (p. 12 f.). While the data given by the explorers are inadequate for purposes of identification, we know of Dakota organizations in which dauntlessness played a prominent part. Thus, no member of the Napecni and Dog organizations was permitted to flee (pp. 29, 54, 108), and the Sotka tanka, who carried bowspears, required great bravery, the members vowing to die in battle according to one source of information (p. 61 f.). But the nearest approach to backward speech is found in none of the military societies but in the heyoka cult in the form of contrary conduct (pp. 82–85, 113–117); in other words, there is no Dakota society that represents the Cheyenne complex. The Crow Crazy Dog couple practised backward speech and also deliberately courted death (p. 193 ff.); the other Cheyenne traits are not reported. Among the Mandan and Hidatsa there does not seem to be any society all of whose members are pledged to foolhardy conduct. We find in short that the two features of the Cheyenne organization are found united in the Kiowa Dog society, among the Pawnee, Arikara, and in the Crow Crazy Dog couple.

Since two of these four complexes are connected with the name of the dog, a comparison of the Inverted Warriors with the Dog society is suggested. The universal features of this society that are lacking in the Cheyenne organization are the sash connected with bravery and the dewclaw rattle; but the latter is also generally absent from the derivative (i. e. Little, Crazy, etc.) Dog societies. Otherwise, the resemblance between the Inverted

Warriors and the Kiowa and Hidatsa Dog society is rather far-reaching. Backward speech, bone whistles, and red paint are shared by all three, and foolhardiness by the Cheyenne and Kiowa, while among the Hidatsa it is at least represented by the bravery of the officers; in addition the Hidatsa have an owl-feather headdress corresponding to the owl of the Cheyenne. The use of red paint may appear *a priori* of little moment, but it is so constantly associated with the Dog complex as to become significant (pp. 47, 110, 178, 285, 318, 849). It appears then, that the resemblance between, say, the Kiowa Dogs and the Inverted Warriors is at least as great as that between the latter and the Arapaho Crazy lodge. The important feature lacking among the Kiowa is the bowspear of the Cheyenne, but the readiness with which a particular emblem of this sort enters different combinations causes me to attach less importance to it than to characteristic modes of action. We must recollect that the bowspear also occurs in the Cheyenne Coyote society, and in both the Lumpwood and Half-Shaved Head organizations of the Hidatsa.

The suggestion I venture to make on the basis of the foregoing is the following. The Inverted Warriors of the Cheyenne correspond at bottom to the Crazy Dog couple of the Crow or the Dog society of the Kiowa; that is, they are directly related to some organization of this category. In addition they seem to have influenced an otherwise independent Arapaho organization, from which in turn they may have borrowed the bowspear though this may also have been adopted from their own Coyote Warriors. The details of these relations may of course be conceived differently, but the essentials are probably as just outlined.

As already stated, the Wolf organization seems to have been instituted in quite recent times since Mooney ascribes its origin to a medicineman of the last century. It conforms to the Cheyenne type in that there are a chief and seven assistant chiefs, and two pairs of distinctive spear emblems, the one having eagle feathers hanging down their entire length, the other being wrapped with otterskin. Spears of various types were also carried by the rank and file, who wore as a badge a wolfskin with a hole cut at the back, the head hanging on the breast and the tail down the back of the wearer. Several members carried small hand-drums. Noisy gaiety is said to characterize the actions of the fraternity. This was the only society that danced with guns, discharging blank cartridges during their performance. Owing to the recent origin of this society, its historical significance is relatively slight. The spear emblems seem to have no characteristic traits; accordingly, we must fall back on the badge worn round the neck. A coyote skin was worn in similar fashion by the Piegan All-Brave Dogs (p. 382) and this method may have been used by the Kit-Fox leader of the

same tribe (p. 399). More to the point, for geographical reasons, is the use of such foxskin capes by the Fox society of the Crow Indians (p. 156) and by the Oglala Kit-Foxes (p. 16). From one of these two tribes the suggestion was presumably received.

To sum up. The absence of grading and the purchase factor together with the practice of inviting men to become members definitely allies the Cheyenne system with that of the Kiowa, Oglala, and Crow; in these basic features it is strikingly different from that of the Arapaho. Of the societies, considered singly, only the Dog-Men are homologous with an equivalent Arapaho organization. The Inverted Warriors and Kit-Foxes only present single elements of resemblance to the Arapaho Crazy and Biitahaw^a lodges, while their genetic connections seem to be with the Dog societies (proper and derivative) of other tribes, including the Crow and Hidatsa. The Buffalo Bull society corresponds to its namesake among the Village tribes, the Kit-Foxes have a highly characteristic element that suggests an Arikara ceremony, the Coyote Warriors doubtless correspond to the Arikara Foxes, the Wolf Warriors indicate affinities with the Oglala and Crow. In short, the two last-named tribes have had some influence, perhaps especially on the general scheme of entrance, while specific features and societies have been most deeply affected by the Village tribes. Of the latter, the Arikara may be assumed to have played a particularly prominent part when we remember that the unusual combination of the Arikara Hot dance features, and the meat trick with the fire dance, is shared by the Cheyenne.¹

DAKOTA AND ASSINIBOINE.

Compared with the systems of other tribes, that of the Dakota is marked by its instability, which occurs in similar degree only among the Pawnee (p. 579). That is to say, though the tribal pattern remains, the societies themselves seem to have shifted continually and among the Eastern Dakota there is even a question whether, apart from the Napeeni and Tokana, the dances were performed by a definite membership at all (p. 140 f.). Dr. Wissler has expounded the reasons for this fluidity, which may be sought in the dreams of shamans prompting them to organize a new troop; in the spirit of rivalry that would lead to distinct groups using more or less the same regalia and dances; and in the desire of boys to mimic the adults' organizations (pp. 28, 69). While these factors seem to constitute a really characteristic feature of Dakota society and naturally tend to complicate

¹ Mooney, (c), p. 415.

the study of the growth of the Dakota system, it is nevertheless true that so far as the ceremonial complexes themselves are concerned there is not less permanence than elsewhere. That is to say, while a certain ceremony might fall into desuetude through the lack of a definite body performing it, its memory seems to have been preserved so that at a favorable time it could be revived (see e. g., p. 120). That there was indeed this element of stability of usages over and above the instability of society membership appears clearly from both historical and comparative data. Thus, Hennepin, in 1680, describes the characteristic *akitcita* soldier-killing very much as it was practised two centuries later. One of Dr. Wissler's Oglala informants declared that the *Napecni* originated about fifty years ago as a branch of the *Ca'te ti'a'za* (Dauntless Ones) and flourished about thirteen years (p. 29). But the Santee also identify the *Napecni* and the *Ca'te ti'a'za* (p. 107), and so did the Yanktonai in the early twenties of the last century.¹ Moreover, the No-flight society occurs among the Assiniboiné² and it seems probable that this is the organization found by Lewis and Clark among the Western Dakota (p. 12). It is therefore clear that the *Napecni* concept is an old one, which was simply *revived* by the Oglala half a century ago. The *Kit-Foxes* also appear under the same native name, and dialectically changed, among the Eastern Dakota (p. 105f.), Oglala (p. 14), and Assiniboiné.³ The same applies to the Raven or Crow society (pp. 23, 109).⁴ The *Heyoka* occurs, at all events, among all the Dakota proper (pp. 82, 113). In short, the state of flux that characterizes Dakota organizations as such must not be considered typical of the ideas underlying them.

So far as these ideas are concerned, the Oglala belong to the same group as the Cheyenne, Kiowa, and Crow, their closest affinities being probably with the last-mentioned tribe. All four tribes lacked a graded series based on age, and in all membership depended not on purchase but mainly on invitation. Like the societies of the Kiowa (p. 843) and the Crow (p. 149), — for the Cheyenne we lack data — those of the Oglala took turns at policing the camp (p. 13). The trait that particularly allies the Crow and Oglala systems is the intense rivalry between societies, which is manifested in precisely the same dual form, wife-stealing and emulation in war (pp. 74, 169 ff.). The imitation of adults' societies by boys, with the counting of coups on animals (p. 28), has its exact counterpart in the Kiowa Rabbits (p. 844) and the Crow *bū'ptsake* (p. 187). A formal reorganization in the spring is found among the Oglala (p. 17), Pawnee (p. 559), Crow (p. 176),

¹ Keating, I, 418-421.

² Lowie, (c), 70.

³ *Ibid.*, 70.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 74.

and Blackfoot (p. 425). The dual scheme of officers, which the Oglala may have derived from the Pawnee, is shared by the Crow, who carry it out far more consistently than the Kiowa or Cheyenne. The office of the whipper seems to be more highly developed among the Oglala and the Crow than anywhere else. As promoters of social and fraternal relations among the membership the Oglala and Crow organizations also agree (pp. 64, 150). The combination of lance and sash emblems with a variety of societies (p. 68) is another point of resemblance. The resemblances with the Pawnee — alternating police duties, spring renewal, dual offices — have already been commented upon (p. 891); they are indicative of historical connection, but the highly specialized character of the Pawnee systems puts it in a class by itself. As might be expected, certain Assiniboiné features are strongly reminiscent of the Oglala scheme: among these may be mentioned the herald's office and the tendency to invite men of wealth to join (pp. 14, 25, 31, 34, 64).¹ Certain usages recall the Village tribes. Thus, certain officers in the Black-chin, Miwatani, and Dog societies have the privilege of seizing food belonging to others (pp. 29, 45, 52) like the Hidatsa Dogs, Little Dogs, and Crazy Dogs (pp. 288, 271, 281). The notion of appointing a few young individuals as junior associates in order to stimulate their parents' generosity on behalf of the society (p. 65) is shared with the Blackfoot as well as with the Mandan and Hidatsa (pp. 291, 349). Again, the custom of having female and particularly virgin associates, (pp. 14, 25, 32, 34, 61), while found in the Gros Ventre Kit-Foxes, appears strongly developed among the Cheyenne (p. 895) and in all the Village tribes (pp. 271, 298, 666). Among the other specific traits shared with the Cheyenne may be mentioned the practice of disbarring unworthy members from all organizations (pp. 19, 65, 895); expulsion was also practised by the Wahpeton (p. 112).

While the Oglala organizations were not age-societies, the element of age entered in several cases in a rather suggestive way inasmuch as we find on the one hand boy organizations modeled on those of the adults, while on the other hand the Chief, Miwatani, Ska yuha, and Omaha societies were composed of rather older men than the rest. The same tendency to have members of mature age, without any formal regulation to that effect, appears in the Crow Bull society (p. 189) which corresponds to the Oglala Chiefs.

In determining the part the Oglala have played in the development of the military societies, it is convenient to discuss first those organizations which there is some reason for ascribing to an alien source or to a recent founder within the tribe. We naturally assign greater importance to statements relating to events that occurred within the memory of men still living. The Omaha society was borrowed from the Omaha about forty years ago

¹ Lowie, (c), 70-74.

(p. 48), the Sotka tanka from the Crow or Pawnee about forty-eight years ago (p. 62); the Ska yuha arose in Agent McGillicuddy's administration in emulation of the Chiefs' society; the Sotka yuha appears to have been learned from the Crow Indians about forty-six years ago; a relatively recent origin also seems probable for the wic'iska (p. 34). Dr. Wissler has pointed out the relations of the two last-mentioned societies to the Badger society, suggesting that they may be merely variants of the latter (p. 36). That the Badger organization is of older date seems probable from its occurrence among the Sisseton as well. Though this community is doubtless due to diffusion (p. 31), the Western Dakota must have borrowed the organization while it was not yet obsolescent among the Crow or Village tribes and for the process of transmission to the Eastern Dakota the lapse of some time must be allowed. These considerations corroborate the native statement that the organization is at least sixty years old. I have already shown that the Badger society was probably borrowed from the Crow or Hidatsa Kit-Fox society, the foreign designation being interpreted according to the significance of a closely similar Dakota word (p. 109).

The Chiefs and Miwatani organizations are probably of greater antiquity than those cited above, yet there are reasons for not assigning them to the oldest Dakota stratum.

The Chiefs undoubtedly correspond to the Bulls of other tribes; indeed, they formerly shared this name (p. 36). An equivalent Buffalo dance occurs among the Assiniboine,¹ but since these derive it from the Hidatsa (Xeā'-ktukta) the connection is probably not a direct one. Among the Eastern Dakota at least one (Sisseton) dance (p. 102 f.) is also homologous, and the occurrence of the same ceremonial complex among these distinct groups might be used as an argument for fairly great Dakota antiquity were it not for the restriction of the Chiefs to the Red-cloud band of the Oglala (pp. 7, 11). This last statement, however, may be meant to apply only to their political functions. On comparing the Eastern and Western forms of the society, we find relatively little similarity beyond the imitation of buffalo and the carrying of shields. It is not clear that the buffalo *mask* was used by the Oglala at all, the headdresses being simply described as "made of the skin from the neck and head of the buffalo with the horns attached" (p. 37); the Sisseton, however, (p. 120 f.) and probably the Assiniboine also² used the masks which among the Village tribes were the badge of certain special officers.³ The wide divergence of the Dakota societies leads me to suppose

¹ Lowie, (c), 73.

² Lowie, (c), 73.

³ The statement of one Sisseton informant that there were forty-four members in the Buffalo dance suggests the Cheyenne chiefs' council, which, however, was not associated with the societies of that tribe.

that their relationship is indirect, that the Bull organization is not very old among the Dakota but was independently borrowed by several of their subdivisions from the Village tribes, among all of whom a Bull or Buffalo organization played a great part. The fact that the Oglala Chiefs form "after all an old men's organization" (p. 38) might, as Dr. Wissler hints, be the result of borrowing from the Mandan or Hidatsa, in whose graded system the Bulls stand at or near the top. This may, however, be only a coincidence, for the nearest society seems to me to be that of the Arikara. There we find the same emphasis on the fringed shirt, on philanthropic activity, peaceableness in camp and the duty to protect the people in time of war (p. 661 f.), and Maximilian states that the Arikara Bulls were the most distinguished men. In short, I suggest that the Oglala borrowed the Bull dance from the Arikara. The Assiniboine contention that *their* Buffalo dance came from the Hidatsa is confirmed by special resemblances, such as the use of flannel clouts and the participation of a junior associate. The Eastern Dakota also share, in addition to the more general features, a specific trait with the Mandan (p. 317) and Hidatsa (p. 293), viz., the watering of the performers personating buffalo. Since practically all the traits found anywhere in this context occur jointly among the three Village tribes of the Upper Missouri, I regard these tribes as the starting-point from which the society spread.

The Miwatani society of the Oglala corresponds to the Mawatani or Mā'tano of other divisions. Its relations to similarly named organizations of the Southern Siouans have been discussed (p. 886). The translation given for the Dakota designation points almost uniformly to the Mandan as the source of origin. There can be no doubt whatsoever that the organization is simply the equivalent of the Northern Plains Dog society (see table, p. 920). The combination of sashes, owl-feather headdress, dewclaw rattle, bone whistle, and log drum with the privilege of seizing food belonging to others definitely fixes its identity.¹ Since the Dog society occurs nearly everywhere with a remarkably stable complex of features, the particular relations of the Miwatani must be determined by a consideration of apparently unessential traits. As a matter of fact we find that, disregarding the Southern Siouans, the log-drum occurs only among the Dakota, Mandan, Hidatsa and in the equivalent Arikara Young Dog society. A whipper who lashes a dancer to make him perform or sit down occurs likewise among the Arikara, Crow, and Hidatsa, though also among the Arapaho and Gros Ventre. The staking down of the sashes (p. 43) is common to the Oglala,

¹ There is a Dog society among the Oglala (p. 52) in which the last-mentioned trait occurs; its other characteristics are, however, very much specialized and betray hardly any affiliation with the Dog society as found elsewhere.

Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Kiowa, but the sum-total of resemblances is greatest with the Upper Missouri Villagers and thus corroborates the evidence contained in the native name.

This reduces the core of the Oglala system to three societies,—the Kit-Foxes, Crow-Owners, and Braves, with the two variants or branches of the latter, the Black-Chins and No-flight men. It may seem significant that all of these presumably ancient Dakota societies served as *akitscitsa*, while the *Miwatani*, Chiefs, and Omaha dancers did not; on the other hand, it seems more plausible to connect this fact with the greater age of the members of the last-named societies, for several recent organizations did act as police. As I have already pointed out, the great age of the Kit-Foxes, Crow-Owners and No-flight society is attested by their occurring with the same native designations not only among the Eastern Dakota but the Assiniboiné as well. The No-flight men, indeed, seem to be found nowhere else under this name.

KIT-FOX SOCIETY.

	Blackfoot	Mandan	Hidatsa	Gros Ventre	Assiniboiné	Arikara	Oglala	Eastern Dakota	Cheyenne	Crow	Iowa	Ponca
Kilts			×	?				?×				
Jaw-headband		×	×		×		×	×				
Roached hair		×	×			×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Hooked spears	×	×	×	×	×		×		×	×		
Straight spears	×	×	×	×			×			×		
(2) Rattles		×	×	×			×					
Spear-bow			×			(1)	×		(1)			
Hood	×	×				×	×		×			
Female associates		×		×		×	×		×		×	×
Whippers					×		×					×
Kit-fox necklace					×		×			×		
Crescent badge						×			×			
Yellow body paint							×		×			×
Rank and file lances							×		×			

The Tokala of the Oglala may be one of the contributions to military organizations made by the Dakota, but owing to the very wide distribution of the Kit-Fox society this must be taken as no more than a reasonable conjecture. The affiliations of the Tokala are fairly clear; it belongs with

those Kit-Fox organizations which lack the hooked-lance emblem,— with that of the Arikara and the Cheyenne Coyote society (see table, p. 907). With these it shares the hair-roaching, bow-spears, and girl associates. Common to the Oglala and Cheyenne are, in addition, yellow body paint and small lances borne by the rank and file. The presence of the jaw-headband and kit-fox necklaces allies the Assiniboine with this group, but the hooked-lance emblem also puts them in a class with other tribes. With the solitary exception of the last-mentioned badge, all the important Kit-Fox peculiarities are found united among the Oglala; their organization, in other words, compares favorably with any other as regards elaboration, and this fact seems to favor a Dakota origin, at least so far as the tribes lacking hooked spears are concerned. The Arikara and Cheyenne societies, however, seem to me more closely allied than either is to the Tokala, because they share the otherwise lacking crescent-shaped neck ornament and have only one rattler. I consider these resemblances of greater weight than the small lances of the Oglala and Cheyenne and the yellow body paint of the same tribes. The hair-roach, as a regular method of dressing the hair, is usually associated with other tribes than the Dakota. Its occurrence among the Oglala is, however, vouched for by Lewis and Clark,¹ and accordingly its presence as a Tokala trait need not be regarded as an alien intrusion.

According to a native informant (p. 13), the Crow-Owners and the Badgers were most frequently chosen for akitcita duty, and since the latter are of Crow origin, the Crow (Raven)-Owners would appear to be the police society *par excellence*. However, the same claim is also made on behalf of the Braves (p. 25). Taking both statements as significant, I suggest tentatively that the two organizations may be related to each other and to the Black Mouths, the police organization of the Village tribes.

We have, in the first place, the presumptive evidence of synonymous designations for the societies concerned. Thus, the Mandan also called their Black Mouths "Brave Men" (p. 314), while "Black Chins" is the name applied to an Oglala branch of the Braves. The Oglala Braves wear bone whistles and have two pipe men like the Black Mouths of the Arikara, Mandan, and Hidatsa. Black face paint is too general a trait to be especially significant, but its restriction to the part from the mouth downward certainly constitutes a similarity between the Black-Chin branch and the Black Mouths that is not negligible. What is said of the central tipi of the Braves and the meetings held there (p. 27) suggests that they formed the most important akitcita body and in this sense prefigured the character of the Black Mouths with their monopoly of police duties.

¹ Thwaites edition, p. 138.

The Crow-Owners of the Oglala correspond to the Sisseton Raven-Owners, for the native names are identical and both societies have four singers, two rattlers, wore skunkskins round the arms, and used black body paint. One of the most suggestive traits is the crossing of each other's path by the Sisseton rattlers (p. 109), for it is common to the Arikara, Hidatsa, and Mandan Black Mouths (pp. 663, 277, 314) and the equivalent Muddy Mouths of the Crow (p. 198). We find it again in the Red Lance society of the Chaui, Pitahaurata, and Kitkahaxki (p. 560) which is considered the counterpart of the Skidi Two-Lance society. Now the emblem of the last-mentioned organization (p. 562, fig. 3) is to all intents and purposes identical with an Hidatsa Raven emblem, of which I have an unpublished sketch made by my interpreter, there being in both the same alternation of groups of black (crow or raven) and white feathers. It is conceivable that either the Chaui or the Skidi organization lost a distinctive feature and that originally both had the complex of the raven lance and the crossing of officers' paths, in other words, that as in the case of the Sisseton a Black Mouth and a Raven trait occur in conjunction. From another angle a similar point may be made. The Mandan and Hidatsa Black Mouths both have a "Raven" lance, decorated with raven feathers and a raven head associated with bravery obligations; in fact, Maximilian explicitly likens the Mandan Black Mouth pole to the emblem of the Piegan Crow society (pp. 275, 313).

While the evidence is far from convincing, I cannot escape the suspicion that a relationship of some sort exists between the Brave, Crow-Owner, and Black Mouth societies.

Returning to our general problem, the question confronts us whether the Crow-Owners and Braves originated with the Dakota, and whether such similarities as the Black Mouths reveal to either organization are due to Dakota influence. Unfortunately, I see no way for a satisfactory reply. The Crow-Owners occur among the Piegan, Arikara, Crow, Hidatsa, Oglala, and Sisseton, not to mention similarly named Pawnee organizations of unascertained identity. Of the tribes mentioned the Crow data yield some evidence of Hidatsa origin (p. 199) and on general grounds the Piegan society may be traced to the same source (p. 949). However, the Crow society more closely resembles the Oglala equivalent. The Braves (Napecni), if really equivalent to the Black Mouths, are as likely to be of Dakota as of Village origin. While the great importance of the Black Mouth society on the Upper Missouri seems to favor its having arisen there, we must recall that the Braves, too, especially in the Napecni form, are undoubtedly of considerable prominence among the Dakota and their distribution warrants the assumption of a fair antiquity. How seriously we should take Lewis and Clark's remark that what seems to have been

the Napecni of their day was borrowed from the Crow (p. 12), remains a question.

One very important feature of Plains Indian societies may be due to the Dakota, to wit, the police duties in connection with the buffalo hunt. Historical data, being too recent, cannot settle the question, nevertheless it is a noteworthy fact that the earliest report on "soldier-killing" I have been able to find, made by Hennepin in 1680, relates to the Dakota (p. 130 f.). A strictly parallel institution existed among the Menomini with regard, not to the hunt but to rice-gathering, and in 1820 Marston describes it for the Sauk and Fox as a protection of the corn crops (p. 498f.). It is inconceivable to me that the rigid regulations intelligible from the conditions of the coöperative buffalo hunt should have developed among the Central Algonkians in connection with the quite different circumstances of rice-gathering and corn-planting, which do not seem to demand anything of the sort. I do not hesitate, therefore, to regard the Central Algonkians as the borrowers of the institution. So far as they are concerned, then, the Dakota habitat formed presumably the center of dissemination. Beyond this it is not possible to go with any degree of assurance. The linguistic evidence fails for while obviously the same phonetic element to designate the police functions has been carried to a number of tribes, a satisfactory analysis for any one of the languages concerned is lacking. Dr. Michelson writes me that the Algonkian interpretation of *okitcitu* as "brave men" is merely a folk-etymology, and I am strongly under the impression that the same applies to the Crow explanation of *ak'tsat'e* as "those who bar." There remains the fact that the akitcita institution is remarkably well-developed among all the Dakota groups and the Assiniboiné as well, assuming throughout very nearly the same form and appearing as a specialized type of a more general constabulary activity. Taken with Hennepin's early testimony and the spread of the custom into the Woodland area, this seems to me to warrant the statement that the Dakota have at least as good a claim to having originated the buffalo police as any other Plains tribe.

One difference between the Eastern and Western Dakota is of significance in this connection. The akitcita function of the former was quite distinct from the dance associations (p. 141), and although one statement connects the Soldier organization of the Assiniboiné with an archetype of the modern Grass dance the weight of evidence seems to me to point to a similar condition among them also.¹ In other words, the association of the police with military societies is a peculiarity of the Western, as distinguished from other groups of Dakota, and need not have originated with them since it is found in a number of neighboring tribes in the same form.

¹ Lowie, (c), 35, 66.

The part played by the Heyoka in influencing the military societies of the area has already been dealt with by Dr. Wissler (p. 859 et seq.).

Before leaving the Dakota, it is well to recall an important fact. Both among the Eastern and Western Dakota are many cult associations based on similarity of supernatural experiences. These religious fraternities are strictly comparable to an important type of organization found among the Omaha and seem related, though more remotely, to the shamanistic associations of the Pawnee. As pointed out above (p. 884), the Omaha have but a weakly developed system of military societies, probably of recent Dakota origin, which is certainly quite insignificant as compared with their system of religious societies. In the Northern Plains, on the other hand, while military associations loom up conspicuously, religious fraternities of the Omaha type are lacking, for the medicine bundle groups of the Blackfoot and other tribes represent again a different pattern. On the other hand, the Dakota have a simultaneous elaboration of both the military club and the religious fraternity scheme, and it is probable from comparison of the Eastern and Western groups that both are of considerable antiquity with them.

Among the Assiniboiné religious fraternities of the type described are lacking; the names of a number of dances recorded without further data suggest military rather than religious societies. Of the military organizations the No-flight and Fox societies represent the old Dakota core; though we have no data except the name, the Crow-Owners may reasonably be included in this category. To the same cultural stratum may be referred traits that appear in other organizations also: the tendency to have an even number of officers and the distinct offices of the whipper and the herald. The parade about camp with repeated (fourfold) performance of the dance is shared by the Oglala, Hidatsa, Blackfoot, and Arapaho, and perhaps with several other tribes. There seems no reason to doubt that the Buffalo dance was derived from the Hidatsa, as the Assiniboiné themselves believe, and such names as Little Dog and Big Dog which I recorded, unfortunately without being able to secure a description of the correlated organizations, also suggest Village Indian influence. The *ajū'owatc* is derived by the natives from the Crow, but I know of no equivalent in that tribe. On the other hand, the shooting of an arrow into the air so that it shall fall among the crowd is a distinct feature that allies this dance with that of the Piegan Braves (p. 380) and the Gros Ventre Crazy dancers.¹ The Fool dancers correspond, as Mr. Skinner points out, very closely to the Windigokan of the Plains-Ojibway (pp. 500 ff.) and the Wetigokanuk of the Plains-Cree (p. 528 f.). The wearing of the same type of masks, the stalking of meat repre-

¹ Kroeber, (a), 247.

senting a buffalo, and the use of backward speech establish the absolute identity of the performances; and the adaptation of what is almost certainly an Algonkian word to designate the dance indicates that the Assiniboine were the borrowers. To sum up: the Assiniboine system reflects in some measure all the tribal influences that might *a priori* be expected, with the old Dakota element perhaps remaining the strongest single constituent. It does not appear that as a distinct tribal unit the Assiniboine have been to any extent originators and disseminators.

CROW.

The system of the Crow is best considered in the light of their historical connections. With the Hidatsa they form a subdivision of the Siouan stock. This subdivision is sufficiently distinct in my opinion to regard any cultural resemblances between its constituents and members of other Siouan groups as the result of diffusion. That is to say, in view of the notorious rapidity with which cultural elements are borrowed as compared with any far-reaching linguistic differentiation, I should consider, say, specifically Crow-Dakota parallels invariably due to contact and in no case to the persistence of traits from a hypothetical primeval Siouan culture. The theory of persistence, in my opinion, could reasonably be applied only to Crow and Hidatsa parallels. Here we are, however, beset with the difficulty that there is also a recent period of contact between these tribes, by which the River Crow particularly were affected. So far as this later influence is concerned, the Hidatsa contact stands on the same level as that of other Western tribes. Of these, the Dakota are doubtless the most important: Dakota and "foreigner" are almost interchangeable terms with the Crow. In point of influence the Piegan and Cheyenne probably follow in the order given.

A chronological discussion of the Crow system might therefore be expected to begin with the early stratum common to the parental Hidatsa-Crow tribe, and then to proceed to the influences due to later borrowings. Since the order of these influences, however, can only be inferred and in some cases guessed with more or less probability, other methods of attack must be adopted.

With regard to two societies there can be no doubt because their adoption falls within the memory of my informants, viz., the Crazy Dogs (p. 191) and the Muddy Mouths (p. 197). Their recollection is confirmed by the very specific resemblances found. The Hidatsa Crazy Dogs, like those of the Crow, had loop-shaped rattles and their officers wore horned caps with

weaselskin trimming and sashes, while one or two acted as whippers (280 f.). The Muddy Mouths agree with the Black Mouths in the characteristic crossing of the rattlers' paths and the privilege of shooting dogs¹ (pp. 277, 315).

The Bulls, Big Dogs, Crow-Owners, and Little Dogs evidently belong to an older stratum since they are cited in Maximilian's list (p. 147), but to them also is ascribed an Hidatsa origin. Unfortunately we know next to nothing concerning the two last-named organizations (p. 199) because they had become obsolete before my informants' day. The list of Assiniboiné dances includes one named "Little Dog," but no such organization is reported from the Dakota. Since the Village tribes abound in societies named after the dog, with or without specifying adjective, there is a certain *a priori* probability, in view of the known historical relations, that the Crow society came from the Hidatsa or developed from a society of the parent tribe. One feature mentioned in connection with the Crow Little Dogs supports this view: two officers are said to have carried a notched board trimmed with crow feathers. This is an emblem of the Arapaho Tomahawk lodge,² the equivalent of the Hidatsa Lumpwoods, which has a similar badge. Since such boards do not seem to occur elsewhere and the Crow had no close relations with the Arapaho, this strengthens the hypothesis of the Upper Missouri origin of the Crow Little Dogs. But whether the society was borrowed at a fairly early period or was in existence among both the Hidatsa and Crow prior to their separation, cannot be definitely decided. The same informant who asserts an Hidatsa origin for the organization just discussed derives the Crow-Owners from the same source. Here we are confronted with the fact that this society existed also among the Dakota. In fact, the presence of a herald and of two sash-wearers allies the Crow society more closely with that of the Oglala (p. 23) than with its Hidatsa equivalent. While ultimately the Crow-Owner organizations of all tribes must have been related, the immediate relations of the Crow society are thus probably with the Dakota equivalent and it may have been borrowed from the Oglala. Transmission may, of course, have occurred in the reverse direction; on the other hand, the occurrence of this society among the Eastern Dakota and Assiniboiné favors greater Dakota antiquity.

For the Bulls and Big Dogs we have better data. A detailed comparison of the Bull societies of the Crow and Hidatsa shows practically complete agreement except for the Crow pattern influence and the fact that the Hidatsa have certain additional traits. In so specific a point as the designa-

¹ The latter is not reported from the Hidatsa but only for the Mandan; its existence among the Hidatsa also may safely be inferred.

² Kroeber, (b), 184.

tion of the mask-wearing officers the Crow and Hidatsa alone coincide (pp. 189, 292). A common origin thus seems assured, the only question being whether we are dealing with diffusion since the separation or preservation from a period antedating it. Several circumstances seem to me strongly to support the former hypothesis. In the first place, a very close resemblance seems improbable, if so considerable a lapse of time is assumed for the existence of the Crow organization as is necessitated by the alternative hypothesis; for example, the Lumpwood organizations of the two tribes concerned differ very widely in their most conspicuous features. Secondly, the Bull society seems to have been composed of elderly men. This is at once intelligible if the society was borrowed from the Hidatsa at a time when their age-graded system had already developed; but it is not in accord with the society pattern of the Crow.¹ Similarly, the participation of outsiders in the Bull dance (p. 191) is an irregularity from the Crow point of view, which indicates that the Bull society or dance had not yet had time to become perfectly assimilated to the Crow norm. Finally, we must remember that the Bull dance is highly developed among the Mandan as well as among the Hidatsa; we must therefore reckon with the possibility that the Hidatsa borrowed their society from the Mandan. But everything indicates that the Mandan influence on the Hidatsa began after the Crow secession; hence the possibility mentioned adds another mite to the evidence for the relatively late appearance of this society among the Crow.

The Hidatsa and Crow Dog societies do not reveal the same degree of correspondence, nevertheless there are certain significant resemblances. The whipping of dancers to make them sit down or rise (pp. 179, 290) is one of these; it occurs among the Oglala, but is remembered there as a recent Crow importation (p. 47). The special relationship between the Real Dog and his attendant (p. 289) in the Hidatsa society has its Crow counterpart (p. 181). In both tribes there is a differentiation into sash-wearers with one and with two sashes (pp. 179, 286). By interpolation we may perhaps add the use of backward speech: while not reported for the Crow Big Dogs (though found in their Crazy-Dogs-wishing-to-die), it is distinctive of the Kiowa (p. 849) and Hidatsa (p. 285) Dog societies. Although we may be dealing with a free element that readily enters all sorts of combinations, it is also possible that the connection of the trait with the Dogs is fairly old and has merely dropped out from the Crow Dog complex; the Kiowa are known to have had relations with the Crow but, so far as I know, none directly with the Village tribes.

¹ Reasons for assuming the priority of ungraded societies will be given in a subsequent section.

The foregoing suggests the historical unity of the Crow and Hidatsa organizations. Nevertheless, there are profound dissimilarities, each tribe having developed a number of features not traceable in the other and the Crow society being in complete accord with the tribal pattern. This would indicate a considerably greater antiquity for the Big Dogs, so far as the Crow are concerned, than for the Bulls. On the other hand, we cannot push the period of resumed intercourse between the Crow and Hidatsa too far back without curtailing the time that must be allowed for their cultural differentiation. Since the Dog society is one of the most widely diffused of Plains organizations, it is also presumably one of the oldest. I, therefore, regard it as a tenable hypothesis that the Dog society existed in the parent tribe and has persisted in its branches from the period of separation.

We may next consider two societies shared only by the Crow and Village tribes. These are the Half-shaved Heads and the Hammer-Owners. Both are reported by Maximilian and in both cases the native appellations are practically the same in Crow and Hidatsa.

According to the Crow their Half-Shaved Heads are of great antiquity, some identifying them with the Lumpwoods or even regarding them as the predecessors of the latter. It is perhaps significant that while the Crow generally have a tendency to ascribe cultural features to the Hidatsa, they fail to do so in the present instance, while on the other hand, the Hidatsa believe that the society was founded by the Crow (p. 272). There is a very strong tendency on the part of the Hidatsa to explain their societies by a native vision; when such an origin account is not known to an informant, he at once assumes a foreign origin. It is possible that the Half-shaved Head society existed among the Hidatsa from the earliest times but that for some reason its origin was forgotten and no new tradition regarding it had arisen when they again met with the Crow; finding that these also had a society of the same name, the Hidatsa may have hit upon the idea that the Crow were its founders. Unfortunately, the information about the Crow society is so meager that its very identity with the Hidatsa equivalent would be doubtful but for the unusual name and the peculiar relations of these tribes. As things stand, it is impossible to exclude the hypothesis that the Hidatsa actually borrowed the organization from the Crow since the renewal of intercourse, and the whole matter remains unsolved.

We are in a somewhat better position as to the Hammer society. This is the only representative of a genuine age-class among the Crow, practically all the young boys being members (pp. 154, 188). It is true that such an organization might have developed independently, merely in imitation of the adult men's clubs, as happened ostensibly in the case of the Oglala and Kiowa. On the other hand, the Rabbits of the Kiowa may be genetically

related to the Crow Hammers, considering known intertribal relations, and the Oglala boys' societies may also be genetically connected with them in view of specific resemblances (p. 28). This being so, we may plausibly suggest that the one Crow instance of an age-class was borrowed from the Hidatsa, who had developed a definite system of age-grades, and that the other tribes may have borrowed from the Crow. The fact that the organizations of the Crow and Hidatsa correspond so closely in point of the members' age is to my mind another circumstance that favors borrowing. There can be no doubt that in the Hidatsa series there was considerable shifting of societies during historic times and during a very long period the Stone Hammers would hardly have remained permanently at the bottom; in fact, in the village of Awaxā'wi the Notched Stick society is known to have supplanted it there.¹

The Muddy Hands are probably of Crow origin since I have been unable to find an equivalent elsewhere. On the Crow data alone it would be quite possible to hold that they developed rather recently for they do not appear in Maximilian's otherwise complete list. Other facts, however, show that this is probably due to Maximilian's imperfect experience with the Crow (see p. 944 f.).

The Crazy-Dogs-wishing-to-die (p. 193) may also be briefly dismissed. A strictly equivalent organization is represented by the Blackfoot Brave Dogs (p. 398), who differ essentially merely in not using backward speech. In both tribes the institution seems to be well-developed, and I see no indication as to which originated it and transmitted it to the other. There can be little doubt that the Kootenai Reckless Dogs² were patterned on the Blackfoot Brave Dog couple. They exercised the interesting privilege of appropriating the food belonging to others, which is reported for the Blackfoot Dogs (p. 395) and officers of other societies (pp. 381, 384), but not for their Brave Dog couple.

There remain the Lumpwoods and Foxes, the two rival organizations that figured so prominently in Crow society from about the middle of the last century. An early reference (p. 182) suggests that at one time the Dogs were rivals of the Foxes, but this need not have been a permanent or exclusive state of affairs. It is quite possible that at an earlier period there was a general sentiment of emulation among all of the societies and that the dual antagonism recorded was due simply to the accident that other societies became obsolete. Nevertheless, the alternate possibility of an essentially dual division, though with varying opponents, cannot be dismissed. We

¹ Field data obtained since my description of the Hidatsa system make it clear that this was an Awaxā'wi society not shared by the other Hidatsa.

² Curtis, VII, 123 f.

find it among the Iowa, who presumably borrowed it directly from the Dakota, and there is a suggestion of the same phenomenon in the relations of the Santee Kit-Fox and No-flight men (p. 106).

The Lumpwood society is in my opinion a persistent element of the pristine Crow-Hidatsa culture. Had it been borrowed during the period of resumed intercourse, we should expect more of the fundamental traits to coincide in both tribes. The Tomahawk organization of the Arapaho and its Gros Ventre equivalent (p. 923) present at first sight far more evidence of kinship with the Lumpwood society of the Hidatsa than does its Crow namesake. It is only the identity of the native designation, its restriction to the Crow and Hidatsa, and the known relationship of these tribes that lead us to inquire as to a possible connection between the two societies, and their genetic unity is satisfactorily established, in view of these facts, only by traditional Crow statements as to former emblems (p. 163). These had been completely superseded, in later times, by insignia of the Fox society type; in other words, the Lumpwoods became in a measure assimilated to the Fox type, as well as to the Crow pattern otherwise, and in addition they developed peculiarities of action (p. 167), all of which factors jointly obscure its origin. The differences it has undergone are so profound when compared with those between the Bull or even the Hammer societies and so much more pronounced than those developed by the Arapaho Tomahawk lodge that my conclusion as to its antiquity seems warranted.

The case for the Fox society is, to my mind, more doubtful. An approximately equal number of the Crow traits is found in the equivalent Oglala and Hidatsa organizations. The hooked spear, shared by Crow and Hidatsa and certainly a very common Kit-Fox emblem, is lacking among the Oglala; on the other hand, the characteristic kit-fox necklace of the Crow, Dakota, and Assiniboine, is not reported from the Hidatsa. From its wide diffusion over the Plains area we may reasonably infer the antiquity of the Kit-Fox society; but this does not mean that it must be very old among the Crow and Hidatsa. In a preceding section no convincing grounds were found against a Dakota origin of this organization while its antiquity among the Hidatsa is problematic (see p. 942). It is possible, then, that the Dakota transmitted the society to both the Crow and Hidatsa without any direct connection between their respective equivalents. However, nothing positive can be said on this subject.

So far we have considered the Crow societies singly, but the scheme that underlies their organization is of at least equal comparative interest. In this respect the Crow are clearly very far removed from their next of kin, standing much closer to the Western Dakota, Cheyenne, and Kiowa. In the first place, the purchase factor is entirely absent from the Crow system.

Except in the boys' Hammer society, the element of age, so far as it is present, enters in quite a different way, age-mates being never united in a single organization; nor is there any other evidence of grading. On the other hand, there is a very strong development of rivalry — quite lacking in the Hidatsa system — and probably carried to a higher degree of elaboration than anywhere else. Thus, the parade incident to the capture of a woman from the rival society's camp and the taking away of songs are specifically Crow features. Similarly, though the dual scheme of officers resembles the Oglala and Pawnee arrangement, its details differ and the Crow have established a definite and individual pattern: two leaders, two pairs of men with bravery obligations, two rear officers, two *akdū'cire*. The latter show considerable resemblance to the bear braves of the Piegan; their restriction to the lower societies and lesser development altogether in other Blackfoot divisions (p. 426) suggests that the trait originated with the Crow and was borrowed by the Piegan. Individuality is also shown in the tendency to develop age-groups or other subdivisions within one and the same society (pp. 156, 164, 183). In short, the Crow display an appreciable measure of originality and may be credited with a certain degree of active participation in the development of traits common to them and neighboring tribes.

To sum up. In separating from the Hidatsa the Crow probably carried with them a number of ungraded societies existing at that time in the parent stock.¹ These included the Lumpwoods and probably several others, though in each of the other possibilities that occur an alternative hypothesis seems equally probable in the light of our defective knowledge. Then came a period in which the Crow encountered new neighbors and partly borrowing from them developed their characteristic system as outlined above. Finally, the Crow met the Hidatsa once more and without adopting any basic features of their system borrowed a number of the societies that figure in the most recent history of their military organizations. In the sum total of the societies the Crow had throughout all periods their kinship is closest with the Hidatsa; in everything pertaining to their system as such they resemble most closely the Western Dakota.

¹ See footnote, p. 914.

GRADED SYSTEMS.

HISTORICAL UNITY OF GRADED SYSTEMS.

If the Blood, Piegan, and Northern Blackfoot are counted as a single group, the system of age-societies existed among five of the Plains tribes,—the Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Arapaho, Mandan, and Hidatsa. The features common to all five systems were these: In each tribe the societies were graded in a series, the difference in grade corresponding to a difference in age. Except for the very young and the very old, practically every male member of the tribe belonged to one of the societies. Age was nowhere the sole condition for joining; either membership itself or the requisite emblems and instructions had to be bought, and this purchase, even among the Blackfoot (pp. 375, 388, 425) was normally collective rather than individual. As part of the purchase price, the buyer ceremonially surrenders his wife to an older man in some, at least, of the societies of each tribe.¹ In every case the function of a tribal police during the hunt is associated either with the entire system or with one of the societies in the series. Finally, in every one of the five tribes a women's organization connected with the buffalo is associated with the series while no such society is reported from tribes having ungraded military organizations.

These features are sufficiently important and numerous to prove the historical unity of the age-systems. This is further strengthened by the curious absence of the purchase factor from the ungraded societies (p. 884), which serves to demarcate the two types rather sharply.

On the other hand, a system can be diffused only with the diffusion of its constituent parts. Hence, we may expect *a priori* that many of the societies, singly considered, can be traced to a common origin. Here, however, an important possibility must be considered. Any particular society within any one of the five graded series may have been adopted from a tribe with ungraded societies subsequent to the acquisition of the graded system. Consequently, homologous organizations found in different graded series may have the same ultimate origin without being *directly* related: each tribe may have borrowed independently from the same or from different tribes lacking the age-system.

In the following pages I shall discuss societies found in at least two of the five graded series with special reference to the question of homology and historical unity.

¹ Kroeber, (b), 193, 200; *id.*, (a), 243; Wlasler, this volume, 402, 413 (Blackfoot); Lowie, *ibid.*, 228 (Mandan and Hidatsa).

	YOUNG (CRAZY, ETC.) DOGS.												DOG SOCIETY.											
	Hidatsa	Mandan	Piegan	Arapaho	Gros Ventre	Arkara	Ogala Dogs	Ogala Mivawani	Eastern Dakota	Iowa Mawawani	Ponca Mowawani	Cheyenne	Crow	Kiowa	Arkara	Pawnee	(Crow (Crazy)	(Crow (Little)	Hidatsa (Little)	Hidatsa (Crazy)	Mandan (Little)	Mandan (Crazy)		
Sashes	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
Food privileges	X	X	X	X										X										
Backward speech	X	X					X																	
Sexual license	X																							
(Owl) Feather headdress	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
Dewclaw rattle	X	X	X	X	X																			
Whistles	X	X		X	X		X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
Log-drum	X	X						X			X													
Whipping	X												X											
Rattle	X			X	X												X							

Dog society lacking, but see first column to right of heavy line.

A Dog society occurs in all the five tribes and is everywhere associated with a deer-hoof rattle, feather headdress, and sash.¹ That its five forms go back ultimately to the same archetype is clear, but we must consider the possibility that the immediate ancestor of some particular Dog societies in graded series may be an ungraded namesake, while other Dog societies developed elsewhere. As a matter of fact, there is just one case in which the data lend some credibility to such an assumption,— that of the Arapaho in relation to the Cheyenne. To prove historical unity we must show that the differential Dog features shared by the Arapaho and Cheyenne do not indicate that the society was borrowed by the Arapaho from the Cheyenne unless we can demonstrate a Cheyenne origin for the other graded Dog societies. For one of these traits we have already been able to show the lesser probability of a Cheyenne origin (p. 899). Of at least as much importance as any specific trait in a given society is its serial rank. Now in this regard the Arapaho and Hidatsa systems agree as closely as could reasonably be expected. What is more, the Arapaho Dog society is one of the two in its series that is characterized by a specifically Hidatsa-Mandan trait, the ceremonial surrender of the wife. This not only offsets the two Cheyenne resemblances by an equal number of rather significant Hidatsa analogies, but also clearly indicates the direction of the cultural borrowing. In addition, we may note that the Arapaho and Hidatsa share two societies of undoubted equivalence, the Lumpwoods (= Tomahawks) and the Dogs. Now the Lumpwoods have an Hidatsa origin (p. 950) and I hope to prove the same for the general scheme of the age-societies. Taking this with the other facts presented, the probability is overwhelming in favor of the Dog society being transmitted by the Hidatsa to the Arapaho. There is thus no reason to doubt that it was transmitted as part of the entire system.

In considering the Kit-Fox society a very different condition of affairs confronts us. It ranks very much higher in the Blackfoot and Gros Ventre series than among the remaining tribes. Indeed, among the Arapaho it lacks all individuality, being merely a preliminary boys' group, while the Mandan lacked the society until recent times (see below). This leaves only the Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, and Hidatsa for a fair comparison, and the organization of the last-mentioned tribe differs sufficiently from the others to render a diverse origin probable. In short, the Kit-Fox society probably formed no part of the original graded scheme but entered it independently at least twice. This matter is complicated, however, by the

¹ Lowie, this volume, 268, 317 f. (Hidatsa, Mandan); Wissler, *ibid.*, 395 (Blackfoot); Kroeber, (b), 201 ff.; *id.*, (a), 252. See table, p. 920.

existence of another society, of different name but with marked resemblances to the Kit-Foxes, which will accordingly be considered next.

The Half-Shaved Heads of the Mandan and Hidatsa are identical. Both had hooked spears wrapped with fur, as well as straight spears, horned bonnets, one horseman apiece, and drums, but no rattles (pp. 272-274, 309-312). The hooked spear is so distinctive a feature that its occurrence in both the Half-Shaved Head and the Kit-Fox societies prompts the question whether these organizations are not related. It should be noted that while my informants spoke of a Mandan Kit-Fox society this does not yet appear in Maximilian's otherwise full account (p. 295). Thus, it seems plausible that the Half-Shaved Heads were anciently in a sense the equivalent Mandan society, while the Kit-Fox organization is a recent acquisition borrowed from the Hidatsa. If the Hidatsa adopted their Half-Shaved Head society from the Mandan, they thus developed a certain duplication inasmuch as they thereby secured a second organization with a hooked-spear emblem. The hypothesis of a relationship between Half-Shaved Heads and Kit-Foxes is not without additional evidence. The Hidatsa Kit-Foxes are said to have once shaved the hair on the sides so as to leave a central roach (p. 254). The Fox society of the Arikara practised the same custom (p. 666), and so did that of the Eastern Dakota (p. 105) and the Oglala (p. 16). In the origin account of the Crow Fox society there is a reference to the founder's roaching his hair (p. 156). It is not necessary, of course, to assume that the Half-Shaved Head and the Kit-Fox societies were originally identical. If, however, each had adopted a fur-wrapped spear as an emblem, they might readily become merged in native consciousness. An alien observer of the Kit-Fox organization might identify it with his own Half-Shaved Head society and transfer borrowed Kit-Fox features in the most natural way to the Half-Shaved Heads and *vice versa*.

An equally interesting question develops as to the relations of the Kit-Foxes and Half-Shaved Heads to the Arapaho and Gros Ventre *biitaha^w*. The obvious feature of similarity is, of course, the hooked spear.¹ In addition we find straight lances in the Arapaho society, the Hidatsa Kit-Fox organization (p. 254), and the Mandan Half-Shaved Head society (p. 310), and the warclub carried by one Mandan Half-Shaved Head may be the equivalent of the highest Arapaho dancer's club, though here as in the case of the club carried by the legendary founder of the same Hidatsa society (p. 272) the details given as to the emblem differ considerably from those pictured for the Arapaho.² If the Half-Shaved Head society is in a

¹ Kroeber, (b), 159.

² Kroeber, (b), 170.

measure the equivalent of the Kit-Foxes, it should be noted in this connection that from the Arapaho club there is suspended a kit-fox skin. Among the most conspicuous insignia of the Arapaho organization are the belts, or waist pieces, painted red in the lowest degree and decorated with bunches of feathers and tin cones. According to Hidatsa informants, the Kit-Foxes wore kilts similar to those of the Bulls, which are described as of red cloth and edged with tin cones, with small bells above the cones (pp. 253, 292 f.). To be sure, so characteristic a feature as the notches of the Arapaho belts is not described for the Hidatsa; this, however, may be due only to the inadequate description obtained. Finally, may be mentioned the fact that the Gros Ventre etymologize the native name to mean "drum dance," and that the Arapaho members use drums but not rattles. While rattles were used by the Hidatsa Kit-Foxes, Maximilian expressly noted their absence at a Mandan performance of the Half-Shaved Head dance. All this does not prove an identity of the *biitaha*"w" with the Kit-Fox and Half-Shaved Head societies; but it does seem to me to establish historical relations, whether directly or indirectly.¹

While no definite conclusion seems permissible for these organizations with the hooked spear, this does not apply to the Lumpwood society of the Hidatsa (p. 259 et seq.), though at first blush it seems to have no parallel among the organizations of the four other tribes. However, an intensive comparison with the Arapaho Tomahawk organization² establishes significant points of similarity. One of my informants was twenty-three or twenty-four years of age when he joined, the age of the Arapaho group is set at twenty-five. One of the emblems of the Hidatsa society is a painted flat board, trimmed with feathers and with a buffalo tail attached to the handle; a very similar badge occurs among the Arapaho. Unknobbed sticks carved with representations of animal heads were carried by the rank and file of both societies. The trimming of a bunch of hair on the head of this Arapaho "tomahawk" was the exclusive prerogative of a man who had taken a scalp; in the Hidatsa society the same restriction applied to the decorative use of raven feathers, the hair and feathers both symbolizing a scalp. Finally, not only do the sticks in both cases represent buffalo but there are continual references to the buffalo and each society as a whole is associated with the buffalo. While there has undoubtedly been considerable differentiation, the original identity of the Tomahawk with the Lumpwood society must therefore be regarded as proved. The question naturally arises whether the society exists also among the Gros Ventre. Kroeber

¹ Kroeber, (a), 260.

² Kroeber, (b), 182 et seq., 227.

found no name that corresponded with the Arapaho "Tomahawk," but points out resemblances between the Arapaho Tomahawk society and the Gros Ventre Nanā^anaha^awu. Nevertheless, he prefers to identify the latter with its almost namesake, the Arapaho Hinanaha^awu.¹ I think there can be little doubt that the Gros Ventre society really corresponds to the Arapaho Tomahawks and that here the similarity of name has proved deceptive. Apart from the name, the only point of resemblance is the rank of the two organizations in their respective series. Even as regards the name we find that while the name of the Gros Ventre *dance* is the one given above, the dancers are also called "those who have war-sticks," the term used being apparently the phonetic equivalent of the Arapaho word for "tomahawk." It is true that the Arapaho Hinanaha^awu are said to have hooked one another like buffalo, but the primary association of the society is quite clearly with the prairie-chickens. On the other hand, we have practical identity of the tomahawk emblems of the Gros Ventre Nanā^anaha^awu and the Arapaho Tomahawk society and a very definite association of both with the buffalo. The Gros Ventre dancers sang for the buffalo and their ceremony always caused the game to come even if previously none had been seen near the camp. This specific custom is not indeed reported for the Arapaho, but appears in full force among the Hidatsa: the Lumpwoods had songs by which they were wont to entice buffalo into a pen (p. 260). It therefore seems reasonable to write the equation: Nanā^anaha^awu = Tomahawks = Lumpwoods.

The Crazy Dog societies of the Mandan and Hidatsa are homologous: both have rattles, whistles, horned headdresses, and sashes (pp. 280 ff., 306 ff.). Of the Piegan organizations the All Brave Dogs (p. 382 f.) or All Crazy Dogs, as Grinnell calls them (p. 366), naturally suggest discussion in this connection. Here we find indications of kinship but no satisfactory proof of identity. The Piegan society had two officers wearing a headdress with two bearclaws representing horns, and these may correspond to the men with horned caps among the Hidatsa and Mandan though the similarity between these badges is not great beyond the fact that they were horned. A more specific resemblance is that officers of both the Piegan and Hidatsa societies (pp. 384, 281) might at any time appropriate meat in the camp. Nevertheless, this trait rather proves historical connection between the Hidatsa and Piegan series as a whole than between the specific societies at present under discussion since the same feature is shared by the Hidatsa Little Dogs (p. 271), Dogs (p. 288), and the Piegan Braves (p. 381). The words of the Piegan song — "It is bad to live to be an old man," (p. 387)

¹ Kroeber, (a), 230 f., 258 f.

I have repeatedly heard among the Hidatsa, but as a general adage rather than as associated with the Crazy Dog society. The historic significance of this feature among the Blackfoot is therefore exactly the same as the occurrence of the meat-seizing prerogative. The members of the Piegan society seem to have been much older than those of the Village tribes, for Grinnell sets their age at forty, while one of my informants entered its Hidatsa namesake at twenty and the corresponding Mandan organization comprised only boys in Maximilian's day. On the other hand, we must recall that according to Maximilian older men with special obligations of bravery had once been members and that these are possibly equivalent to these "old men comrades" of the Piegan though the functions ascribed to them by Wissler are advisory rather than military (p. 386). More satisfactory than any of the criteria mentioned is the use of a feathered rawhide rattle by every member of the Piegan (p. 387) and Mandan (p. 307) societies. Unfortunately, the use of such rattles was too general to be a decisive test of relationship; such a specific Piegan feature as the determination of facial painting by that on the rattle is not mentioned for the Village tribes. The absence of whistles (according to Maximilian, the badge of the Mandan society) and of sashes among the Blackfoot and of the leader's coyote skin, the horsemen, the begging dance, and the characteristic method of carrying blankets among the Mandan and Hidatsa is fatal to a definite identification. The argument is clinched by McClintock's information that the Blackfoot society has been quite recently borrowed from the Gros Ventre¹ and the fact that it corresponds to a Gros Ventre society outside the graded series (see below, p. 934).

The Crazy lodges of the Arapaho² and of the Gros Ventre are clearly variations of a single society, as Kroeber has indicated.³ But it is impossible to collate them with the Crazy Dogs of the Village tribes. The highly characteristic cape and owl-feather headband have no parallels on the Upper Missouri; on the other hand, we hear nothing of the sashes and rattles of the Mandan and Hidatsa. Extravagance of action with the use of inverted speech⁴ connects the Arapaho and Gros Ventre Crazy dancers with a different organization,—the Real Dog officers of the Hidatsa Dog society (p. 288). The Fire dance is identical with part of the Hot dance of the Village tribes, performed according to Maximilian by the Hidatsa Stone Hammers (p. 252) and the Mandan Crazy Dogs (p. 308). The last-mentioned fact might be interpreted as evidence of direct historical connection

¹ McClintock, 452.

² Kroeber, (b), 188 ff.

³ *id.*, (a), 241.

⁴ Kroeber, (b), 192; (a), 246.

with the Mandan society. However, Maximilian gives us to understand that the Hot dance had been only recently acquired from the Arikara in 1841 and this seems confirmed by its presence in only one Mandan village; the looseness of its connection with the Crazy Dog society appears clear from Maximilian's discussion. Any direct borrowing would thus have to be ascribed to the most recent period. But the Gros Ventre and Arapaho, whose Crazy dance is practically identical, were last united in the twentieth of the nineteenth century.¹ Hence, they could not have derived the Fire dance from the Mandan Crazy Dogs, who at that time probably practise no such performance. The other significant activity of the Crazy dancers is the surrender of the wife to a ceremonial elder.² Among the Arapaho this feature is shared by the Dog society.³ It was prominent in all the organizations of the Village tribes (p. 228) so that nothing can be inferred from its occurrence in the Crazy Dog purchase.

However, there can be no doubt that the Crazy Lodge has historical relations with the Brave (Brave Dog) society of the Piegan though the individuality of the two is distinct. Except for the four young men assistants of the Gros Ventre, the Crazy dancers have nothing to correspond to the rather elaborate organization of officers found among the Blackfoot (p. 377). On the other hand, the highly characteristic Fire dance, the paralyzing power associated with a root used, and the surrender of the wife — all shared by the Gros Ventre and Arapaho — are lacking in the Blackfoot Brave organization. Nevertheless, there are specific similarities that can only be the result of borrowing. First of all, the Gros Ventre, Arapaho, and Blackfoot all have as one of the regalia a robe with a circular hole, the cut-out skin not being entirely detached (p. 380). Then there are two characteristic activities, the shooting of arrows into the air and the casting off of moccasins (*ibid.*), which the Piegan have in common with the Gros Ventre, and a third shared with the Arapaho as well, — the use of "backward" speech.⁴ An interpretation of these resemblances will be offered in another section. For the present, it suffices to indicate the existing relations. Since nevertheless the societies are radically different, they will not be collated in the comparative table.

The Little Dog societies of the Mandan (p. 302) and Hidatsa (p. 267) are equivalent. In addition to the identity of name and the intimate relationship of the two tribes concerned, we find in both organizations a whip, sacred sashes, a feather ornament for the back of the head, and a bone

¹ Kroeber, (a), 146.

² Kroeber, (b), 193; (a), 243.

³ *id.*, (b), 200.

⁴ McClintock, 463; Uhlenbeck, 49.

whistle as the instrument of all the rank and file. The other tribes seem to lack an equivalent organization.

The Black Mouth societies of the Hidatsa (p. 274 et seq.) and Mandan (p. 312 et seq.) are clearly identical. Both were either solely or preferentially the police of the camp, especially during the tribal hunt. In both we find two officers bearing spears decorated with otterskin and owl feathers and obliged to stand their ground in battle. In both were two pipe-bearers whose main function was to adjust quarrels peaceably; and the faces of members were painted black as indicated by the name. Neither the Arapaho nor the Gros Ventre seem to have a comparable organization. It is true that while Kroeber's account does not connect any particular organization with police duties, Mooney ascribes these functions to the *Biitaha^w*.¹ However, the *Biitaha^w* have the distinctive hooked spear characteristic of the Kit-Fox or Half-Shaved Head society of other tribes and possess none of the conspicuous Black Mouth features. The Catchers of the Piegan are credited with specific police duties by Maximilian.² Though this information remained uncorroborated by Dr. Wissler's informants (p. 370), according to whom no organization had a monopoly of these activities, he states that two "tomahawk men" had the duty of stopping fights or boisterous conduct in camp (p. 404). These officers thus correspond in a measure to the Hidatsa pipe-bearers although the Catchers also had two pipe men, whose emblems are ritualistic. On the other hand, the rank and file of the Hidatsa carried tomahawks, so that we might plausibly assume that the tomahawk has been specialized into an officer's badge with specific associations by the Piegan, while the pipes were assimilated to their ritualistic conceptions as to pipes. Moreover, there is evidence for at least a partial use of black face paint by the Piegan. The proof is not convincing, for the straight poles wrapped with otterskin and emblematic of obligatory bravery are lacking in the Blackfoot society and there is no evidence of equivalent insignia; on the other hand, the Piegan leaders' bows and arrows are not found in the society of the Village tribes. All we can safely say is that there is some indication of affinity but no proof of identity.

The Bull society is lacking among the Arapaho and Gros Ventre. The identity of the Mandan and Hidatsa organizations is obvious. In both there were two officers wearing a whole buffalo head for a mask while other members had horned buffalo skin caps and at least some wore the equivalents of buffalo tails; the place of the society in the two series was practically the same in Maximilian's day, viz., near the highest; members

¹ Mooney, (a), 988. His statement is not confirmed by my own investigations in the field.

² Maximilian, I, 578.

BULL SOCIETY.

	Hidatsa	Mandan	Crow	Cheyenne (Red Shield)	Piegan	Assiniboine	Ojibwa (Chiefs)	Eastern Dakota	Arikara	Omaha
Junior members	X				X	X				
Woman comrades	X	X	X	X						
Blind Bulls	X		X							
Shields	X	X	X	X		X	X	X		X
Horned cap	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
Buffalo head mask	X	X	X					X	X	
Spears (feathered)	X	X	X	X		X	X		X	X
Buffalo tail	X	X	X					X		
Hooking and other imitation	X	X	X	X	X		X	X		
Horseman	X				X					
Watering of buffalo	X	X	X		X			X		
Warlike performances	X	X	X			X				
Red aprons with bells	X		X	X		X				

imitated buffalo, and an offering of water was made to them in the course of the dance (pp. 291-293, 315-317). When we compare the Hidatsa with the Piegan Bull society (table, above), we find in both two specific features that are of significance in this connection,—the participation of a horseman in the public ceremony and the presence of junior members in the organization. Since the Piegan Bulls occupy about the same rank as those of the Hidatsa and resemble them in the characteristic activities and costume described above, a specific historical relationship seems established.

In dealing with the Raven (Crow) society we must exercise caution since quite different organizations have been thrown together under this head. The Crow society of the Northern Blackfoot (p. 423) may be completely ignored since its origin dates back only to the most recent period. But we must also segregate Maximilian's "Rabenbande, la bande des Corbeaux," for which he gives almost identical Hidatsa and Mandan names (Haideróhka-Ächke and Hä'derucha-O'chatä). Since the rank of this society in the two series is about the same (pp. 266, 309), we may infer their original identity. It is equally clear (see p. 266) that neither of these organizations has anything to do with the Raven society that ranks highest in Maximilian's Hidatsa list and for which he gives a quite different native term that really refers to the bird while his word for the young men's

society seems to designate not the raven or crow but the Crow *Indians*. On the other hand, the older Raven society of the Hidatsa corresponds closely to the Piegan Raven-bearers. The latter, to be sure, stood exactly in the middle of the series rather than at the upper end, but the specific resemblances suffice to establish their historical connection. Every Hidatsa Raven, according to Maximilian, carried a lance wrapped with red cloth and trimmed with raven feathers (p. 283) and he ascribes the same type of emblem to the Piegan.¹ This stick was further decorated with bells according to my Hidatsa informants (p. 283) and also according to Dr. Wissler's Piegan (p. 392). Another Hidatsa emblem was a necklace made from a whole raven skin with a piece of red cloth hanging from the mouth (p. 282) and this corresponds exactly to the Blackfoot badge described and figured in this volume (p. 392 f.). Considering the very meager account of this society secured from both tribes, no more satisfactory evidence could be expected.

The Fly dancers of the Gros Ventre² are obviously identical with the Blackfoot Mosquitoes (pp. 376 f., 420) and Bees (420 f.), whom they resemble in occupying the lowest position in the series³ and in the highly characteristic pursuit and scratching of outsiders with eagle claws. That the Gros Ventre borrowed from the Blackfoot will be shown to be practically certain (p. 935).

On the basis of the identifications established above, the following comparative table, presenting only societies shared by two or more tribes, is now presented.

In interpreting the table in the light of the foregoing considerations, certain imperfections of our ethnographical record must be taken into account. It is rather probable that later transformations and changes of name have masked the relationship of certain societies while others have dropped out and thus lessened the resemblances of distinct series. Nevertheless, enough similarity persists among the graded systems even when single societies are compared to prove that the age scheme, which must have been diffused from a common center, spread as a combination of specific organizations.

It remains to consider the forms this historical unit assumed in the several tribes and to trace, as far as possible, the historical processes involved in their development.

¹ Maximilian, I, 578.

² Kroeber, (a), 239.

³ According to Maximilian's Blackfoot data.

AGE-SOCIETIES.

BLACKFOOT	GROS VENTRE	ARAPAHO	HIDATSA	MANDAN
Mosquito	Fly			
	Crazy Dance	Crazy Dance		
Kit-Fox	Kit-Fox Biitaha ^a wu	? Kit-Fox Biitaha ^a wu	Kit-Fox Half-Shaved Heads	Kit-Fox Half-Shaved Heads
Dog	Dog	Dog	Dog	Dog
	Nanā ^a aha ^a wu	Tomahawk	Lumpwood	
			Hē'rerō ka'i'ke'	Hā'derucha O'chatā
			Little Dog	Little Dog
Catchers?			Black Mouth	Black Mouth
			Crazy Dog	Crazy Dog
Raven			Raven	
Bull			Bull	Bull

ARAPAHO AND GROS VENTRE.

The evolution of the Arapaho and Gros Ventre series must be considered in the light of our historical knowledge concerning these tribes. Of their divergence from a parental unit there is no doubt, since their speech varies only dialectically. The time of their separation, however, is said to date back at least two centuries, and during this recent period there was little intercourse except for about five years' association, from 1818 to 1823. At least from the middle of the eighteenth century the Gros Ventre habitat lay in Blackfoot territory, between the Saskatchewan and the Missouri.¹

These data at once give us our bearings with regard to the graded systems

¹ Kroeber, (a), 146; Scott, (b), 545.

of the two tribes. The basic similarity that will presently be demonstrated to exist between them, over and above the generic resemblance to other series, cannot possibly be the result of the brief period of recent contact. Apart from the improbability of a thoroughgoing assimilation of a strange system within five years, such as would be involved in this hypothesis, we find that the much longer contact of the Gros Ventre with the Blackfoot has produced only a slight degree of acculturation in this regard. The Blackfoot system was certainly well developed in 1818 and we might suppose that during the tribal reunion the Gros Ventre should have transmitted some Blackfoot features to their kinsmen, but of this process no trace can be detected in the Arapaho system. What we find is that the Gros Ventre share with the Blackfoot some minor features which are lacking among the Arapaho; that the conceptions underlying the Gros Ventre and the Arapaho are almost identical; and that certain distinctive traits of the Gros Ventre societies occur in neither of the two tribes historically connected with them nor in any other part of the Plains Area. The simplest way to synthesize the facts is to assume that the undivided parent tribe had a graded series prior to the separation and that this series was carried northward by the Gros Ventre, where it underwent modification, partly through internal and partly through external causes. In the meantime, of course, we cannot assume the Arapaho system to have remained stationary but to have undergone corresponding changes, and in both instances the probable disappearance of pristine as well as the assimilation of new factors should be considered.

The system of the Arapaho and Gros Ventre presents certain interesting similarities and equally significant differences as compared with the other graded systems. Since the early disruption of the Gros Ventre renders information on their scheme both less extensive and less trustworthy, I will for the present confine myself to a comparison of the Arapaho system with that of the Village tribes and the Blackfoot.

The generic traits of all the graded systems have already been summarized (p. 919). To these must now be added for the Arapaho a differential feature of great historical importance. According to Kroeber, the youngest Arapaho group, while forming the Kit-Fox society, secures a group of "elder brothers whom it thenceforth retains through all its successive ceremonies" and who render assistance in the organization of the younger brothers' dances.¹ It remained uncertain whether these elder brothers, whose equivalent had not been found elsewhere, corresponded to any definite group. During a brief visit to Arapahoe, Wyoming, in 1916, I

¹ Kroeber, (b), 159, 181, 182.

discovered that the elder brothers belong uniformly to the second higher group ($M + 2$) and that they are expected to assist their younger brothers (M) in the requisite payments, which fact accounts for their reluctance to serve when chosen, as recorded by Kroeber. Now, this tallies in a remarkable way with conditions among the Hidatsa and Mandan (pp. 229-231), where the older of a pair of "friendly" groups corresponds to the elder brothers. The resemblance is so specific that it can be due only to borrowing, and it constitutes a point in which the Arapaho system, while differing from that of the Blackfoot, coincides with the Hidatsa-Mandan scheme. Moreover, it is a trait of which the transmission presupposes a more intimate contact than seems requisite for the borrowing of merely external features. The latter might be adopted after casual observation during intertribal visits; the relation between two groups of a graded series cannot be borrowed without a comprehension of the system. We should, therefore, expect a far-reaching coincidence of the Arapaho and Village schemes.

Here, however, we are doomed to disappointment. The Arapaho differ no less decidedly from the Hidatsa and Mandan than they do from the Blackfoot as regards the principles underlying the acquisition of membership in a society. Among the Village tribes and the Blackfoot a group M normally purchases membership from the group $M + 1$ immediately ranking it in the series, and invariably from a single definite group then in possession of the society bought. Corresponding to these selling "fathers" the Arapaho have a group of "grandfathers" who are similarly compensated for the regalia and instructions furnished to the dancers; but unlike the "fathers" of the other tribes, the "grandfathers" do not form a definite age-group but are recruited from among any of the men who have passed through the grade to which the buyers desire to attain. In short, they constitute a miscellaneous assemblage of men from groups $M + 1$, $M + 2$, . . . $M + n$.¹ Another important peculiarity of the Arapaho is the performance of each dance or, what comes to the same thing the acquisition of a new grade only in fulfillment of an individual's vow and on condition of his own or a relative's delivery from danger.

There is another peculiarity of the Arapaho system that requires emphasis. From the Blackfoot, Mandan, and Hidatsa we have positive evidence that the customary order of acquiring membership in the several societies of the series was not absolute. For instance, Poor-wolf, an Hidatsa, never joined the Lumpwoods (227, 264) and in other cases a man absent while

¹ This conclusion was permissible from Kroeber's data and has been definitely established by my recent queries in the field.

his group purchased a society continued to associate with his mates in their new activities even though he might not be regarded as a full-fledged member. But with the Arapaho the rule is more stringent. The order in which the memberships are secured is apparently fixed. If an absentee fails to provide a proxy for the occasion of a new dance, he does not automatically rise to the status of his age-mates, but has to wait until the next lower group is ready for the step he has missed and join in their performance. Thus, an Oklahoma informant interviewed by me in Wyoming was away while his mates became Crazy dancers. He cannot join his proper group whenever they may be ready for the Dog performance unless he first passes through the Crazy grade in company with the ranking junior group.

These seem to me the most significant features, both of resemblance and of dissimilarity. Turning to a comparison of the Arapaho with the Gros Ventre, these possibly lacked the elder brother institution (at least, it has not been reported among them), but shared the practice of selecting presumably indeterminate "grandfathers" instead of "fathers" of a definite group, and likewise performed ceremonies only as the result of a pledge. Other features common to the two tribes are a begging procession and a race in at least some of the dances, while a glimpse of the table (p. 930) shows how largely the societies of the two series in question coincide; even where societies are not obviously equivalent, as in the case of the Kit-Foxes, there is at least a significant similarity in their native designations. The genetic identity of the Arapaho and Gros Ventre systems is thus an established fact, and we may proceed to an historical reconstruction. Before comparing single societies, however, it will be well to note certain more general features in which the Gros Ventre stand out in striking contrast to their next of kin.

Most important of all these is the correlation of dances with societies. Each Arapaho dance was correlated with a definite society, and with that society only. But among the Gros Ventre the number of societies was several times that of the dances. The age-divisions were thus more minute and several adjoining but unrelated age-groups shared the same ceremony, though it was always performed independently by them. Each society had a distinctive name independent of the ceremony last performed and preserved its identity throughout its ceremonial existence. A man was a life member of the Holding-to-a-dog's-tail society, but he was a Fly or Dog only during and after the corresponding ceremony and might then share the name with the members of two or three societies besides his own.

Another feature that is unrecorded for the Arapaho suggests a comparison with the Crow (pp. 155-175). The Foxes and Lumpwoods of that tribe, though they danced somewhat differently, carried the same emblems,

yet developed a feeling of intense rivalry. This "gang" sentiment between essentially similar and coördinate groups is a noteworthy phenomenon, which is found again among the Iowa (pp. 697-700) and the Oglala (pp. 69, 74). In these three tribes the rivalry is manifested as regards warlike deeds and the stealing of wives, so that an historical connection of some sort may be assumed. Our Gros Ventre data on this subject seem too vague to permit more than a reference to these analogies.

Finally, we may mention the far greater development of the ceremonial surrender of wives found among the Gros Ventre.¹ This was very prominent among the Mandan and Hidatsa (p. 228), and we are tempted to assume that in this respect the Gros Ventre have preserved a feature common to the system of the parental tribe and that of the Village tribes better than the more numerous Arapaho.

To turn now to the specific societies.

Among the problematical elements of Arapaho and Gros Ventre organizations is a Star dance occurring in both, yet in both more or less outside the regular series. The data concerning the Arapaho society are so meager that it is not possible to give satisfactory evidence for its identity with its Gros Ventre namesake; the one common element is the use of rattles for badges. On the other hand, there is very good evidence for connecting the Piegan All-Brave-Dogs (p. 382 ff.) with the Star society of the Gros Ventre.² We have in both two mounted officers whose duty it is to force members to dance; in each organization the rank and file carry feathered rattles; both have four drummers; and the two servants of the Gros Ventre dancers correspond to the "single men comrades" of the Piegan, who "perform certain services such as gathering food and receiving presents"; the begging dance is also a common feature. If the Arapaho and Gros Ventre shared the Star dance before their separation, the presence of horned headdresses among the Arapaho³ would also be significant and we might assume that the Gros Ventre had lost this trait after transmitting it to the Blackfoot. As a matter of fact, some Piegan assert that they acquired the society from the Gros Ventre about 170 years ago (p. 388). This date may be disregarded, not only because Maximilian records no such organization, but for the sufficient reason that according to McClintock's informant the organization was borrowed by the Blackfoot chief Omistaipokah,⁴ which would make it date back to approximately 1840. This makes it a tenable hypothesis that the Star society was an old possession of the undivided tribe

¹ Kroeber, (a), 228.

² Kroeber, (a), 234 ff.

³ *id.*, (b), 182; Dorsey and Kroeber, 22.

⁴ McClintock, 452.

from which Arapaho and Gros Ventre sprang and that it degenerated among the former into its present state.

Of the other peculiarities of the Gros Ventre system, viewed from the Arapaho angle, the Fly dance is easily accounted for as a feature recently borrowed from the Blackfoot. This tribe practised it in Maximilian's day (p. 365), and among the Northern Blackfoot there were two practically identical organizations, the Mosquitoes and the Bees, one of which is said to have been introduced by the Sarsi (p. 420). As a matter of fact, such a society was found among the Sarsi by Dr. Goddard (p. 465), but I have not succeeded in finding it reported from any other tribe. The only fairly close analogy I know of occurs as part of the "Dukwally" ceremony of the Nootka, where naked boys impersonate hornets, sticking needles into the spectators.¹ Whether this last instance be of historical significance or not, it is clear that in the absence of an Arapaho equivalent all the indications point toward the introduction of the Fly dance from the west or northwest.

The Kit-Fox lodge of the Gros Ventre presents a difficulty not so easily disposed of. Since its Arapaho namesake is a quite colorless boys' organization, it is not possible positively to identify the two in the present state of our knowledge. The presence of the Biitaha^{aw} among the Gros Ventre, with its similar emblems, would indicate a certain duplication, which is, however, not without parallel among other tribes, e. g., the Oglala. We may assume that both societies were fully developed in the old Arapaho system (cf. the Half-shaved Heads and Kit-Foxes of the Hidatsa) and that the Kit-Foxes degenerated into their recent insignificant position. Or, we may attach no particular importance to the occurrence of the name among the Arapaho and regard the Gros Ventre society as an independent historical unit. In either case the relations of the latter should be traced.

If the Gros Ventre derived this organization since their separation, they must have obtained it from the Piegan, Assiniboine, Cheyenne, Crow, or Oglala. The influence of the Piegan would explain the relatively high rank of the Kit-Foxes among the Gros Ventre; on the other hand, too much weight cannot be attached to this fact by itself, because the Arapaho namesake may originally have ranked higher, assuming its equivalence. Nor can special significance be ascribed to the surrender of wives by the Piegan Kit-Foxes, for that is common to the Crazy, Kit-Fox, Dog, and Nana^{aw} lodges of the Gros Ventre. The hooked and straight lances, being shared by practically all tribes with a Kit-Fox society, may be disregarded in a specific comparison. We then find that the distinctive features of the Gros Ventre are the participation of girls, a rattle carried by

¹ Swan, quoted in Boas, *Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl*, 640.

one dancer, and a neck-band of badger skin; I am especially impressed with the absence of the girl members among the Blackfoot. A feature of organization of this sort seems less likely to be adopted than a purely external part of the costume and presents a more certain index of historical relationship. Since it does occur elsewhere, I therefore consider it unlikely that the closest relative of the Gros Ventre organization is to be sought among the Piegan. The Assiniboine may be excluded for the same reason.¹ Girl members and the ceremonial surrender of wives are also lacking in the Fox society of the Crow, which may thus be eliminated from the present discussion.

There remain, accordingly, the Cheyenne and the Oglala. The Cheyenne Kit-Fox, or, as Dorsey calls them, Hoof-Rattle Warriors² had straight spears and two hooked spears, and four maidens were admitted into their lodge; however, this significant trait was shared by the Red-Shield and Coyote organizations. Moreover, the Cheyenne society has very characteristic features — a snake-headed notched musical instrument of antler, used to charm buffalo, and dewclaw rattles — that have no parallels in the Gros Ventre organization. The dewclaw rattles are almost always associated (and indeed are so among the Cheyenne themselves) with the Dog society; the notched instrument suggests an Hidatsa organization that derives its name therefrom and in which that emblem also has sacred, though different, functions (p. 237 f.) and the calling of buffalo is of course a widespread Plains Indian feature, associated, for example, with the Lumpwoods of the graded age-series (p. 260) and with a notched bone among the Arikara (p. 675). Partial borrowing of features has undoubtedly occurred again and again; nevertheless the Cheyenne society is of so specialized a type that I doubt its having served as a pattern for the Gros Ventre organization and should rather entertain the hypothesis that both tribes had borrowed from a common source.

The Oglala have at least three societies in which female participants figure, — the Badgers, the Sotka (with possible derivatives), and the Wičiska (pp. 31–36, 61 f.). The two last-mentioned were both introduced from alien sources in the most recent period and are thus devoid of significance in the present connection. The Badger society, to be sure, is in a way a duplicate of the Dakota Kit-Fox organization, which has no girl members, and derives its present name from a reinterpretation of the Crow word for “Kit-Fox” (p. 109). On the other hand, it would be strange if the Gros Ventre had adopted the Oglala Badger society and then renamed it “Kit-Fox.”

¹ Lowie, (c), 70.

² Mooney, (c), 412; Dorsey, (d), 16, 18.

As I cannot discover convincing proof for the recent acquisition of the Kit-Fox society by the Gros Ventre, I incline to the hypothesis that the Arapaho lodge of that name is a vestigial representative of a society that once corresponded to the Gros Ventre form. This assumption derives some support from the fact that the Kit-Fox societies of two Upper Missouri tribes, the Arikara (p. 667) and the Mandan (pp. 298, 302) also had girl associates, which permits the assumption that this once held for the Hidatsa equivalent as well, especially since this feature occurs in their Little Dog organization (p. 271). In other words, the specific trait that characterizes the Gros Ventre Kit-Fox society as contrasted with that of the Blackfoot, Assiniboiné, and Crow occurs, not only among the Oglala and Cheyenne, but also among the Village tribes. But the Mandan certainly and the Hidatsa possibly acquired their Kit-Fox organization recently; hence, the Arikara namesake remains as the closest relative and possible prototype of the Gros Ventre society. The highest two societies of the Arapaho recorded by Kroeber may have developed since the separation of the Gros Ventre; the data are too inadequate to permit more than guesses as to their history. The Star society, which, moreover, stands somewhat apart from the regular series, may well be a peculiarity developed by the ancestral Arapaho; since it has not been possible to identify it with any society except one of the Blackfoot, who borrowed it from the Gros Ventre (see p. 934).

The Crazy lodge likewise cannot be derived from alien sources, at least not in its entirety and as a part of the system. Its historical relations with the Blackfoot Brave society have already been pointed out. The robe with circular hole, being common to the Arapaho and Gros Ventre, may be assumed to have been borrowed by the Piegan from the Gros Ventre. Possibly the same inference may be entertained as to the use of "backward speech," though this is a very loose feature readily entering various combinations. The casting off of moccasins is as likely to be of Piegan as of Gros Ventre origin since the Arapaho do not have this element. They also lack the shooting performance of the Gros Ventre, which not only occurs among the Piegan but is well-developed among the Assiniboiné,¹ so that a northern origin of this feature is fairly likely. The employment of four young men assistants by the Gros Ventre is probably due to Piegan influence since this trait seems to form part of the Piegan pattern. All this, however, does not touch the origin of the core of the Crazy lodge. Perhaps the best clue to its historical connections is furnished by the Fire dance. This formed part of the Upper Missouri "Hot dance," which among the Hidatsa was associated with the Stone Hammers (p. 252) and among the Mandan with the

¹ Lowie, (c), 72.

Crazy Dogs (p. 308). Since the Hot dance of the Village tribes had only been secured from the Arikara about the time of Maximilian's visit, it cannot, however, explain the origin of the Arapaho performance. Mooney gives an account of a Fire dance practised by a Cheyenne medicine fraternity standing outside the series of warrior organizations.¹ Owing to the geographical proximity of the Cheyenne, I venture to suggest that possibly the Arapaho were influenced by this tribe in the origin, or at least development, of their Crazy lodge, which they incorporated into the system of graded organizations.

BLACKFOOT.

It will be pointed out (p. 947) that the Blackfoot system resembles that of the Village Indians in the emphasis laid on the purchase factor: membership is acquired by buying it from the owners outright, and by not selling it may thus be preserved for an indefinite period. In addition to this basic conception there are a number of historically significant features common to the two systems. Thus, we find among the Blackfoot the trait already recorded by Maximilian for the Mandan,— the union of several old men with a group of very much younger individuals. Conversely, we find in both Blackfoot and Village organizations the presence of junior members and the same reason for their selection (pp. 377, 405, 291, 330, 349). In at least one instance among the Piegan the musicians are "ex-members" (p. 379), and this applies regularly to the public processions of the Hidatsa, where the "fathers" play this part (pp. 238, 246, 255, 265, etc.). In the method of acquiring the special regalia constituting a higher grade of membership there is also considerable resemblance. The automatic acquisition of office from one's individual seller is clearly established for the Mandan and Hidatsa (pp. 264, 275, 301, 344), corresponding to the purely individual transfer of regalia among the Blackfoot (pp. 376, 429); and while the Village tribes also had the practice of electing officers (pp. 244, 257, 281), a similar custom existed among the Blackfoot when vacancies were to be filled (p. 429).

Certain other features distinguish the Blackfoot societies from those of the Upper Missouri and connect them rather with their recent neighbors. Among these traits the annual reorganization each spring (pp. 367, 425) is perhaps the most important. It is found as a marked element of the Oglala (pp. 17, 63) and Crow (pp. 160, 165, 176, 185, 187) systems and is not lacking among the Assiniboine.² Another feature, the two Bear braves

¹ Mooney, (c), 415.

² Lowie, (c), 72.

who form part of the pattern for the organization of the lower Piegan series, has an exact counterpart in the Crow *akdū'cine* and bearskin-wearers (pp. 158, 176). We have no means of ascertaining in which tribe either of the peculiarities mentioned originated.

The order of the Blackfoot societies in this series presents several points of interest, especially in view of the native theory that the higher the rank of an organization the more remote is the period of its acquisition by the tribe (pp. 368, 425f.). This opinion doubtless contains a modicum of truth. Practically all the societies not shared by the Northern Blackfoot with the Blood and Piegan fall in the lower half of their series. The Pigeons, absent from the two other divisions, rank lowest among the Piegan and date back only to about the middle of the nineteenth century. The Mosquitoes, at or near the bottom of the Blackfoot series, are not found at all except among the Blackfoot, Sarsi, and Gros Ventre, and must thus be considered of later origin than so widely distributed an organization as, say, the Dogs or the Kit-Foxes. On the other hand, the native statement cannot be accepted as having anything like general validity. For example, the Mosquitoes were reported by Maximilian in 1833, but not the Braves, All-Brave-Dogs, and Front-Tails; yet all of these are of higher rank. Again, the Dogs are placed above the Ravens by all modern authorities, but in Maximilian's day the positions were reversed.

In the absence of adequate data for the Blood and Northern Blackfoot, we are hardly in a position to trace the historical development of the three Blackfoot systems. Confining our attention to the Piegan, we may regard as relatively old those organizations that are common to the three divisions and are recorded by Maximilian for the Piegan. In this way — and adopting Maximilian's order — we get the Mosquitoes, Dogs, Kit-Foxes, Raven-bearers, Horns, Catchers, and Bulls. From this starting-point we can give a plausible account of the subsequent Piegan development. The Braves or Brave Dogs, in their present form, cannot be identified with the Crazy lodge of the Gros Ventre and Arapaho. On the other hand, very specific resemblances between these organizations have been pointed out. It is therefore possible that the Blackfoot adopted certain traits from the Arapaho and then elaborated them partly by adding quite new features and partly by automatically moulding them in accordance with the pre-existing tribal pattern. The All-Brave-Dogs correspond to the Star lodge of the Gros Ventre and according to McClintock's data have not been borrowed before the early manhood of men still living. The Front-Tails cannot be quite definitely correlated with any other society, nevertheless there are striking similarities with the Lumpwoods. Both organizations are associated with the buffalo, members of both wear belts with buffalo tails attached

to one side, and in both the hands of dancers rest on the rump or hip. Nevertheless, we cannot assume a direct connection. Not only are distinctive regalia of the Hidatsa society missing in the Front-tail organization, but any direct borrowing from the Village tribes would imply greater antiquity for the Piegan society than seems admissible. Against such antiquity are its absence in Maximilian's list and also among the Blood and Northern Blackfoot. Finally, we have the Piegan informant's conviction of an Assiniboiné origin. This last statement may furnish the clue. Since we are dealing with a period not antedating the thirties of the last century we may accept the native tradition and refer the Front-Tails to an as yet unknown Assiniboiné organization that in turn was related to the Lumpwoods. The intimate intercourse of the Assiniboiné with the Village tribes is a well-known fact. Finally, a word may be said as to the Brave-Dog couple, which may be identical with Maximilian's *Tollkühnen* (pp. 365, 397 ff.). That this institution was historically related to the Crazy Dog couple of the Crow (193 ff.), is certain; I know of no other tribe where it occurs in precisely the same form. It must remain doubtful, however, which of these tribes first developed the custom.

Apart from the new societies introduced, we also notice an interesting transposition in their order since 1833. The Dogs and the Kit-Foxes have come to rank higher than the Raven-bearers, and this applies to the Northern Blackfoot as well as to the Piegan. The merging of the Kit-Fox with the Horn society (p. 399), which in turn seems to have incorporated elements of the Bull ritual satisfactorily accounts for the high position of the Kit-Foxes. It is a noteworthy fact, however, that the Kit-Foxes already rank the Dogs in Maximilian's list, where both are mentioned as bodies of young married men.

Having indicated the recent changes in the Blackfoot system, we may now turn back to its character in 1833 and compare it with the contemporaneous Hidatsa system. Here a pitfall to be avoided is to suppose that all the modifications are on the Blackfoot side. This by no means follows from the assumption, to be justified later, that the Blackfoot borrowed their system from the Hidatsa. On the contrary, it is both *a priori* obvious and also established by evidence supplied by Maximilian that the societies of the Village tribes had undergone and were undergoing modifications in his day. Accordingly, where the systems differ as to the rank of societies the Blackfoot are as likely to have preserved the old order as the Hidatsa.

Aside from the three lowest Hidatsa societies, the system as found in the Village tribe is rather well represented among the Piegan. The Little Dogs and the Half-Shaved Heads are lacking; on the other hand, there are the Horns. These do not closely correspond to any known Hidatsa organi-

zation, but several of their regalia may well go back to an Hidatsa source. Thus, the Mosquito society remains as the distinctively Blackfoot addition to the graded series.

Considering the ease with which societies can become transposed in the series (cf. p. 233), and the length of time during which the two series have developed in mutual independence, the agreement in serial order is not so poor as might appear at first blush, provided only we begin at the top and ignore non-equivalent societies at the bottom. Then we find that the Bulls, highest among the Blackfoot, are very near the top among the Hidatsa. The possibly equivalent Catcher and Black Mouth societies immediately follow in their respective series. A central position is occupied among the Hidatsa by the Half-Shaved Heads and among the Piegan by the Horns, but here we must remember that these organizations are not equivalent. Finally, we get the Dog societies, in both cases at the bottom of the series. I omit the Kit-Fox society because of its possibly recent origin among the Village people. The one glaring exception is the Raven society, which heads the Hidatsa list and ranks much lower among the Piegan. Otherwise, the societies ranking high and low in one system rank similarly in the other, and no more than such rough correspondence should be expected.

I should then suggest the following line of evolution for the Piegan series: the Piegan core comprises the Bull, Catcher, Raven, and Dog societies, the status of the Kit-Foxes remaining doubtful. The Horns evolved by a combination and amplification of elements shared with the Hidatsa societies, and the Mosquitoes were added as the lowest of the series. Whether the last-mentioned society was derived from the Sarsi, must remain doubtful. It is true that the Northern Blackfoot tradition traces the Bee society to a Sarsi origin (p. 420) and also that the name for the Mosquitoes given by McClintock¹ — *tsin-ksi-si* — suggests connection with the equivalent Sarsi word *ts'i* (p. 465). However, the native Piegan terms given by Maximilian (p. 365) and Uhlenbeck² — *sohskriss* and *soiskissiks* are rather different. Further, while the Bee society is doubtless ultimately related to the Mosquito organization, there is also a Mosquito society among the Northern Blackfoot, which is *not* referred to a Sarsi model. Finally, the Piegan,³ who had the society as early as 1833, have a tradition tracing the origin to a native vision, thus offsetting the Sarsi legend. The question must thus remain undecided.

¹ McClintock, 448.

² Uhlenbeck, 43.

³ Wissler, (J), 105.

HIDATSA AND MANDAN.

So far as the basic features of their systems, collective purchase and age-grading, are concerned, these two tribes reveal no differences whatsoever. This does not apply, however, to the societies themselves. Here we find partial, but only partial, coincidence,—no greater than might be expected from the unusually close relations of these tribes. In order to have absolutely comparable data we had best use Maximilian's lists. Whatever reservations might be expressed regarding his information on other Plains Indian groups, his long stay with the Mandan and the extraordinary trustworthiness of his observations on other points of their culture entitle his evidence on the Mandan and Hidatsa systems to the highest consideration.

In 1833 five of the eight Mandan dances recorded by Maximilian were shared by the Hidatsa: the Hã'derucha-Óchatã, Half-Shaved Heads, Black Mouths (Soldiers), Dogs, and Bulls. The Hidatsa lack the Crazy Dogs, Old Dogs,¹ and Black-Tail Deer; the Mandan lack the Stone Hammers, Lumpwoods, Kit-Foxes, Little Dogs, and Ravens. It is somewhat startling to find that the Kit-Fox society was not found among the Mandan until later times. This may perhaps be taken as confirmation of the suggestion made above (p. 917) that the Kit-Fox society does not date back very far among the Hidatsa; since it has been so widely and readily diffused over the Plains, it is not clear why the Mandan should not have adopted it from the Hidatsa at an earlier time if the Hidatsa had had it. This argument does not apply to the other organizations, such as the Lumpwoods, on account of their far more restricted distribution. The Crazy Dog society may with considerable probability be referred to the Mandan as its founders. Organizations with at all comparable names seem to be confined to the Northern Plains. The Braves (Brave Dogs) and All-Brave-Dogs of the Blackfoot are of relatively recent origin (p. 939); among the Cheyenne the Crazy Dogs are confined to the northern branch of the tribe (p. 894); the Crow recollect borrowing the society from the Hidatsa (p. 191); the Hidatsa lacked it in 1833 and derive it from the Northern Cheyenne (p. 280). While the Pawnee have the organization (p. 597), it forms part of the private series and may have been borrowed recently from the Arikara to whom Maximilian assigns a society of the same name. Thus, the Mandan have apparently the best claim to the title of originators, and if the Hidatsa tradition is accepted, which may safely be done in view of the recency of

¹ The Hidatsa Old Dogs of Maximilian's list clearly correspond to the Mandan Dogs, not to their Old Dogs. This appears also from an inspection of the Hidatsa words.

events concerned, the Hidatsa obtained the society by a circuitous route, through the Cheyenne, who must have borrowed it from the Mandan.

A suggestion may here be inserted regarding the Crow Crazy-Dogs-wishing-to-die, manifestly of greater antiquity than their Crazy Dog society and corresponding to the Piegan Brave Dog couple. Though informants vigorously deny any relationship with the societies of similar name found in these tribes, a suspicion remains that this refers to the later developments rather than to the essential character and early history of this institution. A remark by Maximilian is significant in this connection: his Mandan Crazy Dogs were boys of from ten to fifteen years of age but he was told that in former days old (older?) men had also belonged to the organization with the understanding that they were never to retreat from the enemy (p. 306). In other words, we have here evidence of a few officers with bravery obligations. This, however, is only a somewhat milder form of the Crow and Blackfoot institution by which two individuals court death in battle. A comparison of the regalia confirms the hypothesis of relationship. The Mandan Crazy Dogs have a bone whistle, a globular or ring-shaped rattle trimmed with raven feathers, and a raven-feather ornament in the back of the head; several officers wore red sashes, others horned skin headdresses (p. 307 f.). The Piegan Brave Dog couple had bone whistles and small bulb rattles (p. 398). The Crow Crazy Dog couple had rattles, red sashes, and war-bonnets (p. 194 ff.); these features resemble their own Crazy Dog society (p. 193). The songs used are also said to have been similar, and objective traits likewise occur in the Hidatsa Crazy Dog society (p. 280 f.), the essential similarity of which to the Mandan equivalent cannot be doubted. In short, the Crow and Blackfoot Crazy Dog couples are genetically related to the Mandan Crazy Dog officers.

This digression leads one to suggest the basic unity of the various societies named after the dog, whether with or without qualifying adjectives. Practically all of these organizations have for their emblems sashes, whistles, feather headdresses, and rattles, the rattle of the Dogs proper being uniformly of the distinctive dewclaw type. That such a complex should develop by chance over and over again, seems inconceivable. On the other hand, it is readily intelligible how an original Dog society might be subdivided into groups that would ultimately become distinct organizations. The division of Arapaho societies into a Tall and a Stout moiety embodies the germ of what I have in mind; so does the Crow division of the Fox organization into a Fox, Little Fox, and Bad group (p. 156). Another possibility is the imitation of an adult men's Dog society by a group of boys, who would then be distinguished as Little Dogs or perhaps Crazy Dogs.

By this theory the complexity of the Mandan scheme is appreciably

reduced, three societies — the Dogs, Old Dogs, and Crazy Dogs — being interpreted as fundamentally one. The mode of elaboration of such a scheme is further illustrated by the demonstrable cases of borrowing within the historic period. Regardless of the basic similarities between the Hidatsa Little Dogs and their own Crazy Dogs, the Mandan adopted the Hidatsa society, thus acquiring a fourth Dog society. Similarly, the Hidatsa, in recent times, borrowed the Crazy Dog organization in addition to their Little Dogs and Dogs, all of these having the status of distinct units.

In this connection a point of importance should not be neglected. Both the Mandan and Hidatsa were subdivided into village groups with dialectic and also cultural variations. Certain societies, say, the Dogs and Bulls, doubtless antedate this differentiation. Others, however, must have sprung up later in a particular village, from which it may or may not have spread to the rest of the tribe. In view of the close proximity of the villages the probability is certainly in favor of diffusion, and thus we have an additional explanation of the great number of organizations in the Village area. It was not one group that created them all, but a number of distinct local subdivisions, each imbued with the basic notion of a military society, and consequently likely to develop new variants, which by cultural contact were disseminated from village to village. It is idle to speculate what part was played by the several villages in this development for we simply have no relevant knowledge. That they functioned as distinct units, however, is clear. In 1833 Maximilian's Ruhptare Mandan — but not his Mih-Tutta-Handkusch — had learned the Hot dance (p. 308); and my Notched Stick organization not only originated in Awaxá'wi (p. 239), but according to later field notes remained confined to that Hidatsa village.

To return to the origin of the societies common to the two tribes. The lowest of these in both schemes in the first third of the last century was the *hě'rerō'ke i'ke'* (Hä'derucha-Óchatä). Maximilian interprets these native names as referring to the crow or raven. I have shown that the Hidatsa term has nothing to do with these birds but means "Crow Indian imitators" (p. 266). I am now able to prove that this interpretation holds for the Mandan as well. A consultation of Maximilian's vocabularies¹ shows that the equivalent Mandan designation was not applied to either bird species but to the Crow tribe. In other words, the name belongs to the same category as Dakota *mawatani*. This at once raises the suspicion that the organization was borrowed from the Crow in the recent period of resumed intercourse. In support of this theory we have the Hidatsa tradition that the organization originated with the Crow, among whom it is said to have

¹ Maximilian, II, 541, 544.

been also called "Black Eyes" (p. 266), the native term given by an Hidatsa informant being *i'cte cipi'E*. While there is no such society among the Crow, they do have a Muddy Hand organization and its Crow name, *i'ctse cipi'E*, could readily be misunderstood and reinterpreted by the Hidatsa. The argument would be perfect if a close correspondence of features could be established. This unfortunately is not the case: all we have is a remark about four sash-wearers in the Hidatsa society (p. 267) to correspond to those of the Crow. Nevertheless, the relationship suggested above seems very plausible.

The Half-Shaved Heads have already been discussed in the Crow section. It was there stated as possible that the society originated with the Crow and transmitted by them to the Village tribes, as the Hidatsa origin account suggests (p. 272).

On the other hand, the Mandan-Hidatsa origin of the Black Mouth organization in its reported form cannot be challenged. The only other tribes sharing this organization are the Crow and the Arikara, but the former recollect its introduction and the absence of a Pawnee parallel suggests that the Arikara, too, borrowed from the other Village tribes. In this instance there is some evidence for a Mandan rather than Hidatsa origin for the society. All Hidatsa informants derive it from the Mandan (p. 274), while the Mandan consider it of native origin (p. 313). Since there is a strong tendency in both tribes to explain origins by visionary or mythical experiences, there is no reason for rejecting the traditionary account here. This statement must, however, be qualified inasmuch as the ultimate origin of distinctive Black Mouth traits may coincide with that of the Raven society and the Dakota Braves, as hinted in a preceding chapter (p. 909).

The Dog society is so widespread that it seems rash to single out any one tribe or group of tribes for the founders. Nevertheless, the case of the Mandan-Hidatsa is a fairly strong one. The Dakota Mawatani came from there, and all the Crow informants assign the origin of their Big Dog organization to the Hidatsa (p. 175). If I am right in holding that the scheme of grading by age originated with the two Village tribes and that it could not be transmitted as an empty form but as applied concretely to definite societies, then the Dog society because of its antiquity must have been transmitted to the Arapaho-Gros Ventre and the Blackfoot. The military societies of the Kiowa are not sufficiently elaborated to warrant us in attributing even tentatively the origin of so important an organization to them. As for the Cheyenne, they, too, appear to have been on the whole receptive rather than originative. There remain the Pawnee and Arikara with their Young Dog organization, but the resemblances of the Arikara society are so much greater to the Dog society proper that we may safely regard a Mandan or

Hidatsa origin as the most probable, especially as practically all the significant features found anywhere occur there in combination. Whether the Mandan or the Hidatsa originated it, remains a question. While one Mandan informant derived it from the Hidatsa (p. 318) and there is a fairly elaborate Hidatsa origin myth (p. 284 f.), these facts are offset by a Mandan tradition cited by Maximilian, according to which the legendary tribal hero instituted four societies, of which the Dogs were the first.¹ It may be noted incidentally that this myth bears a general resemblance to the Cheyenne story of the Prophet founding the four original warrior societies, to which afterwards a fifth was added (p. 894).

As regards the Bulls, we may be even more certain of a Village origin than in the preceding case. Every statement as to origin by other tribes points in this direction, and where definite statements are lacking the relative degree of development of the Bull organization favors the Mandan and Hidatsa, though we again have no grounds for assigning priority to either of these two.

HISTORICAL CONCLUSIONS.

Having dealt with the development of the several tribal systems both graded and ungraded, we are now confronted with two general historical problems. In the first place, if the five graded systems, representing three subtypes, constitute an historical unit, which of them must be taken for the original form? Secondly, since the graded and the ungraded societies have demonstrable historical connections, have the ungraded organizations become dissociated from a series of graded societies, or has the graded series developed from the grading of originally ungraded units?

Original Graded System. Before considering the relative priority of the three historical sub-units (the Arapaho-Gros Ventre, the Blackfoot, and the Mandan-Hidatsa series), I will devote a few words to the relative degree of kinship obtaining, respectively, between the two Western Algonkian sub-units, the Blackfoot and Village series, and the Arapaho-Gros Ventre and Village series. For this purpose we must compare both the organizations themselves and the principles associated with the three systems.

Turning to our collation (p. 930), we must remember that the Fly society of the Gros Ventre, as shown above, is a recent Blackfoot intrusion. Eliminating accordingly, we find no societies common to the Western Algonkian that do not occur among the Village people as well. On the other hand, the Village tribes share with the Blackfoot at least two societies,

¹ Maximilian, II, 162.

the Ravens and Bulls, which are lacking in the Arapaho series; and perhaps two others of less certain identity. It should further be noted that the Bull society is uniformly among the very highest and presumably most important organizations in their series.

This propinquity is borne out by shifting the comparison from single societies to the notions underlying the systems themselves. The Blackfoot idea is clearly that membership in an organization is a form of property bought from those immediately preceding the buyers in ownership; if a membership was not sold an individual accordingly remained a member (p. 427).¹ This corresponds exactly to the Hidatsa and Mandan scheme (p. 234 f.). The form of explanation used by Dr. Wissler's Piegan informants for a maintenance of membership coincides word for word with that of my Upper Missouri Indians. On the other hand, a different conception prevailed among the Arapaho and Gros Ventre. Here instructions and regalia were secured not from the next higher age-class then in possession of membership but from older men of heterogeneous society affiliations who of course had at one time been members and either sold the very insignia once used by them or newly-made equivalents. It should be noted that among both Blackfoot and Village tribes the mode of purchasing membership seems only a special application of the principles underlying all ceremonial transfer, while no such generic principles are recorded for the Arapaho. We have seen, moreover, that the principle of relative order within the series is far more rigid among the Arapaho than in the other tribes. Nor is this all. The unique form of correlation of age-groups with dances found among the Gros Ventre (p. 933) requires some time for its development out of the parental Arapaho-Gros Ventre type; and this means that, other things being equal, a longer period of time must be assumed for the differentiation of the Arapaho and Gros Ventre series than seems requisite for the evolution of the Blackfoot type. Other similarities of detail connecting the Blackfoot and Village tribes have already been enumerated. It appears, then, that the Arapaho-Gros Ventre system is the most aberrant and most highly specialized of the three subtypes of graded series.

Nevertheless, the resemblances between their system and that of the Villagers must not be minimized. In addition to the generic features of graded series, we have the curious correspondence of elder brothers and senior friendly groups (p. 932). Moreover, it is essential to recollect with Kroeber that four societies form the core of the Arapaho system, and of

¹ Cf. also Curtis, V, 22: The last exchange of the songs and costumes of All Brave Dogs took place in 1877. Those who then purchased the society rights still own them, and hold their dance each summer.

these the Dogs and the Tomahawks are identical with Hidatsa organizations, even corresponding in rank, while the Biitaha^w are partly equivalent either to the Hidatsa Half-Shaved Heads or to their Kit-Foxes. Of these features the elder brother group and the Tomahawks are not represented among the Blackfoot.

The only conclusion possible from the data is that both the parental Arapaho and the Blackfoot must have been in intimate contact with the Village tribes,— the latter more intensely or in more recent times. On the other hand, there is no clear evidence of any direct connection between the Arapaho and Blackfoot series antedating the most recent period.

Since there is no documentary evidence for the historical connection of either the Blackfoot or the original Arapaho with the Mandan and Hidatsa, the proof of such contact, which alone renders the cultural facts presented intelligible, constitutes an historical conclusion of some importance.

In the light of the foregoing considerations we may now attack the questions of relative chronology. The empirical data cited enable us to eliminate certain logically possible assumptions and thus simplify our problem. That is, we need not consider the hypothesis that the Arapaho developed the age-societies and transmitted them to the Village tribes through the Blackfoot, nor that the Blackfoot transmitted them to these tribes through the Arapaho, nor that the Village tribes transmitted them through either of these two Algonkian tribes to the other. If the system developed outside the Village group, we are thus reduced to the assumptions first, that the Arapaho originated it and transmitted it to the Villagers, who passed it on to the Blackfoot; or second, that the Blackfoot originated it and transmitted it to the Villagers, from whom it spread to the Arapaho.

To begin with the second alternative, the hypothesis of a Blackfoot origin is, of course *a priori* as probable as any other. There are, however, empirical reasons to the contrary. In the first place, the system of the Village tribes is far better integrated and homogeneous, making the Blackfoot system, in spite of its quantitative development, appear as a deteriorated replica. To be sure, this argument alone cannot be considered decisive, for it might be plausibly contended that looser association would precede as a necessary stage the perfect coördination of the Mandan and Hidatsa organizations. However, there are additional reasons in favor of the view here taken. The ceremonial surrender of the wife, a custom shared by all graded systems, occurs only in the Kit-Fox society of the Piegan and the equivalent Horn society of the Blood. It stands, moreover, as an anomaly in the ceremonial life of the Blackfoot groups while among the Village people it is simply a constituent of ceremonialism that is automatically introduced into the particular form of ceremonial transfer con-

nected with the age-societies. The probability, then, is overwhelming that the Blackfoot are the borrowers of this usage. But it is hard to conceive that the notion of the ceremonial surrender of a wife should have been borrowed without the concrete cultural elements in the transfer of which the principle found expression. The probability is, then, again in favor of Mandan-Hidatsa priority. So far as the societies themselves are concerned, the Villagers were certainly a center of dispersal for the Bull dance and we have also found reasons for attributing the Dog society to them. The greater importance of the Ravens among the Hidatsa, where they ranked highest in Maximilian's time contrasts sharply with their low position in the Blackfoot series and again favors the hypothesis of the Hidatsa as the transmitting tribe. The only organization common to the Village tribes and the Blackfoot for which there are no indications of Hidatsa priority is thus that of the Kit-Foxes, but on the other hand, there is also no suggestion of a Blackfoot origin. A more general argument may be advanced. As explained above, the hypothesis of a Blackfoot origin for the graded system involves the transmission of that scheme by the Villagers to the Arapaho. But the Arapaho and Village systems have been shown to differ far more decidedly than the Blackfoot and Village series, and this means — especially in consideration of the Gros Ventre peculiarities that require some time for development — a far greater lapse of time for the differentiation of the Arapaho and Gros Ventre schemes than for the differentiation of the Village scheme from the hypothetical original Blackfoot one. The hypothesis involves the assumption that during the sum of the periods required for the development of the Arapaho, Gros Ventre, and Hidatsa systems the Blackfoot and Hidatsa varied so little as still to preserve all the essential resemblances enumerated. This hardly seems plausible and we must, therefore, regard the hypothesis of an Arapaho origin as more probable than the one just considered.

We are thus reduced to the alternative: Did the system originate with the Arapaho or with the Village group? To a certain extent we may simply duplicate against Arapaho claims the arguments just advanced against Blackfoot priority. The Arapaho series is not only smaller but is not equally well integrated as that of the Village tribes; as Kroeber indicates, their highest two lodges really stand quite apart in character from the linked organizations. Again, we find that among the Arapaho the ceremonial surrender of the wife is vestigial and even among the Gros Ventre it does not form an integral part of ceremonialism aside from age-societies, as it does among the Mandan and Hidatsa. Another suggestive fact is the occurrence of the Lumpwood society not only among the Hidatsa, Arapaho, and Gros Ventre but among the Crow as well. The Lumpwood society

cannot have been borrowed in recent times either by the Crow from the Hidatsa or *vice versa*, because of the far-reaching differences between the societies so named in these tribes,—the Crow Lumpwood organization having practically become a duplicate of the rival Fox society. Nothing in the past history of the Arapaho and Crow warrants the assumption that the Crow could have borrowed the Arapaho society, which differs from their form of it as much as the Hidatsa variant and in addition differs in name. Therefore the Lumpwood organization may be regarded as an old possession of the Hidatsa and Crow prior to their separation. If this is so, the transmission was not from the Arapaho to the Hidatsa but in the reverse direction. But the similarity in the relative position of the three Arapaho and Hidatsa organizations suggests that they were borrowed together; this indicates that the nucleus of the Arapaho series came from the Hidatsa.

There are, I think, still more decisive arguments on behalf of Hidatsa-Mandan priority. As I have already pointed out, both the Village and the Arapaho systems have in common two groups of older individuals standing in a special relation to the purchasers of a society,—the “friendly” or “elder brother” group and the grandfathers’ or fathers’ group. But while the former is identical in the two series, representing group $M + 2$ where M stands for the rank of the buyers, the grandfathers of the Arapaho belong to any and all of the older groups while the fathers of the Hidatsa are uniformly $M + 1$. This difference is correlated with a very important difference as to the transaction of acquiring membership. The Village people of group M buy the membership outright and the sellers ($M + 1$) lose it by the transfer and hold no dance until they purchase a new one. With the Arapaho no group as such disposes of membership or any of its characteristics, but only several individuals differing in group affiliation.¹ From the point of view of the Arapaho system, there is thus nothing to prevent an indefinite number of successive age-groups from acquiring and holding simultaneously the same ceremonial privileges. This, in fact, seems to be precisely what happened among the Gros Ventre where each dance was the property of contiguous age-groups, each performing it separately and thus preserving its status as a distinct society. The Arapaho, on the other hand, had each dance correlated with a single society or age-group.

It was unavoidable, to be sure, that two groups should collide. Since the acquisition of a new dance depended on a vow and there was nothing to insure a pledge being made simultaneously by contiguous groups, a group M would attain a given grade before $M + 1$ had risen to the next higher one.

¹ It is not even certain that the same individual may not dispose of his ceremonial knowledge to subsequent groups desiring its purchase.

Instead of developing along the Gros Ventre lines the Arapaho invariably regarded the younger and later purchasers as those properly owning the dance, the others being called imitation Dogs (or whatever other society was in question). As a result of modern conditions the Oklahoma Arapaho now have no less than three Crazy lodges, the two upper ones being unable to advance for lack of old instructors with the requisite ceremonial knowledge. The two higher groups are called "Imitation Crazy Dancers," and only the youngest of the three is regarded as composed of the Crazy dancers proper. This is intelligible only as a survival from an imitation of the Hidatsa system.

This argument is strengthened by a subsidiary consideration. We have seen that the elder brothers of the Arapaho correspond to the next older "friendly" group of the Hidatsa. Now, in the Hidatsa system the relations of this group to the buyers are perfectly in keeping with the general scheme. Group 1 tries to buy a society from Group 2 at the lowest possible price, while the latter tries to squeeze out the highest amount of property; and the same applies to Group 2 in relation to Group 3, and so forth, Group 2, in short, is naturally antagonistic to 1 and 3, while their common antagonism to 2 forms a bond of union between 1 and 3. But in the Arapaho scheme the friendly relations of 1 and 3 are utterly meaningless, for there is no Group 2 to which they stand in relation of buyer and seller, respectively. When Group 2 wants to buy the ceremony associated with Group 3, it turns not to Group 3 but to a selected body of varying grade; and correspondingly it never gets a chance to sell to Group 1 as a group. Hence, the Arapaho elder brothers must be treated as a survival from or an imitation of corresponding elements of the Hidatsa scheme. The system now found among the Hidatsa is older than the system now found among the Arapaho.

Uniting this presumptive evidence with that already advanced, we are emboldened to say that the parental Arapaho borrowed their system from the Hidatsa without a full comprehension of it. I assume further that the Gros Ventre, in the period of separate existence, developed that apparently anomalous, but in reality very logical peculiarity which, as I have just shown is in no sense alien to the spirit of the Arapaho system but quite naturally develops out of it.

From all this I infer that the graded system originated among the two Village tribes. Whether it existed first among the Mandan or Hidatsa, it is impossible even to conjecture, but that the Hidatsa rather than the Mandan transmitted it seems clear from the table of societies (p. 930). The Hidatsa passed it on in two different forms and at different periods to the Blackfoot and the Arapaho, both of whom came to develop tribal

peculiarities. The greater resemblance between the Village and Blackfoot systems may simply point to more intensive intercourse, but it probably has chronological significance; that is to say, the Blackfoot borrowed at a later point of time than the Arapaho.

Priority of Graded or Ungraded Societies. According to Schurtz, whose work has been the stimulus to much recent investigation of the subject, the grouping by age is a basic and primeval characteristic of human society that is only at a later stage superseded or modified by classifications of a different type. Applied to the Plains Indian data, this means that wherever we find conditions of membership other than age — e. g., an entrance fee or a supernatural revelation — such conditions are relatively recent intrusions into the original age scheme.¹ It is clear that this view would no longer be tenable if the Plains Indian societies cited as illustrations of the classification by age turned out to have an entirely different basis. I think this can be shown, but perhaps more effectively when analogous phenomena from other parts of the world shall have been passed in review. For the sake of argument I will therefore assume at present that the ostensible age-grouping reflected in the Plains Indian age-societies is basic so far as they themselves are concerned and will merely inquire what reasons may be advanced for or against the priority of the graded as contrasted with the ungraded societies. In the light of the conclusions reached in the preceding paragraphs, we may narrow the question down to this: Are the graded Hidatsa-Mandan societies the pattern upon which all other military societies of the area have been formed?

Looking at this problem without any theoretical preconceptions, the unreasonableness of Schurtz's interpretation becomes apparent. Of well over a dozen tribes with military societies, only five (or at most six) have a graded system. It might be argued that among the other tribes the military organizations are so poorly developed as to suggest degeneration, but this is certainly not true of the Cheyenne, Oglala, or Pawnee. The most natural assumption seems to be that graded societies merely represent a special and later development of military organizations generally. It is true that of the societies of this type the Bulls, the Ravens, and the Dogs probably originated in the Village group, but this does not mean that they originated there as graded societies. On the other hand, the Kit-Foxes — unrivaled in distribution except by the Dogs — most likely developed elsewhere, while the important police function may with much plausibility be traced to the Dakota. The bravery obligation, which certainly forms one of the most conspicuous features of the type of organization here con-

¹ Schurtz, 151f; 161.

sidered, is very prominent among the Cheyenne, Crow, and Dakota. Here, indeed, we touch on the fundamental error in Schurtz's point of view. The concrete content and geographical setting of the Plains Indian societies elude his scrutiny because it is centered on the purely formal and external matter of age-grades. When we look at the matter from the wider North American angle, we find that the Plateau Area lacks organizations of any kind, graded or ungraded, while to the east of the Plains secret societies of a wholly different pattern appear. Indeed, a different type crops up even in the southern part of our area, completely overshadowing the military societies there in the case of the Omaha and their next of kin. Why are the allegedly universal causes that produce age-grades recessive in these regions? Why does a particular form of graded society develop in the Northern Plains? What empirical reason exists for supposing that the non-military organizations of the Plains and elsewhere ever corresponded to age divisions? For these problems Schurtz offers no solution. One fact, in particular, militates strongly against his proposed sequence,— the negative correlation of purchase with ungraded societies (p. 884). If the purchase factor in the age-societies is always a later development, as Schurtz contends, and if ungraded organizations uniformly represent a later stage, then the principle of purchase should be found in conjunction with ungraded organizations rather than with the graded ones, which we have seen to be contrary to fact. We must recall that according to Schurtz, societies of different type form an organic series, in which what he calls clubs, i. e., organizations requiring an entrance fee, are relative newcomers. Why then, do rudiments of the club idea appear uniformly with Schurtz's earliest type in this area, the age-grades, and practically never with what he regards as a later type?

Without entering into details, I suggest the following generalized interpretation of the conditions among the Plains Indians. The tendency to form societies at all exists in North America as the correlate of a certain complexity of social and religious culture. A particular type of "military" organization developed in the Northern Plains correlatively with other cultural features such as military customs and war parties and coexisted with quite different types, sometimes in the very same tribe. There is nothing to show either that the military organizations antedated those of the religious or other types nor that the latter were, as a rule, graded by age. Age-grading thus appears as a very special feature, very much limited in distribution, of a special type of society, and to regard it as the original trait of Plains Indian societies is, to say the least, extremely arbitrary. There can be little doubt that in recent times graded societies, such as the Bulls, were borrowed by tribes lacking the series and thus became ungraded, just

as we know that, on the other hand, the Hot dance became secondarily associated with a graded society (pp. 252, 651). But for the earlier period of social evolution we must assume that the Blackfoot, Arapaho-Gros Ventre, and Village systems developed by the serial ranking of previously ungraded organizations.

To summarize, then, the most general historical conclusions that result from our study:—

1. The parent stock from which the Arapaho and Gros Ventre have sprung must at one time have been in close cultural contact with the Village group.
2. The Blackfoot must at one time have been in close cultural contact with the Village group.
3. The system of the age-graded societies originated with the Village group and was transmitted by the Hidatsa at one time to the parental Arapaho tribe and at another, possibly later, time to the Blackfoot.
4. The graded system is not the original from which ungraded military organizations have developed but arose through the grading of originally ungraded societies.

COMPARATIVE SURVEY.

MASAI AGE-GRADES.

Most general accounts of the tribal life of the Masai lay stress on their triple organization into uncircumcised boys, unmarried warriors, and married elders. This threefold division is undoubtedly very important. As Schurtz realized, the essence of this system lies in the existence of a single sharply-defined class,— that of the bellicose bachelors who have been initiated into the status of a warrior by a circumcision ceremony and live segregated from the rest of the community, except for the companionship of the unmarried girls, with whom promiscuous relations are maintained. The two other classes are defined solely with reference to this pivotal group; the boys are those who have not yet risen to the warriors' grade through circumcision, while the elders are those who have passed out of the warriors' class through marriage.

It is further clear, as Schurtz also points out,¹ that a system of this type does not rest exclusively on a grouping by age. The circumcision ceremony, to be sure, coincides roughly with the period of puberty, though in the case of poor families it is deferred for a number of years; but the act of marriage, while usually consummated between the ages of twenty-seven and thirty in the old days, bears no relation to any physiological or chronological event and has purely social significance. Instances occur, in fact, where the inheritor of a large herd will marry soon after circumcision for lack of a suitable caretaker and become affiliated with the youngest group of elders; on the other hand, a bachelor may feel too young to forego the warriors' life in company with his contemporaries and is then allowed to join the next younger group just advancing to the warriors' estate.² In short, economic and other motives crisscross the age-classification, such as it is, even under primitive conditions, and the prohibition of raids in modern times has brought it about that warriors settle down and marry at an earlier age than formerly.³

To this triple organization of the Masai the Plains Indian societies present no analogies. The puberty fast, as an individual undertaking, bears not even a formal resemblance to the collective circumcision ceremony,

¹ Schurtz, 84.

² Merker, 75.

³ Hollis, (a), xvi.

from which it differs of course fundamentally in spirit; and it is expressly stated to be lacking among the Arapaho and Gros Ventre, where only mature men seek visions.¹ There is no restriction of warlike activity to a single body, nor is there, as a rule, any organization distinguished from others by virtue of bachelorhood.² Neither any initiation festival nor ultimate marriage constitutes a social bond in the Plains Indian societies. So far as we have hitherto considered the Masai data, they are not comparable to those from North America.

The case, however, is altered when we turn from the triple organization to another group of phenomena, which have figured far less prominently in theoretical discussion, but are of at least equal importance in Masai society.

A priori, we might expect that if the age factor forms a psychological motive for grouping there must be some classes additional to the three grades of boys, bachelors, and elders, for the differences in point of age in the last-named class are enormous, including as it does men of thirty and of eighty. This assumption is substantiated by the facts. The circumcision rite not only separates the initiated from the uninitiated males but lies at the root of a far more refined classification. All boys circumcised during the same quadrennium belong to the same "age" (*ol poror*); this period is followed by an interval of about three and a half years during which no circumcision festival takes place; the boys circumcised during the quadrennium following the interval form another "age"; and so forth. Reckoning from an apparently arbitrary or at least unknown starting-point, the Masai regard the individuals of a certain quadrennium as of the "right-handed" and those circumcised during the next quadrennium of the "left-handed circumcision." That is to say, judging from Hollis's list, the different ages are not dextral or sinistral with reference to others as regards relative priority but are each necessarily and absolutely of one or the other group by virtue of their chronological relations to the point of departure. A right-handed "age" and the immediately following left-handed "age" constitute a "generation" (*ol aji*).³

Now it is of paramount importance to remember that the divisions created in this way do not terminate with the initiation rites but persist throughout life, profoundly affecting social relations. Immediately after initiation the apprentice braves find themselves in a peculiar position with reference to the full-fledged warriors. The relationship is somewhat suggestive of that between the buyers and sellers of an Hidatsa age-society, where

¹ Kroeber, (b), 418; (a), 221.

² The Mosquito society of the Blackfoot will be discussed below.

³ Hollis, (a), 262; Merker, 71 et seq.

everything likewise centers in the supplanting of an older by a younger group, with all the initial advantages on the side of the older. The fundamental difference lies in the fact that among the Masai there is no suggestion of purchase from the group in possession. In order to attain to the coveted status of a full-fledged warrior the tyros must acquire as a preliminary a name for their age-class and a distinctive shield-design, but these are not bought from the warriors. The name is bestowed by the headman of the tribe, who receives a herd of cattle by way of remuneration; black designs for the shields of the novice are selected by the most distinguished of the elders, a one-time spokesman of the warrior class. This, however, does not suffice. Before being esteemed warriors proper, the apprentices must mark their shields with the red paint characteristic of that grade and must construct and inhabit a kraal of their own. But attempts in both directions are resented and forcibly resisted by the warriors, who attack the new kraal and if victorious effect the obliteration of the red designs. This postpones the graduation of the younger men, who may improve the interim with raids against hostile tribes. If they are conspicuously successful, the warriors may gracefully assent to their promotion; otherwise the novices must overcome opposition by force. When they finally succeed, there are then simultaneously two distinct kraals of warriors in the district, though they are united for all martial enterprises. But this condition is anomalous and transitional. The older braves soon decide to leave and obtain the spokesman's and the headman's consent. After signaling his exit by a feast, each member then marries, settling down either in his father's or his fellow-members' kraal. Only when all the members of the age-class have wives they come to rank collectively as elders, build individual kraals, and discard the badges of the warrior grade, leaving the younger group in sole possession.

Nothing would be more misleading, however, than to describe the departing braves as being merged in a society of elders. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that the elders do not form a social group except by contradistinction to the bachelors. Only the members of a right-handed and of the correlated left-handed age-group are ultimately united into a "generation," which takes place long after all of them have married. They then receive a joint name, and as the warriors' age-class can be determined from the markings on shield and spear so each elders' generation has its distinctive arrow brand.¹ Even after the welding together of two age-classes into one generation, it is clear that the constituent classes in many ways preserve their individuality. Whether the food prohibitions

¹ Hollis. (a), 291.

and lexical taboos distinguishing right-handed and left-handed classes form permanent peculiarities is not certain,¹ but the importance of the ages as such is certainly a striking phenomenon. If a Masai elder beats his wife, she may seek refuge with a member of her husband's age and thereafter her husband will not beat her for fear of being cursed by his age-mates.² Girls who are initiated during a certain circumcision period are reckoned as belonging to the same age as the boys initiated therein; since in later life a husband is tabooed from calling his wife by name, a favorite method is to designate her by the age to which she belongs.³ No warrior or boy must commit adultery with a woman of his father's age, but fornication with a woman of one's own age or, from the woman's point of view, with a man of one's husband's age is not considered an offense.⁴ A Masai visiting a strange kraal enters the dwelling of a member of his age, who withdraws from the hut leaving his guest to sleep with his wife; the host has no choice lest he incur the curse of his age-mates.⁵ That, on the other hand, a sharp line is drawn as regards hospitality even between adjacent age-classes, at least if they do not belong to the same generation, is clear from Hollis's concrete example. In some localities the *jus primae noctis* may be claimed by the bridegroom's comrades.⁶ Generally, widows or divorced women may entertain relations with their husbands' age-mates.⁷ Finally, it would appear that even after the generation name has been acquired, the designations distinctive of the component ages remain in vogue; at least, Hollis was able to ascertain the names of classes dating back approximately to 1791.⁸ My personal impression is that the relation of the age to the generation is somewhat like that of some of our North American clans or gentes to a very loose phratric union: some of the clan or gentile peculiarities are extended to the larger body, but the vitality of the social bond remains much stronger in the smaller group. The view that the generation is of minor importance is corroborated by data from the Nandi, a people closely related to the Masai. Here there are seven ages based on collective initiation during a certain period, and corresponding to Masai subdivisions which I have ignored in the foregoing account for the sake of simplicity, there are three "fires" in each age. Among the Nandi some of the privileges associated with the Masai ages are linked with these lesser divisions, while

¹ Merker, 72.

² Hollis, (a), 304.

³ Merker, 72; Hollis, (a), 303.

⁴ Hollis, (a), 312.

⁵ *ibid.*, 288.

⁶ Merker, 48.

⁷ *ibid.*, 47.

⁸ Hollis, (a), 262 f.

nothing is said of larger groups equivalent to generations. In particular, hospitality is expected from a member of the same fire, or failing that from a member of a contiguous fire, but under no condition from any one not belonging to the same age.¹ All this suggests that among the Masai the generation may be a unit of more recent development than either the ages or their subdivisions, both of which are shared by the Masai and the Nandi. But whether this interpretation be sound or not, social solidarity obtains not among the elders as a group, but among the much smaller bodies composed of men either of the same age-class or of the same generation.

We are now in a position to comprehend, on the one hand, the resemblances between the Masai and the Plains Indian systems, and on the other, the relations between the Masai ages and the triple organization of this tribe.

An inspection of Hollis's table shows that at any one period there were probably from eight to ten distinct age-classes,² closely corresponding in number and range of ages to the Mandan-Hidatsa series. In neither case is there any theoretical limitation of the number of groups: among the Village Indians there are as many distinct groups as have acquired membership in the lowest society; among the Masai the number depends on the number of groups that have undergone circumcision.³ In both cases the collective acquisition of a certain status is the thing of fundamental importance, though the initial step was rigidly prescribed only among the Masai and not among the two Indian tribes. That is to say, every male Masai was obliged to pass through the one circumcision stage, but a Plains Indian might grow up without entering any organization, though failing to do so would be detrimental to his social standing. With the Mandan and Hidatsa, moreover, it was not essential to begin with any one particular society, as is shown by the recent history of their systems. Only among the Arapaho the order of the societies seems to have been fixed within the period of which we have knowledge, and every one had to pass first of all through the two preliminary lodges. Though the Hidatsa system was flexible as to the order of societies, each age-class had the task of successively acquiring a series of society memberships, or in other words of passing through a number of degrees; and the mechanism of this progressive advancement was by purchase from another age-class that had preceded in the ownership of the societies. The Masai had only a single degree, that of warrior, in regard to which any question of one group supplanting another could arise, and the method, as pointed out above, was not by purchase. Beyond the

¹ Hollis, (b), 12, 62, 69, 76, 77, 80.

² Hollis, (a), 263.

³ The Nandi had seven ages with fixed names.

warrior stage the several age-classes remained distinct groups but not groups endowed with prerogatives transferable to other groups.

This dearth of concrete features associated with the elders' age-classes seems to constitute a striking difference from the corresponding Plains Indian groups. The warrior class presents interesting analogies to the military societies. In addition to the distinctive clothing and modes of decoration, we find a differentiation of rank: a spokesman carrying a club as a badge of office, several officers called Bulls who wear bracelets and bells as a sign of distinguished bravery, and others, known as Benefactors, who frequently slaughter bullocks to feast their comrades.¹ The pompon which bold Masai warriors place on the tip of their spears to show that they will make a stand against the enemy and remove the ball of feathers by piercing his breast² at once recalls Plains Indian bravery obligations. Finally, we may cite the dances the warriors perform in company with the unmarried girls.³ In contrast to these elements the older age-classes have no distinctive dances or activities; the concentration of all martial manifestations in the warrior grade deprives the various groups of elders from the possibility of much resemblance to the Indian military organizations. Closer inspection shows that the difference is not at all between the age-classes as such but between their correlates, the things acquired by the age-classes. The age-groups themselves, are as colorless among the Hidatsa as among the Masai; more so, if anything, since they are not even distinguished by name except as owners of such and such a society. Only the Gros Ventre had definite and permanent designations for their age-divisions independently of correlated dances.

To sum up. The Masai age-classes resemble the age-groups of the Hidatsa and Mandan in number and range of age, as well as in the fact that they are formed by the collective attainment by a group of approximate age-mates to a certain social status. Their system differed in that there was not a series of degrees, through which each age-class had to pass, but only the one well-defined stage of mature bachelorhood and the subsequent nondescript married condition. After leaving the bachelor state there was thus no possibility of superseding older groups, and the element of purchase by which this process was effected in the Plains was completely alien to the Masai scheme.

Let us now turn to the relations between the Masai age-class system and the tripartite organization. It ought to be clear from the preceding discussion that the latter does not correspond to three genuine social units.

¹ Merker, 86 f.; Hollis, (a), 298 f.

² Merker, 92.

³ *ibid.*, 90.

Socially the "boys" are non-existent; under that convenient caption the Masai simply lump together all uninitiated males. But neither are the married men more than a complex of heterogeneous age-classes, negatively defined in contrast to the warriors, from whom, incidentally, the youngest class of elders is not so sharply divided since they are subject to military service. In reality two conceptions underlie the whole Masai scheme, one related to status, the other to an approximate age-grouping. It is misleading to regard the warriors as an age-class or as one society except secondarily. We have seen above that while usually the warriors embrace only one age-class, occasions arise when two classes simultaneously exercise the privileges of warriors and that in these cases the two classes strictly preserve their individuality. Warriordom, then, is something that successive age-classes successively *acquire*. The warrior status is fundamental to Masai tribal life, but it is not primarily an expression of Masai age-classification, nor does it primarily involve that consciousness of kind which underlies the formation of societies. When the warrior grade is occupied by a single age-class, then and then only the warriors form a homogeneous body united as age-mates. It is the age-class, based partly on real community of age, partly on the conventional inclusion within the same initiation quadrennium, that forms the essential social unit of the Masai.

MELANESIAN GRADES.

In parts of Melanesia, notably in the Banks Islands and the New Hebrides, every village has a men's clubhouse subdivided to correspond to differences of rank. Codrington describes this institution as an essentially social one, into which religious concepts intrude only in the sense in which they enter all of everyday life: the requisites of promotion can be acquired only through *mana* since all success is reducible to this supernatural influence.¹ In the light of more recent data collected by Rivers and Speiser this conception is no longer tenable without some modification. The natives of the New Hebrides doubtless have clubs in which social and religious elements are blended; and though the club (*sukwe*) and the secret societies (*tamate*) of the Banks Islanders are largely distinct units there is a definite connection inasmuch as admission to a certain grade in the club presupposes initiation into one of the secret organizations, while some of the latter are only open to club members.² Indeed, no reader of the Banks Islands

¹ Codrington, 103.

² Speiser, 65 et seq; Rivers, I, 61, 64, 87, 126 f.

sources can fail to note the intimate connection of aspects of culture which for descriptive purposes it may be necessary to separate, as well as the influence of a tribal pattern on associations, no matter of what type. The secret societies, like the club, are normally nothing but social gatherings for male loungers and messmates;¹ both forms of organization have distinctive insignia designated by the same generic term; both share initiation ceremonies and the *kolekole* performances. The situation bears a striking resemblance to that in the Village tribes of the Plains area, where such features as the ceremonial surrender of wives or the purchase factor are not restricted to the military or the esoteric associations but are common to both. Since my present object is primarily comparative and does not include the presumptuous attempt to elucidate the historical development of Melanesian organizations, I will confine my attention largely to the club, which in its dual character of a graded and a secular organization clearly bears a closer relationship to the Plains Indian age-societies than do the secret societies.²

The first thing to be noted in connection with the club of the Banks Islanders is its correlation with the social segregation of the sexes. The clubhouse is the normal place for males to eat and sleep, each grade having its own oven and mats.

If a man cannot enter the *Sukwe* he has to feed with women and this may sometimes so excite the pity of a friend that he may undertake to act as introducer, knowing that he will thereby have to spend a large sum of money.³

Accordingly, an attempt is made to procure an early initiation for a relative, and while poverty may postpone entrance until manhood or even later, the initial entrance may take place in infancy. Certain essential traits of the *sukwe* already appear from these few statements: initiation is an individual affair, pure and simple, not bound up with an age class; and it depends on economic factors. The same features associated with admission characterize the entire institution. As social prestige is unthinkable without membership in the club, so a gain in prestige is directly proportionate to advancement within the lodge; and advancement, in turn, is possible only through an increasingly great pecuniary sacrifice on the part of the novice. Most individuals enter the society while still boys; but most of them never rise beyond the middle rank, and many fail of attaining to it.⁴ While the ranks are ranged in a definite order, each being localized in a

¹ Codrington, 82.

² The following statements are based on Codrington, 101-115; Rivers, I, 60-143.

³ Rivers, I, 63.

⁴ Codrington, 103.

particular fireplace in the clubhouse, an individual is not required to pass through them in succession and the lowest grades are usually skipped so that in many villages they have disappeared. Theoretically, indeed, one can advance to any grade directly, but the obstacles in the way of pecuniary requirements are practically insuperable; moreover, acquisition of a high rank presupposes membership in the *tamate liwoa*, one of the secret organizations.¹ In the lower grades the expense falls mainly on the introducer, who is preferably a mother's brother; in the higher grades the novice still has an introducer, but the charges fall upon himself, his relatives and friends. Several points of interest are connected with the attainment to a certain rank. The act of initiation consists in the ceremonial eating of food by the members of the *sukwe* division the candidate is entering; but in the payments made the holders of the rank just reached by the novice do not seem to enjoy any preferential position. It rather seems that *all* the members of the club present the candidate with a certain amount of shell-money but receive in return both their own gifts and an additional amount of shell-money, the increment being, at least for some grades, equal to the gift.² The broad analogy of this procedure with the potlatch usages of the Northwest Coast of North America hardly requires mention.

The psychological attitude associated with the *sukwe* is perfectly clear from the statements of our authorities. Social position is predominantly a matter of club status. This is true to such an extent that the concepts of chief and of member of the highest grades cannot be clearly separated. The exceptional man who has attained to the highest rung is the great man in tribal opinion and folklore. He is able to retrieve with interest the fortune sacrificed in order to secure his position by exacting payments from subsequent initiates. At the same time the basic idea is not to hoard wealth but to exhibit one's greatness by contempt for it. A man who occupies the highest *sukwe* rank is still able to advance in prestige by providing the lavish entertainment connected with a *kolekole* festival.³ Indeed, maintenance of his position is dependent on such performances, in which "every one will try to excel his neighbor in the splendor of the dance, the number of the slaughtered pigs and the liberality of payment."⁴ Here we are again reminded of North American features,—not only of the Northwestern potlatch, but also of the ostentatious liberality of the Plains Indian Grass dancers (p. 205) and of the Omaha *wathi'ethe*.⁵ In short, the *sukwe* is

¹ Rivers, 1, 63 f.

² Codrington, 107; Rivers, 1, 67.

³ Codrington, 110.

⁴ Rivers, 1, 132, 141.

⁵ Fletcher and La Flesche, 202 et seq.

very largely an end in itself: the Melanesian prizes affiliation with the higher grades as the Plains Indian prizes war honors or the Hopi activity in ceremonial affairs.

It seems desirable to comment briefly on certain theoretical interpretations of the Melanesian graded clubs by Schurtz and Rivers.

Schurtz's explanation, as usual, does not rest on an intensive analysis of the concrete data found, but consists in arbitrarily citing these as illustrations of his *a priori* scheme. He declares that the grades are simply transformed age-classes, while the clubhouse harboring practically all the male population is an outgrowth of an earlier bachelors' hall.¹

The latter hypothesis is not only without any historical basis but even seems inconsistent with the fundamentals of Schurtz's social philosophy. No principle is more strongly and persistently emphasized by Schurtz than the distinct social character of the sexes. He practically denies the instinct of sociability to woman, limiting her normal social activity to the family sphere, while man by his natural gregariousness is said to found age-classes and other organizations of various types. Granting this distinction, which is debatable, of course, we should not be surprised to find a men's house as a direct correlate of the secondary sexual traits postulated and need not assume that the men's house developed in a roundabout way out of a bachelor's hall.

So far as the more important point for our present discussion is concerned, I agree with Radin that Schurtz's interpretation of degrees as vestigial age-classes is quite arbitrary.² Gradation certainly may arise in the most natural way through the causes Radin mentions, to wit, length of membership, insistence upon separate payments, and so forth. Faithful to the principle of interpreting specific institutions by specific causes, we must first examine whether the Melanesian degrees cannot be correlated with coexisting cultural features. In the native conception of social advancement through sacrifices of money and pigs we have a sufficient cause for the evolution of steps. If in the New Hebrides the club can be defined simply as an association of men who have sacrificed pigs,³ it is clear that those who sacrifice pigs in greater number or with greater frequency will come to rank higher, and a corresponding conclusion is permissible for the Banks Islands. It might be objected that the social conception with which I am correlating the grades is of merely secondary significance; that it may indeed have multiplied pre-existing grades, but could not have created degrees because these antedated the notions in question. When, however,

¹ Schurtz, 205, 328, 335.

² Radin, 203.

³ Spelsier, 66; Cf. Sebbelov, 273-280.

we consider the intensity of the feeling that social prestige is dependent on the performance of certain ceremonies connected with pecuniary sacrifice and contrast with it the extremely restricted portion of Melanesia in which the graded men's club (as distinguished from secret societies) flourishes,¹ we are justified in regarding the latter as a localized product, not necessarily of high antiquity, and may legitimately derive it from the observed cultural trait mentioned above. The restricted region in which the graded club occurs in Melanesia is really fatal to viewing it as an outgrowth of age-classes which *ex hypothesi* are of universal occurrence. Why should vestiges of the supposedly early age classes have persisted only in those regions where degrees can be very readily explained not as remnants of some hypothetical antecedent but as the product of observed conditions? These conditions likewise account in the most natural way both for the multiplicity and varying number of the grades. This is not due to the loss of a fixed principle of division, such as Schurtz ascribes to an age-classification,² but to the perfectly definite principle that every additional sacrifice is tantamount to promotion.

Dr. Rivers applies to the problem of the graded *sukwe* his favorite principle of cultural contact of distinct peoples. This, however, he uses to account for the occurrence not so much of the clubhouse itself as of the degrees. An immigrant group is assumed to have brought with it the institution of the men's house, possibly with a moderate number of degrees dependent on original differences in rank, class, or provenience. But the multiplication of degrees was due to the successive admission of batches of the aboriginal population, each successive group being placed below its predecessors.³ This interpretation contains a very plausible and to my mind valuable suggestion as to the method by which the grades of any series may multiply and acquire their relative status. The newcomers, being in a disadvantageous position with reference to the old stagers, would naturally have assigned to them the lowest rank until belated arrivals would automatically affect their position in the series. Incidentally, this view of the matter reminds us of the theory held by the Blackfoot regarding the order of their age-societies (p. 368). While, however, Dr. Rivers's theory embodies this generally valuable suggestion as to the elaboration of a series he seems to be in doubt whether to assign the ultimate origin of grades to this process or to assume grades as pre-existing in the club introduced by the immigrants. In the latter case, of course, the ultimate origin remains unsolved, and accordingly an hypothesis which accounts for all the

¹ Rivers, II, 510 f.

² Schurtz, 335 f.

³ Rivers, II, 212, 226.

empirical data, like the one I have suggested, seems preferable on the ground of logical simplicity. Its relative superiority is greatly increased in my opinion precisely because it dispenses with those hypothetical migrations that Dr. Rivers relies upon. The only hypothetical element involved in my theory is in assuming a causal nexus in a definite direction between two phenomena both of which are matters of observation and which are clearly correlated,—grades and certain conceptions as to social prestige. If my suggestion suffices to explain the Melanesian clubs, then the doctrine of diffusion and of the result of cultural contact, whatever may be its value in other fields, becomes superfluous in regard to the *sukwe*. It merely brings in hypothetical elements for which no demonstration can be given.

We are now prepared to consider the Melanesian club in comparison with the age-societies. In discussing the Masai the resemblance was found to obtain between the age-classes of that people with the usually nameless age groups which purchase societies among the Plains Indians. The series of societies really had nothing to correspond to it among the Masai except in a purely formal way the sequence of the boy, bachelor and elder stages; nor are there any concrete features in these stages that resemble the societies, singly considered, except for the warrior grade. A very different condition confronts us now. The similarity between Melanesia and the North American Plains lies precisely in the presence of a fairly extensive graded series, the order of the grades being quite definite among the Melanesians but except among the Arapaho rather less so among the Indians. This rigidity, it should again be noted, applies only to the Melanesian degrees themselves, but imposes no obligations on the order in which individuals acquire them. Another significant resemblance consists in the dominant economic motive: degrees in the *sukwe* are forms of property and as such purchasable. However, they are not so in quite the same way as among the Hidatsa. The aspirant to a new grade in the club does not pay the members of that grade as such but the members of the club generally. Among the Hidatsa the purchasing group deals only with the group of sellers; other groups, whether older or younger, are not concerned in the business transaction. In short, the concept of the series seems, after all, a different one. The Melanesian degrees are only subdivisions of the *sukwe* unit, a fact which finds expression in their having generally definite quarters within the same building. The Hidatsa societies are, as I hope to show, units quite independent of their place in the series.

The last-mentioned difference has another aspect. Speaking of the Masai, we noted the dearth of concrete content associated with the grades and classes. The same applies to the grades of the *sukwe*. It is true that each rank has its mask or hat, that some degrees use distinctive knives for

cutting breadfruit puddings, that kava drinking is restricted to the upper range of the series.¹ Nevertheless, all this bestows a very meager individuality on any particular step since both kava and pudding-knives are shared by several grades, while both the name and the character of the masks suggest that they have been patterned on equivalent insignia of the far more widely distributed secret societies. We need only cast a fleeting glance at any of the more popular Plains societies to be impressed with the difference in this respect. It matters not whether the Dogs rank high as in the Hidatsa series or low as among the ancient Blackfoot, they form a social unit fully defined by a constant combination of traits,—sashes, owl feather headdress, dewclaw rattles, food privileges. The Melanesian grades seem to have individuality solely by virtue of their position; even most of those few features that do distinguish one from another, such as the amount of payment, are a function of rank in the series.

Another difference is of even greater importance. Admission into the grades of the club is a strictly individual affair; in the age-societies it is collective, the group of buyers being composed of age-mates. This is why the Plains Indian societies are also age-classes, while the Melanesian grades have nothing to do with age.

THE PLAINS INDIAN AGE-SOCIETIES.

In attempting to arrive at a final conception of the organizations that form the subject of this paper, we may once more revert to Schurtz. Since I have had to criticise his fundamental assumptions and shall be obliged to do so again, I take this opportunity to state that his work must not be underestimated. It was more than merely a meritorious compilation of data on a hitherto neglected field. By postulating certain dynamic forces that he supposed to dominate social evolution, Schurtz gave later investigators a definite angle for envisaging the host of detailed facts, and above all he exposed clearly the one-sidedness of associating social organization exclusively with clan systems and marriage regulations, as is even now the tendency of most ethnologists. His chief error was one common among generalizers: he did not undertake an intensive investigation of the empirical data nor ascertained their correlates in the cultures where they had been reported, but imposed on them a Procrustean scheme by which they were made to fit into ready-made rubrics.

This is the obvious stricture that must be made on his treatment of

¹ Rivers, *x*, 81-83.

the American age-societies. He finds here organizations, members of which are approximately coevals; at once they are covered by the catchword "age-grades." For one thing, then, they must be older than any other type of organization coexisting in the Plains region,— a conclusion that we found contrary to empirical data (pp. 952-954) and which Schurtz simply deduces *a priori*. Secondly, it is obvious to him from the start that the system of age-societies was primarily an age-classification according to his favorite tripartite pattern of boys, bachelors, and married men. Wherever he finds a considerable number of classes, he at once assumes that this is a later development from the three-part scheme.¹ The Masai data suffice to show that this inference is illegitimate,— that many age-classes may develop naturally if it is an established custom for adolescent boys to undergo jointly some social experience. Obsessed with the notion that all other factors than age are of more recent development, Schurtz further misconstrues the facts, finding among the lower organizations of certain graded series what he regards as pure age-groups, i. e., groups in which membership is solely dependent on age and in no way on purchase.² He thus confounds two distinct concepts,— that of the age-class and that of the complex of ceremonial and other privileges held by an age-class. It is the latter that we have largely considered in the historical survey under the caption of "societies;" but since properly speaking it is the age-groups that constitute "societies," i. e., unions of individuals, I shall henceforth speak of the ceremonial complexes as "dances." Now, with this terminology, the fact is that membership in each and every one of the Plains Indian age-classes is normally a function of age and of age only, while the dances are uniformly purchasable commodities.

To turn from criticism to an unprejudiced survey of the data. The observed fact is that in each tribe with the graded series a certain dance is correlated with a certain age. It is surely simplest to accept this correlation as an essential one; if another interpretation is advanced, it must be for specific reasons. My principal reason for rejecting the more obvious view is that the same dance is correlated with different ages in different tribes and even in the same tribe at different periods of time.

The Dogs form an example *par excellence*. They occur in all the graded series and in most of the ungraded ones as well. They occupy widely different positions in the former and indeed differ notably in rank even in the same tribe at different periods. The most glaring deviation occurs among the Blackfoot. In Maximilian's day the Dogs comprised young

¹ Schurtz, 161, 335.

² *ibid.*, 153.

married men of the lowest rank above the Mosquitoes.¹ Yet in all recent lists they occupy a much higher position, Grinnell even speaking of them as old men (pp. 366-369). If greater weight be attached to the earlier statement, what shall we say when we find that at the very period when the Dogs held a relatively insignificant position among the Blackfoot, their rank was distinctly higher among both Mandan and Hidatsa?² In later times, according to some informants, they even came to approach the very highest place in the scale (pp. 227, 318). Among the Arapaho and Gros Ventre their position resembles that held by the Dogs among the Village tribes of Maximilian's time. Turning to the ungraded series, we find that among the Cheyenne the Dog-Men are very important but that the age-element is not involved. The Sarsi Dogs were young unmarried and married men (p. 467); it is especially interesting to note that the relative position of the Sarsi Mosquitoes and Dogs corresponds so closely to that given for the Piegan equivalents in Maximilian's account. The Oglala statements suggest a somewhat higher average age than for the akitcita dances but emphatically no definite age qualification (p. 41 f.). The Young Dogs of the Arikara took in members as young as fifteen, though most of them were older (p. 657); it should be noted that Brackenridge speaks of the Dogs as "the most brave and efficient in war, being composed of young men under thirty" (p. 649). The equivalent Pawnee organization was important owing to the bravery and shamanistic powers of the members, but no age is specified (pp. 582-588). Among the Kiowa the Dogs were definitely the preëminent society of the tribe, but the prerequisite to membership was exceptional bravery; in age they ranged from twenty-five upward (p. 848). The Big Dogs of the Crow are said to have been generally old, though young men were not excluded (p. 176, cf. p. 155); yet an early statement by Beckwourth casts considerable doubt on the essential seniority of the Dogs as compared with other societies since we find them mentioned as rivals of the Foxes (p. 182).

The general conclusion from all this is that the Dogs certainly formed almost everywhere an important body. In the graded systems, except among the Blackfoot, the members were of mature age rather than at the uppermost limit of seniority; in the Blackfoot series they were the youngest of married men. If, as I have suggested, the Dog complex originated among the Village peoples and maintained its approximate rank there until recent times, then it had sunk to a lower position among the Blackfoot of Maximilian's period and has since risen there through the interpolation of other

¹ Maximilian, I, 577.

² *Id.*, II, 142, 213.

dances. That such a thing should have been possible, shows that for the Blackfoot mind there was no necessary connection between a certain age on the one hand and certain sashes, rattles, headdresses and food prerogatives on the other. Shall we then assume that these features were definitely associated with ripe middle age by the Hidatsa? If so, why is this association lacking in some of the tribes which, on the hypothesis of Hidatsa priority, must have borrowed the dance from that people? Further, why the shift observed among the Hidatsa themselves in the direction of more advanced age? We are again driven to the conclusion that even if the Dog complex originated with a definite age-group in the first instance,¹ the association of a certain age with a certain assemblage of traits is accidental.

Analogous results, which need only be suggested therefore, appear from a consideration of the Kit-Foxes. Among the Hidatsa they were young men; they were married among the Gros Ventre since even the immediately preceding Crazy Dance was acquired by a surrender of wives; among the Piegan the Foxes were married men who already ranked superior to the Dogs in Maximilian's day, and more recently they came very close to the highest position. I have suggested that this organization did not originate with any of the tribes possessing a graded series but with the Dakota, where both young boys and mature men were admitted and remained for an indefinite period (p. 18). But whether this hypothesis be accepted or not, the Kit-Foxes' independence of a particular age is clear.

The Ravens occur in only two of the graded series, those of the Blackfoot and the Hidatsa. Both in Maximilian's day and later they represent a middle-aged group in the former tribe; in 1833 they were the very oldest of the Hidatsa, superior even to the Bulls. Since the resemblances are absolutely decisive as to unity of origin, the unessential nature of the age qualification is manifest.

Even the Bulls, though everywhere of high *degre*, do not occupy a uniform position as regards age. Highest among the Piegan, they are subordinate to the Kit-Fox (Horn) men of the Northern Blackfoot (pp. 369, 419); they were the second oldest of Maximilian's Mandan and Hidatsa groups and were ranked highest by one of my Hidatsa informants. Yet according to one informant, the Hidatsa Bulls averaged but little over thirty years in his day (p. 291).

What is indicated by a consideration of these dances, is proved even more conclusively by the statements of informants as to their dance affiliations. Thus, one Piegan said he had remained for twenty-nine years an All-Brave-

¹ This does not, of course, necessarily follow from the hypothesis of an Hidatsa origin. Even so it may have been first an ungraded dance independent of a particular age group and later become associated with a definite age (p. 953 f.).

Dog (p. 427), while an Hidatsa was a Dog from about his forty-fifth year until his death (p. 284) at about ninety. It is, therefore, not at all true that the dances are social steps to which men belong at a certain age. What happens is that owing to the collective acquisition of each dance by a group of approximate age-mates the owners of a dance must be age-mates in a given tribe at a given time; but what the age of the group connected with a certain dance shall be seems a subordinate consideration.

This is most glaringly illustrated among the Hidatsa, who were relatively indifferent to the order in which societies were acquired. It was possible at a certain juncture for the young men of the Stone Hammer dance to acquire the Raven complex, though the Raven dance normally ranked as the highest or one of the highest in the series (p. 283). But even among the Arapaho, where the serial order was rigidly fixed, variations in the actual age of members occurred. In 1910 the members of the Biitaha^{wu} in the Wyoming branch of the tribe were only eighteen instead of thirty years of age, as they had formerly been, both according to Kroeber's and my own data; while the Crazy Dancers were twenty-five instead of forty. There is also considerable disparity between Mooney's and Kroeber's figures; the former sets the age of the Kit-Foxes at twenty-five instead of eighteen; of the Stars at thirty instead of twenty; the Tomahawk and Biitaha^{wu} are described as men in the prime of life as against Kroeber's estimate of twenty-five and thirty years of age; and the Crazy Dancers are said to be over fifty where Kroeber gives forty. These differences are hardly negligible, though it is clear that where dances had to be acquired in a definite order and a beginning was made at or about adolescence there were limits to the range of variation in age connected with a particular dance.¹

We seem justified, then, in drawing the conclusion that the grading of what I regard as having been originally ungraded dances did not signify their correlation with a definite age. The complexes remained independent units, i. e., independent of age or rank except in a secondary way. On what, then, did affiliation with a dance primarily depend? Schurtz clearly recognized that almost uniformly the payment of an admission fee was the prerequisite to participation. He makes an exception only of the lowest Blackfoot groups, which he conceives to be pure age-classes, i. e., classes to which boys and men belonged automatically at a certain age without being subjected to the necessity of an entrance payment.² This interpretation, so far as I can see, is wholly without warrant from Maximilian's text on which it is based; and it is positively refuted for the dances in question

¹ For secondary feelings as to the appropriateness of a particular correlation between age and dances, see pp. 234 and 979.

² Schurtz, 153.

by more recent information (pp. 375, 377, 395). Each and every dance of the five graded series was entered upon payments: each complex of prerogatives was a commodity that could be bought and sold. What we have to explain on this view is how the observed age correlation developed.

I have already called attention to the startling fact that all the age-societies are connected with purchase, while practically all of the otherwise homologous ungraded organizations lack this feature (p. 884). This indicates a positive correlation between purchase and age which requires formulation. Now it is hopeless to derive the purchase factor from a pure age-classification, for this is a contradiction in terms. We are thus reduced to the interpretation that the age factor is in some way a result of the form of purchase, that purchase is the primary and age the derivative phenomenon, not of course with reference to the age-classes but as regards the dances.

I will now summarize the empirical arguments for the fundamental importance of the purchase factor and the secondary character of the age elements in the sense defined. It might be considered sufficient to prove this for the Mandan and Hidatsa, among whom I believe the system under discussion originated; but in order to eliminate hypothetical considerations to the utmost, I will discuss the system of each of the tribes concerned from the particular point of view mentioned.

For the Hidatsa and Mandan I have already summed up the relevant data (pp. 232-236, 294). If a man at sixty-two still regards himself as affiliated with the dance he joined at twenty, it cannot be that affiliation is a matter of age: the reason is the one uniformly given in such cases, viz., that the complex was never bought from him and accordingly was still held as a form of property. The argument is clinched when we find, both in Maximilian's records and more recent ones, that the same individuals could simultaneously hold several memberships.

Poor-wolf, at 90, still considered himself a member of the *miraraxúxi*, which he had joined at 7; of the Crazy Dogs, whom he had joined at 20; of the Half-shaved Heads, whom he had joined at 27; and of the Dogs, whom he had joined at about 45 (p. 234).

This particular case cannot of course be regarded as normal, but it illustrates admirably the native point of view. Further it should be noted, that while simultaneous affiliation with many dances was abnormal, simultaneous connection with two of them was a frequent and necessary feature of the system. Men of Group A holding a dance X might acquire a new dance Y from an older group; they would then have two dances so long as a younger group did not similarly purchase X from them. The underlying principle is clear: a man owns all complexes he has ever bought and which he has never sold.

The Blackfoot conception is absolutely identical with that of the Hidatsa. A man who had acquired the Raven membership and never sold it remained a Raven, even though he had subsequently acquired, sold and thereby lost his association with the higher Horn dance (p. 427).

The Arapaho case at first does not appear to be equally clear because the membership is not owned outright in the same way. What a group acquires by purchase here is not an exclusive possession but a quantity of ceremonial knowledge which they share with all their predecessors. Hence, prospective buyers are not limited in the choice of a selling group but select a miscellaneous assemblage of older men. Nevertheless, this very fact implies that ceremonial knowledge once acquired is held indefinitely, regardless of age. The only point that remains unsettled is whether the "grandfather" in receiving pay for his instruction thereby renounces the privilege of again dispensing such information, in which case the purchase feature would be somewhat more analogous to that among the other tribes. Given the Arapaho scheme, we cannot of course expect to find a single group holding exclusive rights to several dances, for as stated it does not acquire such rights to any single one of them. On the other hand, we do find the reverse of this condition, namely, that several distinct groups may simultaneously occupy the same ceremonial status. It is true that only the youngest of these groups is regarded as, say, the Crazy lodge *par excellence*, the others being described as "Imitation Crazy dancers." But this does not imply that the Crazy lodge properly belongs to a certain age. In the first place, the closely related Gros Ventre have this very feature as a normal part of their scheme without any invidious discrimination against any of the groups sharing possession of a certain dance. Secondly, an Arapaho does not automatically belong to the Crazy lodge because his age-mates have acquired it; unless he is present either in person or by proxy he misses his chance and sinks to the level of the next lower group (p. 933). Participation in the acquisition proceedings as against membership by virtue of age is thus stressed even more vehemently by the Arapaho than by the Hidatsa (cf. p. 232). Here, as in other elements of the Arapaho scheme, the suggestion of survivals from a system of the Hidatsa pattern forcibly obtrudes itself, while evidence for a genuine age-classification is not forthcoming. Against the latter we may also cite the limitation to seven of the number of participants in the highest Arapaho dance¹ and the fact that while connection with the graded series was a prerequisite to social prestige and consequently was eagerly embraced, both Mooney's² and one

¹ Kroeber, (b), 207.

² Mooney, (a), 986.

of my informants' statements indicate that some individuals failed to enter altogether.

On the Gros Ventre system, which generally corresponds to that of the Arapaho, our information is not altogether satisfactory, yet it suffices for an estimate of the relative significance of the age and purchase factors. The latter is, if anything, more marked than among the Arapaho since the novices not only present gifts to the "grandfathers" as payment for their instruction¹ but also surrender their wives in securing every society.² The presumption is that, as among the Arapaho, the "grandfathers" form a heterogeneous assemblage and that ceremonial knowledge is retained as an asset in the same way. That is to say, the property concept is really very similar to that found among the Hidatsa. The Arapaho and Gros Ventre differ from the other tribes in that, while sharing the feature of collective purchase, they sell not collectively, but as individuals.³ The actual performance of the ceremony with the appropriate insignia might appear to distinguish the property rights of the novices from those of the older groups; but since the privilege vanishes with the single performance when the new status is attained among the Arapaho and is not exercised more than two or three times by the Gros Ventre, this is really of no moment. Actually the newly initiated Tomahawk men *possess* nothing except the name that does not belong to every one who ever has been a Tomahawk. The case for the Hidatsa purchase notion would be perfect if we knew that the right to give requisite ceremonial instructions was extinguished by a single transfer. At all events, it is certain that we are dealing with a property concept. A man certainly possesses as a negotiable commodity all the ceremonial knowledge he has ever acquired and which he has never sold; the only question is whether his property rights are indefeasible or terminate with receipt of compensation.

I must now revert to a matter that has already been repeatedly emphasized,—the Gros Ventre anomaly. It has already been shown that this was really, from the Arapaho-Gros Ventre point of view, the most logical thing that could develop. A group was uniformly stimulated to gain a new status and complex of ceremonial privileges by conditions evoking a vow to that effect; such conditions were naturally of irregular occurrence; and the privileges were obtained not from a definite but a promiscuous group of predecessors. What was to prevent several distinct groups from acquiring and holding the same status at the same time? The bearing of

¹ Kroeber, (a), 264.

² *Ibid.*, 228.

³ Individual relations are not, however, lacking in the Hidatsa procedure as I have pointed out (p. 225 f.).

this phenomenon on our present problem is obvious. The independence of the dances is once more strikingly exemplified. Any one such complex, it appears, can be simultaneously held by several distinct age-classes. It might be argued that inasmuch as these age-classes are adjacent, there is still some correlation of a certain dance with a certain age. But in the first place the particular dance which a given age-group holds is obviously in part a matter of accident rather than of age. While a young group might be excluded from holding the Dog complex, it does not follow from its age whether it would be the youngest of the Biitaha^{wa} or the oldest of the Tomahawk groups. Secondly, and this is a more important consideration, the social bond obtains not among those sharing the same dance but only in that numerically much smaller group which jointly acquired ownership. The fact that age-groups are contiguous, the fact that they share the same dance is absolutely without social significance; socially a man is a member only of the particular group with which he acquired his status, all other social relationships are purely imaginary. By an irony of fate the Gros Ventre case, which yields the clearest instance of age-classes, also yields the clearest evidence that age-classes and the correlated dances are distinct phenomena.

The Gros Ventre phenomenon, indeed, illuminates the whole problem. The feeling of comradeship due to community of age is not illusory. Schurtz was right in emphasizing the social importance of the age factor; but he erred in conceiving an age-classification almost exclusively in terms of a tripartite division and further in confounding dances as complexes of certain activities and insignia with age-classes owning such dances.

As regards the first point, the Plains area yields especially suggestive data as to the quite distinct ways in which the age factor may enter into societies, either in a primary or a derivative manner.

In the first place, we find the type of division that looms so prominently in Schurtz's consciousness,—a tripartite division of the male members of a community. So far as I know, it occurs only among the Omaha and in a very weakly developed form there. In this tribe men of mature age, young men, and youths from seventeen to nineteen met separately for a social gathering.¹ There were no dances or songs, nor was any serious function associated with these divisions; instead of forming the fundamental social grouping, these "feasting societies" are absolutely insignificant in tribal life as compared with other organizations. The Omaha furnish another interesting case, already referred to (p. 887 f.), of genuine age-societies in their Mandan and Tokala dancers. The former were mature

¹ J. O. Dorsey, (c), 342.

and old men, the latter were boys. It is extremely suggestive to note that these organizations are known to have been borrowed by the Omaha quite recently, and that the age element is either lacking or imperfectly developed among the tribes which transmitted these organizations to the Omaha. In other words, that tendency which Schurtz ascribes to the very earliest period enters into association with certain societies secondarily in the most recent times.

Secondly, we may note age-classes where nevertheless the tribe as a whole is not graded by age. The most striking illustration are the boys' groups imitating the adult members of ungraded series. Thus, the Kiowa Rabbits embraced all the young boys in the tribe (pp. 842, 844), and the Crow Hammers formed a similar organization (p. 188). However, as I have pointed out (p. 915), the ultimate psychological interpretation of these phenomena is complicated by historical considerations. It may be that the Kiowa, Oglala and Crow boys' societies are what they appear to be, viz., independent imitations of men's organizations by boys. On the other hand, they may all be historically connected and their ultimate prototype may be a boys' society in a *graded* series. Nevertheless, I am inclined to attach considerable theoretical importance to the tendency of boys to mimic their elders' performances.

In suggesting that a single age-class associated with an ungraded series may be an age-class simply because it is patterned on that of another tribe I have recognized another cause for the observed age-groupings, which of course is not limited in activity to the youngest part of the community. We can easily understand why the Oglala Chiefs and the Crow Dogs should be composed mainly of old men if they were derived from Hidatsa or Mandan equivalents of high rank. On the other hand, two points should be noted here. In the first place, such societies (except in the hypothetical case of the boys) rarely, perhaps never, correspond to genuine age-classes; that is to say, they do not embrace all the men of a certain age. Secondly, owing to the influence of the tribal pattern (of which, indeed, the phenomenon just mentioned is only a special illustration), there is a strong tendency for the age element to be completely effaced. I have pointed this out in connection with the Crow Big Dog society (p. 155); it can be shown equally clearly for the Oglala Miwatani (p. 42).

As a fourth type we may cite the societies in which the age factor appears because of some other selective qualification. Thus the Assiniboine usually only solicited men of wealth to join the Fox dance and since young men were poor they were barred from membership.¹ Similarly the Oglala

¹ Lowie, (c), 71.

only admitted men of distinction to their Chiefs' organization (p. 38). Very old men could hardly be expected to show that recklessness characteristic of the Kiowa Dogs (p. 848), nor is it surprising to find that the Oglala societies on which police duties devolved were composed of able-bodied warriors (p. 13). Here we must note again that generally no genuine age-class results; members of an organization may be approximate coevals but many of their age-mates are sprinkled through other societies. The age factor, in short, is not the principle of organization but a by-product.

A curious feature, for which parallels seem lacking, occurs among the Crow. The tripartite organization appears, but not as a fundamental grouping of Crow males. It is rather a secondary division within an organization, most clearly represented in the Fox society, where boys, men, and older men formed distinct groups (p. 156). That is to say, in the Crow tribe there was no union of individuals on the basis of age, but within a particular society members became grouped in this fashion.

Finally we have the type of age-classes exemplified in the five graded series. In order to understand their nature and especially their independence of the dances we had better consider once more the Gros Ventre case. Here the age-classes are sharply set off against one another not by the ceremonial status they have attained, which may be shared by three or four of them, but by a distinct name not connected with the dance at all and preserved throughout the existence of the group. Dances were performed not jointly by all or several of the groups that had attained to the proper status but by each group separately. When one of the groups had passed through all the dances in the series, "the surviving old men grouped together the available young men in the tribe, and formed them into a new company of the same name."¹

Now the fact that several groups are associated with the same dance is of the highest importance inasmuch as it gives ocular demonstration of the independence of the two distinct elements in the observed phenomena,—the series of age-classes and the series of dances. However, the same conclusion is inevitable from a consideration of the Mandan and Hidatsa schemes, in which the number of classes and dances coincides. The main difference between the Mandan-Hidatsa and the Gros Ventre condition, apart from the relative number of groups and dances, lies in the namelessness of the Village groups. The whole system, however, is built up on the individuality of these unnamed classes. We have seen that several dances could be held by the same age-classes but it is a contradiction in terms to have one age-class merge in another. When an Hidatsa age-class

¹ Kroeber, (a), 232.

had sold the Lumpwood privileges, it stood for the time being without ceremonial status but it did not therefore cease to exist or lose its identity. Given the system, this was indeed impossible. Wedged in between the new Lumpwoods and the next higher class they remained a unit by exclusion, a unit, moreover, that could become ceremonially active by a new purchase. Indeed, the existence of the "friendly" groups (p. 229 ff.) shows conclusively that the age-classes were the essential groups. There was no such relationship between the dances as such. Suppose that a Class A had acquired dance 1 with the aid of Class C holding dance 3. If, later, C purchased dance 4, A would furnish assistance and in turn C would help A in buying whatever membership it was able to purchase at the time.

Age-classification is not only present among the five tribes with graded systems but gives rise to the only social units existing there in connection with these systems. Nevertheless it cannot be said that the age-groups are independent of the dances in the same sense in which the reverse is true. For what after all constitutes an age-group, what calls it into being as an organization among the Plains tribes, if not the possibility of jointly buying the first dance? This is, indeed, the only way of forming a group here just as circumcision within a definite period is the only means of integrating the Masai classes. In both cases, the method of forming the classes is emphatically not a division of the entire tribe into rough age-groups on the principle of the tripartite organization but a union of a particular group, regardless of any others, solely because of simultaneous participation in the same social experience. This experience, then, is the fundamental thing and the five tribes have age-classes because they have societies which can be jointly entered. One dance in the tribe would suffice to form a permanent basis of organization. In such a case the majority of the age-classes would be without a dance but might remain permanent unions simply through the fact of former joint membership, just as among the Masai the fact of joint initiation establishes a lasting bond in spite of the lack of any later social experience corresponding to the higher dances in the graded series.

The fact with which every theory of the age-societies has to reckon is that in tribes where the actual age of individuals is not known there is nevertheless a rather minute gradation by age. There is, we must insist, no organization of old men or middle-aged men as such: the Dog lodge of the Arapaho is as decidedly differentiated from the Crazy lodge as it is from the Tomahawks. What is the significance of this refinement? The mystery vanishes in the light of the observed collective acquisition by boys of a particular dance. Let us assume a single society of adults, which in accordance with aboriginal notions in this area could be entered by purchase.

Even in this first stage of a graded series the collective feature may be present. On the one hand, it is likely that in such a case what we know to have taken place in recent times in the Grass dance would have happened, that is to say, all adults would seek admission to maintain their social prestige. If the society in question was obtained from a foreign tribe (a permissible hypothesis, since we are dealing only with the origin of *graded* societies not of societies generally), the collective purchase might enter as a feature from the very start at the time of a friendly visit (cf. p. 201). Thus we should have a single organization to which all or most adult men belonged. Now the boys old enough to understand and imitate their elders' activities would form an age-class with a range of, say, from ten to sixteen. All that was then required was for this natural group to acquire the adult men's dance in the familiar manner and to sell it later to the next younger group of boys, and the necessary machinery for the elaboration of the system would have been set in motion. With the popularity of this type of dance established, some one of the adult men who had abdicated their property rights by sale would be sure to found a new complex with similar characteristics, or such a new dance might be derived from an alien source. It would thus constitute a higher degree which the younger class would in turn desire to attain. On the other hand, the boys mimicking their elders might themselves exact payment from younger boys for instruction in their activities and thus an unorganized boys' imitation would acquire more definite status and enlarge the series at the lower end. This view seems to account for all the observed phenomena in the simplest way.

While apparently eliminating the age factor, we have thus fully vindicated its social significance. It bears no functional relation to the ceremonial complexes but it is nevertheless the bond of union which forms groups and renders them permanent through a collective initial experience in tribal society. Of the two factors between which we have to strike the balance, age determines membership in a group, purchase the acquisition of particular activities and functions by the group. It is the age bond that makes the purchase collective, and through the collective character of the transaction the complexes acquire an age character that is purely secondary, though the undisturbed association of a certain complex with a young or old group might color the natives' subjective attitude and make them regard the complex as properly or at least preferentially a young or an old men's society (p. 234).

With regard to the predominance of the purchase factor in the acquisition of a dance some qualifications must be made. The most important one has already been cited,—the collective nature of the transaction. Exclusive emphasis on purchase, would, of course, mean individual trans-

actions and would lead to a condition like that in the Melanesian *sukuc*. But among the Plains Indians, in spite of a few anomalies such as the presence of junior members in the highest organizations and of old men in the lowest, there is a very strong feeling not indeed that all members should be of a particular age but that all should be age-mates. Here an interesting tribal difference must be noted. Strongly as the Blackfoot and Village tribes stress the purchase factor, the age bond, or perhaps we had better say the feeling of comradeship engendered by the practical working out of the system, is so powerful as in some measure to override the other in some instances. A Piegan who had acquired a higher rank than his age-class felt compelled to buy it a second time in their company (p. 428). On the other hand, an Hidatsa who for some reason had not participated in the collective purchase of the Stone Hammer dance by his group nevertheless joined his comrades in their activities and even sold out with them, though he never quite felt that he had full property rights (p. 232). The Arapaho, however, view the matter differently. Although the normal thing is for age-mates to acquire status collectively, a man who for any reason whatsoever does not take part in a ceremony with his comrades cannot advance with his proper class but must go through the performance with the next younger group whenever they are ready for it. The Arapaho, then, insist on the dances being performed by every individual in a fixed order and in this respect lay less emphasis on age-group solidarity. It is interesting to find here still another point of resemblance between the Blackfoot and Village tribes as opposed to the Arapaho.

We are now in a position to realize clearly the relation of the Plains Indian "age-societies" to the African and Oceanian parallels considered in the foregoing sections. In order to make this comparison profitable, we must continue to resolve the Plains Indian phenomena into their two constituents, the age-classes and the dances held by them.

The Plains Indian age-classes are remarkably similar to those of the Masai inasmuch as in both cases each class originates by having a group of approximate age-mates become definitely and permanently organized through an initial social experience in which they all participate. The possession of class names independent of societies makes the resemblance of the Gros Ventre to those of the Masai especially striking. Inasmuch, however, as the social experiences involved are utterly different, we have here an instance of formal analogy rather than of substantial homology. In the Melanesian *sukwe* genuine age-classes do not occur. The age element enters only derivatively and partially inasmuch as the highest ranks will usually be composed exclusively or largely of old men owing to the obstacles to be overcome. The bulk of the population, however, never

advance beyond the middle of the series. The individual mode of entrance to any of the grades eliminated a genuine age grouping.

The Plains Indian dances may be regarded from at least two distinct angles, as a series of degrees and as mutually independent complexes of insignia, ceremonial activities, social functions, etc.

The Masai, as already explained, have at bottom only one degree,—that attained by undergoing initiation. At most we might recognize the apprentice condition as a distinct step from warriorhood, but it is so clearly transitional and preparatory to the latter that from a wider comparative point of view a separation of the two seems artificial. The classes that have graduated from the status of a warrior have no further social promotion before them; there is no such thing as one class overtaking or superseding another after the members have married. The difference from the American situation is thus fundamental. On the other hand, the Melanesian analogy is much stronger. The *sukwe* has a considerable number of degrees, often greater than that of the Indian societies, and arranged in definite order. There is thus a considerable resemblance in the gradual change of affiliation from a lower to a higher unit in the series. The resemblance is nevertheless purely external. Not only is attainment to a certain rank an individual affair in Melanesia but the point of view involved in promotion is a wholly different one. The novice does not displace a predecessor as the Hidatsa buyers supersede the sellers; he simply joins the ranks of a certain grade. This is of course also different from the Arapaho practice, in which the displacement feature is indeed obscured, but where there is no such thing as becoming a member of the same group with one's predecessors. Accentuation of the economic factor in promotion forms a noteworthy analogy, especially when contrasted with its absence among the Masai. Nevertheless, the stressing of the collective mode of purchase in the Plains gives an entirely different character to the two groups of phenomena. In the *sukwe* each grade has an absolute rank but through the omnipotence of the pecuniary factor it is possible to skip grades. Theoretically, a boy might enter directly into the highest grade, though practically the thing cannot be done and the secondary psychological attitude of the natives towards so unusual a procedure would doubtless be an additional hindrance to the very attempt. The dances have a fixed rank only among the Arapaho, and there we have found that unlike the Banks Islands series the order of progress is likewise rigidly determined. Among the Village tribes, collective skipping is possible and is connected with the fact that the dances as such have no absolute rank (cf. p. 283).

This brings us to one of the most distinctive traits of the American phenomenon. Each society is very largely an independent unit, a law unto itself. This fact is expressed externally in the separation of the lodges

as against the occupation by different degrees of the same men's house in Melanesia. Among the Hidatsa, Mandan, and Blackfoot it finds further expression in the purchase transaction, which is solely the concern of the two negotiating classes. When the Pigeons acquire the Mosquito membership, this is business that does not in the least concern the Dogs or Kit-Foxes or Bulls. The Arapaho have, indeed, a group of old men in general supervision of ceremonial life; nevertheless, here, too, the acquisition of a new status is not the business of the entire male population but only of the directors, the "grandfathers," dancers, and "elder brothers." On the other hand, the Melanesian conception does not exclude the active participation of all the *sukwe* members.

The independence mentioned above is of course connected with the mutual independence of the age-classes. The dances as such are also independent of one another because each represents an individual combination of specific traits. We have found that distinct complexes may be held by the same age-class as among the Hidatsa and that the same complex may be held by different classes as among the Gros Ventre. But the present point is that each such complex is in native psychology a thing *sui generis* and as such not subordinate to any other in the series. This kind of individuality is strikingly lacking in Melanesia, while among the Masai the warrior society is markedly individualized but owing to the absence of all other comparable complexes plays a quite different part in tribal life from that of the American organizations.

In this connection a few words must be devoted to a matter already touched on in the descriptive reports. Because the age-societies usually have a set method of procedure and distinctive paraphernalia it is justifiable to apply the term "ceremonial" to them. This must not be misconstrued, however, into an exaggerated estimate of their religious functions. These, doubtless, differ not only in different tribes but also for different dances in the same series. The Arapaho, who perform a dance only as the result of a vow, have certainly stressed the sacred aspect of their series more than the Blackfoot and Village tribes. Nevertheless, even among the Arapaho the religious features of the dances pale into insignificance beside the holiness of the tribal pipe, while the purely secular aspects, military and social, are clearly of great importance. The case is absolutely clear among the Village people, who draw a sharp distinction between the exoteric dance activities and the genuinely sacred ceremonies connected with medicine bundles (p. 236). For them, at least, we may say that the age-classes were permanent social clubs¹ which successively acquired temporary possession

¹ I eliminate the special purchase factor which Schurtz associates with the term since of course an Hidatsa belonged to his age-class automatically and purchased only the dance privileges.

of different complexes which might or might not include religious elements.

To revert to our comparison. The Melanesian *sukwe* is integrated into a unit by a fundamental principle of social differentiation,—the rigid exclusion of women from the activities of men. In the Plains area we find that some men's societies have female associates (pp. 271, 907), that men's age-classes have friendly relations with groups of women who assist in a purchase of membership (p. 230), that women participated in nightly processions of the men's organizations (p. 265). In short, the conception of woman as a social being was utterly different from that of Melanesia, where the *sukwe* is not only a place for special activity but for everyday eating and sleeping. A fleeting glance at the distribution of this institution of the men's house shows that the *sukwe*, i. e. its graded form, is a specialized type that has developed within a particular part of the general area.¹ Whatever may have been the cause of the gradation, the *sukwe* thus has a quite different meaning, as well as a quite different history, from those of the age-societies of North America. The *sukwe* results from the subdivision of a preëxisting social unit, the organized males. The graded series of the Plains grows out of the linking together and ranking of originally distinct units.

In short, the wider historical problem suggested above (p. 881) admits of a very simple solution. The age-classes of the Plains Indians and those of the Masai, though formally analogous, are conditioned by distinct social conditions, while parallels are lacking in Melanesia. A series of degrees is lacking among the Masai, while between the series of Indian dances and that of the Melanesian grades there is again a merely formal similarity,—no more than is involved in the very presence of degrees at all. The psychological motives underlying the graded Plains Indian system and the Melanesian *sukwe* persist in their original distinctness. We are dealing neither with diffusion nor with parallel development, we have not genuine but false convergence.

To sum up. Our historical résumé led to the conclusion that the age-societies of the Plains Indians are a specialized and later development of the ungraded military organizations of the area. It remained to determine the significance of this specialized type. On this subject the following points may be regarded as established:—

1. The age-societies represent a psychologically as well as an historically complex phenomenon, for the comprehension of which at least three factors must first be isolated, viz., the age-class, the "dance" corresponding to the society complex of the ungraded series, and the notion that dances are purchasable commodities.

¹ Cf. Rivers, 17, 226.

2. The age-classes are really as genuine groupings on an age basis as can be expected under primitive conditions, and in so far forth Schurtz's insistence on the importance of age as a socializing force is corroborated by our data.

3. However, the sociologically significant result appears that community of age may find social expression in very different ways. Among the Plains Indians considered there is no age-division of the entire community according to the tripartite pattern or some similar scheme, but an indefinite boys' group is welded into an organized and life-long age-class through a collective social experience and the undergoing of the same or an equivalent experience by every successive boys' group establishes the rather elaborate system of age-classes. This is manifestly a very different phenomenon from the tripartite feasting scheme of the Omaha (p. 975) or the tripartite subdivision of the Crow Fox society (p. 156). The latter instance is suggestive in showing that the age factor is not only unrestricted in its sphere of influence but also in point of time, that it has asserted itself in very recent as well as in ancient times.

4. The dances themselves do not differ in principle from the equivalent complexes of ungraded series except in the conception of the five tribes with graded series that dances are purchasable commodities,—a general principle applied by these tribes to the special case of the military society features.

5. The notion, on the one hand, that boys form a union of comrades (age-class), on the other, that there is a dance that can be bought leads to the basic practice of the collective purchase.

6. The only additional element necessary for the production of the observed institution is a ranking not of the age-classes, which are automatically ranged in a series, but of the dances. While we do not know the details of this process, the flexibility in grade everywhere except among the Arapaho indicates that the series represents merely a preferential and conventional order for the acquisition of the several dances.

7. The age-societies as a whole constitute an institution *sui generis*. While resemblances, sometimes of an illuminating nature, occur among the Masai and the Melanesians, the essential diversity of these three groups of phenomena is not open to doubt.

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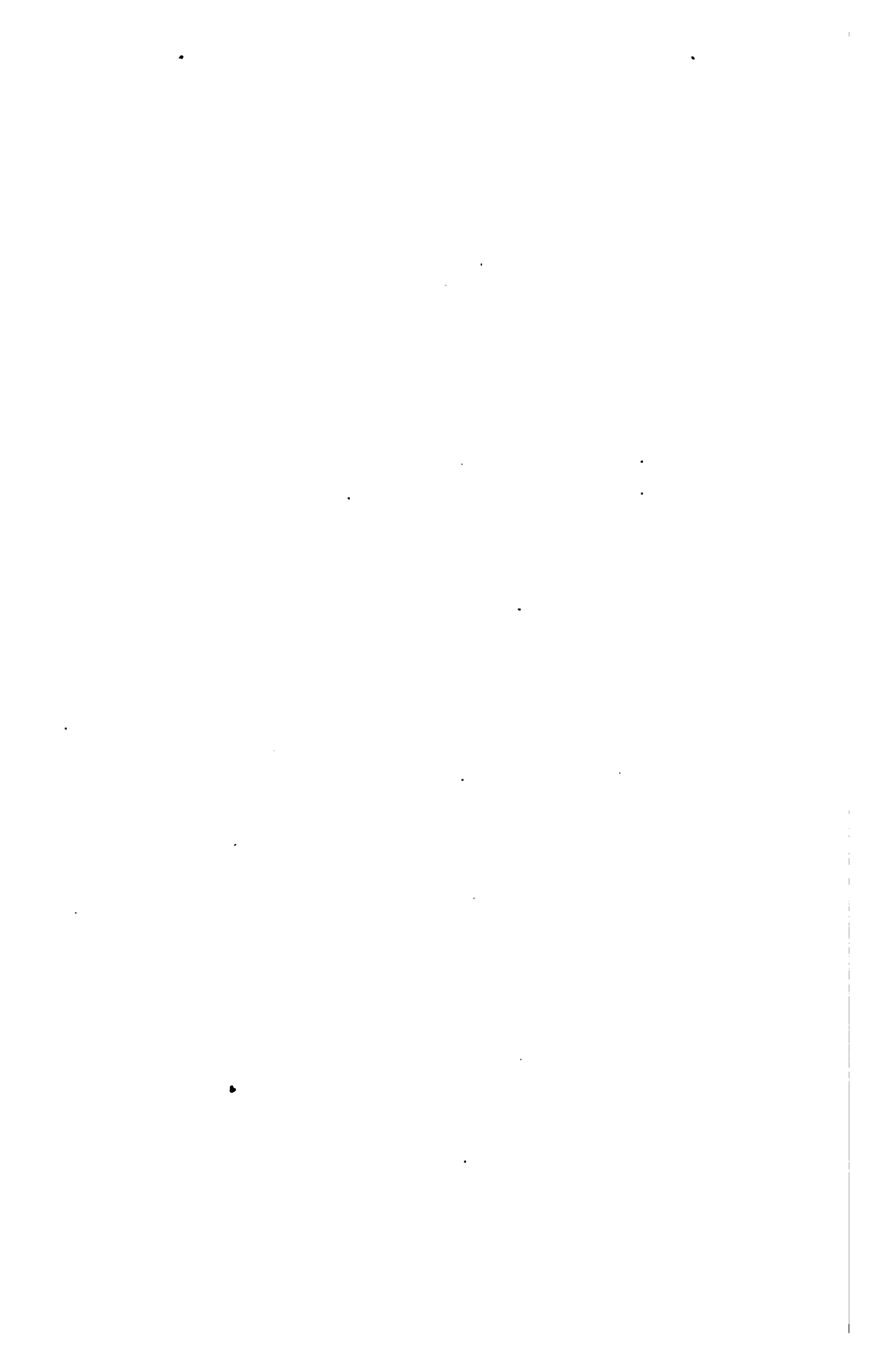
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BY

ROBERT H. LOWIE.

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